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permit any other school to be held in the burgh' than that taught by the proper schoolmaster.¹ In 1567 the master of the grammar school of Crail complains to the council that Sir George King is 'seducing the scholars from his school,' and 'teaching them as he pleases in the manner of a school;' the council decern that there shall be no other teacher in the burgh than the master of the grammar school, who alone has title to teach.² The peace of Crail seems at this time to have been much broken by the minister and master of the burgh with their respective followers: on 9th June, and again on 18th February 1580, Mr Buthill represents to his patrons that he had been admitted schoolmaster, but, nevertheless, Mr John Edmiston, minister, has 'seduced' certain of his scholars, contrary to the provision made to him; and it is further complained, that Mr Edmiston's pretended scholars by casting stones at the grammar school and 'dynging the bairns' to the great effusion of their blood, have troubled Mr Buthill, who is supported in his office by the town council.³ In 1576 the council of Haddington take blame to themselves for permitting other schools to be held in the burgh, and discharge 'fra thyne furth all athir scholis within thair burgh, bot the hye grammar schole allanarlie.'⁴ In 1582 the council of Kirkcaldy undertake to the master of the grammar school, to allow no other school to be taught in the town;⁵ and in the same year the council of Ayr statute that no schools shall be held in the burgh by any other person than the common schoolmaster.⁶ In 1584 the council of Edinburgh 'discharge, inhibit, exclude, and stop' all other persons, except the master and the doctors of the high school, from teaching grammar or Latin authors;⁷ and in the same year burgesses are for-

¹ Burgh Records of Haddington.

² Burgh Records of Crail. There is an entry of similar import on 8th December 1569.

³ Ibid. A further entry is found on 29th May 1582, when the same intruder is again specially discharged from teaching 'to the prejudice of the said Buthill's gift.'

⁴ Burgh Records of Haddington. ⁵ Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

⁶ Burgh Records of Ayr. ⁷ The Original in the archives of Edinburgh.

bidden to send their bairns to any other school under a penalty to be paid quarterly to the master of the high school.¹ In 1585 the council of Kirkcaldy order all scholars who are attending James Morrison's school to be remitted to that of Mr John Mitchelson, grammar master, and to pay to him the quarterly fees; and any scholar going to any other teacher shall pay to Mr Mitchelson 20s. yearly.²

In the year following, on the complaint of the master of the grammar school of Aberdeen, against a certain notary, who holds a school without the licence of the master of the grammar school, the council strictly discharge the interloper from holding in future any school in Aberdeen.³ Though William Simpson was discharged in 1590 from keeping a school in Dysart, still, by 'colour and subterfuge,' he teaches a school in Mitchelson; and being still a neighbour of the town, he is ordered to desist and the neighbours are forbidden to send any bairns to him; the act published by the bell.⁴ On the complaint of Mr Thomas Cargill, master of the grammar school of Aberdeen against Mr David Kanzie, in 1593, for teaching grammar, instructing in oratory, poetry, and subjects belonging to the liberal sciences, without his permission, the usurper is enjoined to desist from holding a grammar school;⁵ in 1597, the council, considering that the grammar school of this and of all other burghs, has the prerogative that no other school can be held within the burgh except the music school, without licence of the master of the grammar school, ordain that there shall be no teacher within this burgh except the sang master who shall not be subaltern to the master of the grammar school and have his goodwill.⁶ In 1595, the council of Ayr inhibit any school to be held in the burgh, except the common school, without the licence of the master; and in a contract between the town and the mas-

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dysart.

⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁶ Ibid. In October 1618 the Burgh Records of Paisley contain an entry excepting also the music school from the prohibition.

ter, dated in the same year, it is agreed that there shall be no other school in the burgh for teaching Latin or English to the male children, but the grammar school.¹ In 1598, all persons in Edinburgh are prohibited from teaching the rudiments or any other Latin book, in their lecture schools, in order that the first regent in the high school may be held answerable for their grounding in the rudiments.² In the same year, the council of Burntisland declare that no person shall be allowed to set up a school without their leave,³ and in 1620 we learn that only women may hold private schools in Burntisland.⁴

In 1602, the council of Stirling ordain 'for the better florishing of the grammar scole' that all bairns exceeding eight years of age sent to any other school within the burgh, or to any landward school about the same, 'to the quhilk bairnes gang furth in the morning and thairfra cumes hame at evin,' be removed from such schools and sent to the grammar school;⁵ in 1603 the magistrates bind James Duncanson and Nicol Murdoch, to receive no male children, under penalty of £10, and their 'scole durris steikit up';⁶ and on 27th May 1609, Duncanson is again discharged from teaching longer than Whitsunday next;⁷ in the same year the council discharge John Matheson of all further keeping of a writing school; he promises to obey;⁸ in 1613, Thomas Couper, tailor, becomes cautioner for Alexander Stevenson, that he shall not instruct male children in his school or in any private house from this time forth;⁹ and, again, in 1625, James Wallace is discharged from teaching 'ony maill childrene,' and ordained to remain in ward until he find caution not to contravene the act of council.¹⁰ In 1605, the town of Ayr again promises to the master of the grammar school to allow no other school within

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr. It would appear that there was not the same strict prohibition against adventure schools for teaching girls.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Burgh Records of Burntisland.

⁴ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

the burgh than the grammar school and music school—boys attending the former, except such as choose to learn music, and girls the latter, or (it is added) ‘any other school they please.’¹ In 1616, a notary in Perth is discharged from teaching bairns,² and in 1623, it is enacted that no other schools shall be allowed in the burgh than the grammar school, without prejudice, however, to the ‘weemen schollis, according to use and wont.’³ In 1618, the council of Paisley prohibit the keeping of any reading schools in the burgh, except the grammar school and music school.⁴

About this period we find in the records a number of entries directed against teaching by women. Thus, in 1626, the council of Dysart, for increasing the number of scholars in their school and promoting literature, ordain that no woman mistress shall receive any male children who can go to the principal or high school.⁵ In 1635 the schoolmaster of Burntisland complains that Mansie Maceggan and Bessie Davidson keep schools to the injury of the grammar school.⁶ In 1636 three ladies in Aberdeen having likewise presumed to take up English schools in the burgh and teach their scholars to read, thereby prejudicing the masters of the English schools, they are discharged from holding any other schools than for teaching bairns to ‘sew and wywe pearling allanarlie.’⁷

At the head court of Jedburgh it is statute in 1638 that burgesses shall send their sons, after six years of age, to the high school only, under pain of £10 for each fault unforgiven.⁸

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr. Whether the licence to attend any other school they please, refers to a private school, or the grammar school, it is difficult to decide: probably it means the grammar school. See a further entry, under 27th May 1606, imposing a penalty of £5, for boys attending any other school; also an indenture, dated June 1612, to the same effect as the contract above quoted.

² Burgh Records of Perth.

³ Ibid.

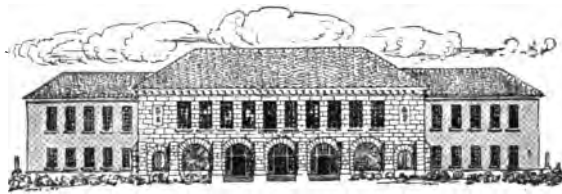
⁴ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dysart.

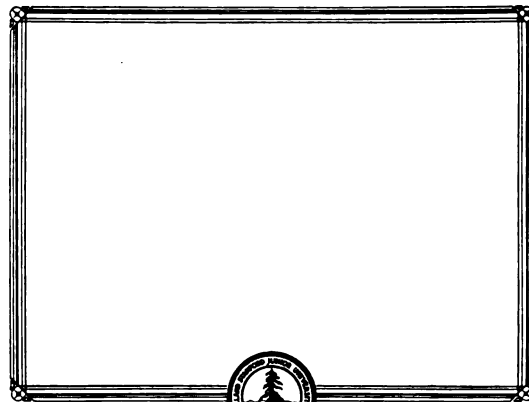
⁶ Burgh Records of Burntisland.

⁷ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁸ Burgh Records of Jedburgh. A similar ordinance, but without the provision of a penalty, is found in the Burgh Records of Stirling, under date 4th December 1649; likewise under 2d May 1653.



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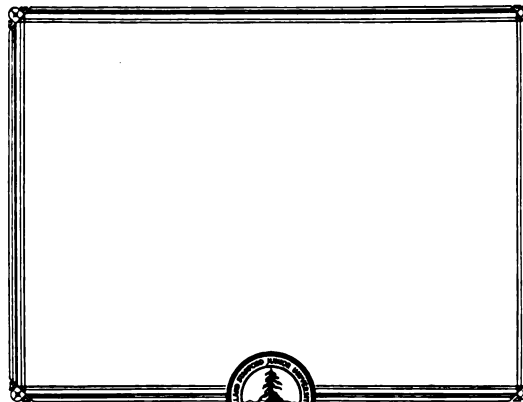


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HISTORY
OF THE
BURGH AND PARISH SCHOOLS
OF SCOTLAND.

By JAMES GRANT, M.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I. BURGH SCHOOLS.

LONDON AND GLASGOW:
WILLIAM COLLINS, SONS, & CO.
1876.

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ROBUL. OCHTATZ OBA. BU
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PREFACE.

THE History of Educational Progress in any country, presenting the gathered experience of centuries, can hardly fail to be interesting to the historian, and instructive to the student of education, and it is certainly matter of surprise that, while other and less important institutions have found abundance of historians, an historical account of our famous Burgh and Parochial school system—the most ancient, and still in many respects the most successful in existence—should not hitherto have been attempted.

The Scottish School-Book Association, composed chiefly of burgh and parochial Schoolmasters, having long felt such a work to be a great desideratum in the history of education, and the want of it even a matter of reproach to their profession, if not to the country generally, resolved at a general meeting of their body, held several years ago,¹ to supply this want by providing an authoritative History of their Schools, embracing all that is known regarding them from the earliest period. For this purpose, they applied to the late Mr Cosmo Innes, in the hope of prevailing on him to undertake the preparation of the work. Mr Innes, who always entered enthusiastically into any proposal calculated to elucidate the past history of his native country, frankly told the Schoolmasters,

¹ Mr Robert Somers of Collessie gave notice of a motion, on 15th September 1864, at a general meeting of the schoolmasters held in the high school of Edinburgh, 'that a short historical account of our burgh and parochial schools be prepared.' This motion was adopted at the general meeting held next year.

that while heartily approving of their design, he was not at his time of life equal to so arduous a task, but that if they chose to entrust it to his Assistant, he would give him all the help in his power. The Association, trusting, as I also did, that the work would have the benefit of Mr Innes's counsel and revision, instructed me to proceed with it; but before I had collected materials for more than two or three sheets, all Scotland was mourning the death of one of her most distinguished and honourable sons.¹ I greatly regret that the preparation of such a History—dealing as it does with a most important chapter in our civilisation—did not fall to some person more competent than the present writer, whose only qualification for the task was a slight knowledge of records, or rather some experience in historical research, acquired under an eminent master, and to this may be added much sympathy with Schoolmasters in their trials.

I have endeavoured to make this work purely historical: I mean, free from any assertion unsupported by authority—a record of simple facts, and not a vehicle of criticism, speculation, argument, dogma, or opinion regarding education. The following pages are so little critical or speculative, that my work will appear, as it truly is, that of a mere reporter, chronicling what I have found in the records, and classifying the results in such a way that any one, I hope, may easily draw his conclusions from the premises. The work may possibly appear too full of details to the general reader, but the examples and illustrations being taken from original sources or MSS., or such authorities as the book-hunter would call 'as good as MS.,' perhaps the objection indicated is not very serious, as probably no one will demur to finding in these pages an early notice of a school in which he is interested. It has, at least, been my aim to make the work as comprehensive as possible—to make it a record of the past and present life and practice of *all* the burgh schools—compressed into moderate compass and reduced to a form accessible to all.

Having spoken of myself and of my mode of handling the

¹ Mr Innes died at Killin in Perthshire, on 31st July 1874.

important subject entrusted to me, I must be allowed to express my grateful acknowledgments to the Association for their generous confidence in a person wholly untried in the kind of work which they wanted—confiding to one who was a stranger to them a trust in which their whole body was deeply interested. I have specially to thank the Committee, consisting of Mr John Macturk, late of Tillicoultry, now of Glasgow, Mr Robert Somers of Collessie, and Mr William Duncan of Inchtute, who were appointed to superintend the work, for their liberal assistance and kind forbearance during its progress. The professional brethren of these gentlemen can form no idea of the trouble and anxiety occasioned to their Special Committee in connection with this history—a trouble and anxiety which only enlightened interest and affectionate zeal for the honour and welfare of the profession could have enabled them to sustain.

I hope I may also be allowed the privilege of putting on record the services rendered to me by other gentlemen with whom this work has brought me into relations more or less intimate. My dear friend and revered teacher, Cosmo Innes, is at rest from all his labours, and I shall not here speak of my obligations to him—only cherishing the recollection of them and his memory in silence. Mr David Laing, so long the standing counsel of all students of Scottish history, and a survivor of that small but stout band of antiquaries and historians, who have spread the fame of Scotland to the ends of the earth, always allowed me free access to his stores of ancient learning; Mr William F. Skene, another surviving confederate of the same remarkable band, read several of my sheets; and Mr John Hill Burton, our historian, kindly supplied me with rare schoolbooks. Notwithstanding the formidable appearance such a list presents within the limits of a preface, it affords me great pleasure to introduce also the names of the following gentlemen, who have rendered invaluable service in connection with the records of certain burghs: Mr John Allan, town-clerk of Banff, dug up at great labour the history of the grammar school of

his burgh from 1682 to 1837; Mr Joseph Anderson, keeper of the Museum of Scottish Antiquaries, a zealous student of education as well as of antiquities, furnished school notices from the burgh records of Wick, and assisted me throughout with his counsel; Mr Thomas Barclay, the venerable sheriff-clerk of Fife, contributed extracts from the burgh and kirk records of Kinghorn; Mr Jacob Blacklock, town-clerk of Lochmaben, cheerfully sent extracts from his records; Mr Robert Brown, ex-provost of Paisley, who has lately published a history of the royal grammar school of his burgh worthy of the subject, placed at my disposal, with great liberality, the main events in the history of his school before it was published; Bailie Campbell of Greenock furnished excerpts from the minutes of the records of that burgh for nearly a century, ending in 1847; Mr Hugh Davidson, sheriff-clerk of Lanark, gave as much assistance as his time allowed; Rev. John Davidson, minister of Inverurie, zealously assisted by Mr John Fowlie, schoolmaster, gathered the history of their grammar school from 1606 till a recent date; Mr Alexander Dewar, town-clerk of Dingwall, extracted copiously from the minutes of his town council for nearly the whole of the eighteenth century; Mr William Dick, schoolmaster of Dunbar, heartily aided by the venerable clerk of the burgh, Mr W. H. Ritchie, supplied acts of council of great interest from the middle of the seventeenth century downwards; Mr Hugh Dickie, late rector of the grammar school of Dumbarton, though much engaged with his important school, made extracts from the burgh records from 1746 to 1830, and from the session records from 1687 to 1763; Mr W. Eadie, rector of the Inverness royal academy, supplied excerpts from the early records of the academy;¹ Mr Stuart Grace, chamberlain of St Andrews, found time to trace the history of the old grammar school from the middle of the seventeenth century till it merged into a greater institution; Mr George Hay of Arbroath, the author of a capital history of the burgh, sent a contribu-

¹ I endeavoured to collect the history of the old grammar school of Inverness, but was disappointed.

tion ; Dr Ebenezer Henderson, who has made a thorough study of the old religious and municipal life of Dunfermline, took great trouble to inform me regarding the old grammar school of that burgh, the constitution of which I could not comprehend without his assistance ; Mr Andrew Jervise of Brechin, so admirable a student of Scottish history, rendered such hearty service that he might truly say 'the men o' the Mearns can dae nae mair;' Mr John Knox, schoolmaster of Forfar, extracted all the school learning in the records of his burgh from 1660 to 1805—a work of great labour, but to him a labour of love ; another schoolmaster, who rendered no less service, is Mr Henry Lillie of Crail, who, with the assistance of the Rev. John Reid, minister of the parish, collected all the notices preserved of their old grammar school ; Mr D. Murray Lyon of Ayr, a born antiquary, excavated from the records the history of the old grammar school of his burgh, and for my convenience printed the extracts at his own expense ! Mr William McDowall of Dumfries, who has written one of our most learned local histories, took much trouble for me on the Borders ; Mr William M'Ilwraith of Stranraer, sent some curious gleanings from the old records of that burgh ; Mr William Mackie, schoolmaster of Wigtown, cheerfully supplied all school acts in the records of his burgh from the middle of the seventeenth century till our own day ; Mr Charles Mactaggart, town-clerk of Campbeltown, courteously contributed excerpts from the minutes of his council from 1704 to 1831 ; Mr A. C. Mounsey of Jedburgh brought interesting acts of council relating to the old grammar school of his burgh during the seventeenth century ; Rev. Alexander J. Murray of Eddleston supplied minutes from the records of his presbytery relating to the grammar school of Peebles ; Mr D. Nicolson, schoolmaster of Wick, though not a hearty student of old records, took great trouble for me in the far North ; Provost Paterson of Irvine kindly furnished numerous extracts from the minutes of his burgh records ; Mr R. W. Cochran Patrick of Woodside, the historian of the

Scottish Coinage, helped me much in the West; Mr Robert Renwick of Glasgow rendered great assistance in connection with the records of Peebles and Glasgow; Mr William Robertson, schoolmaster of Pittenweem, not only transcribed all school entries in the records of his burgh from 1629 to a recent date, but helped me in other burghs of Fife; Mr John Thomas, town-clerk of Perth, sent entries from the records of the town council and kirk session of his burgh; Mr T. W. Thoms of Dundee, at the expense of much time and at great personal trouble, disinterred the history of the old grammar school of his burgh during the eighteenth century; Mr Alexander Walker, dean of guild of Aberdeen, who sympathised much with my subject, cheerfully quarried from the records of his burgh the history of the grammar school of New Aberdeen from 1750 to 1850—a century in the life of this great school;¹ Mr R. Milne Walker of Stirling transcribed all acts of council in the records of his burgh bearing on the grammar school from 1597 to 1800; Mr R. Watson, rector of the academy of Kirkcudbright, extracted, at great labour, all school acts in the records of that burgh from 1683 to 1820; Rev. R. O. Young, minister of Fortrose, kindly culled from various records, extracts illustrating the history of education in his burgh.²

When it is considered that these gentlemen were all engaged in the active business of life—not antiquaries or record scholars, professed or paid—the value and disinterestedness of their great labour will appear from the fact that they made these excerpts at much expense of time from records generally covered with the white mould of centuries—spelling their way through a handwriting rendered antiquated

¹ For the previous history of this school I have used the various selections made from the records of that burgh for club publications, by John Stuart, LL.D., the secretary of the Spalding Club and of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries.

² I cannot omit to mention also how much I have been indebted to the Report on Burgh and Middle-class Schools, prepared for Parliament in 1868.

by age, which was often faint, and sometimes effaced, frequently careless, and always contracted; and I venture to say that the public spirit which they have shown is creditable to Scotland in what is called a utilitarian age. My regret is that the principal workman was not more worthy of his enlightened fellow-labourers; but with the experience I have had, it will be my earnest endeavour to make the complement of this work, viz., the 'History of the Parish Schools'—which is already in an advanced state of preparation—more worthy of the subject.

In preparing my 'copy' for the Press and revising the proof sheets, I have received much assistance and advice from Mr Thomas A. Croal, and Mr Archibald Constable, Edinburgh; I am also indebted to Mr J. S. Mackay and Mr C. R. Scott, of the Edinburgh Academy, for the notices of the present state of mathematics and English in the Burgh Schools.

Other gentlemen, besides the large list I have mentioned, helped me with their counsel and influence, and though I must deny myself the pleasure of introducing their names, I can never forget the assistance given by each and all of them.

J. G.

EDINBURGH, *April* 1876.

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A HISTORY OF THE BURGH SCHOOLS OF SCOTLAND.

PART I.

SCHOOLS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

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§ 1. The materials available for writing the early history of the Schools of Scotland are scanty, and great caution is necessary lest conclusions should be accepted which better information might modify, alter, or reverse. From several of the sources

of information which are open it has been possible to obtain a little help in this investigation; but after all, there remains only a small harvest to reward the inquirer.

§ 2. Although we cannot say precisely when the history of education begins in Scotland, yet there is a historic period which, roughly speaking, may be taken as a commencement—the settlement of Columba in Iona. Iona may be regarded as the foundation on which the fabric of Scottish learning and education has been built. The celebration of the service of the church required a certain degree of education, which the neophytes could only acquire within the walls of the monastery. Each of the Northumbrian monasteries had, we know, a school attached to it for educating the clerics, who required to be instructed, to some extent at least, in Latin—the language used in the worship of the church. A special training would be necessary for copying the Scriptures and any other works which the little library contained; and we may imagine that every effort would be made to increase the number of books.¹ From the necessity of the case we may therefore assume that in ancient times every monastic or religious house had in some shape or other a school attached to it.

§ 3. Accordingly our earliest records prove not only that schools existed, but that they were then invariably found in connection with the church, which was at once the great agent of progress and civilisation, and the repository of learning in the Middle Ages. Thus in a document dated about A.D. 1100, Edelrade, a man of venerable memory (son of Malcolm III.), Abbot of Dunkeld and Earl of Fife, grants to Almighty God, to St Serf, and to the Culdees of the island of Lochleven,² Admore with its

¹ For an account of the apocryphal library at Iona, see Jamieson's *History of the Culdees*, p. 302.

² The Culdees had a famous abbey on Lochleven, which kept alive for centuries religion and learning. Shortly after the period here referred to, they were expelled from the island of St Serf by one of the witnesses to their gift—David I., who planted in their place a new order of churchmen. Their library, when they were evicted from the abbey, consisted of the following books—four for the services of the church, the

freedom—'ejus libertate'—without exaction of any one in the world, bishop, king, or earl. The gift is confirmed by his two brothers, Alexander and David—afterwards Alexander I., and David I.—in the presence of many faithful men—'in presentia multorum fidedignorum'—amongst whom were Constance Earl of Fife, Ness and Cormac, sons of Macbeth, Malnethete son of Beollan, priests of Abernethy—'sacerdotes de Abernethyn'—Mollebride, another priest, Thuadhel, Augustine priest of the Culdees—'sacerdos keledeorum'—and Berbeadh, rector of the schools of Abernethy—'rector scholarum de Abyrnethyn.'¹ Abernethy was the see of a bishopric—a famous seat of learning in that age, and has still the ruins of an abbey.² This early reference to schools is valuable as tending to show that there were once schools—famous schools—in places whose history, and even whose names, we have almost forgotten.

The schools in connection with the church of St Andrews were of note so early as A.D. 1120, when their disciples or scolocs, as they were called, are mentioned as welcoming the friend and biographer of St Anselm to the chair of the bishop of the Scots—'post hæc ad ecclesiam Sancti Andreae venit, et occurrente ei regina, susceptus a scolasticis et plebe pontificis loco successit.'³ Other early illustrations of the existence of schools side by side with the church occur in a series of gifts originating with David I., to whom

Gospel after the text of St Prosper, the Acts of the Apostles, three books of Solomon, Commentaries on Genesis and on the Song of Solomon, the Works of Origen, the 'Sentences' of St Bernard, another collection of 'Sentences,' 'Interpretationes dictionum,' treatise of the Sacraments, 'pars bibliothecæ,' and treatise on Exceptions from Ecclesiastical Rules : Registrum Prioratus S. Andree, preface xvi. 43.

¹ Registrum Prioratus S. Andree, p. 116.

² E. W. Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*, p. 233. This record of the Culdees is very interesting apart from its bearing on the present inquiry. The polity of Scotland remained as yet Celtic, though it very soon afterwards became feudal, and it will be observed that the witnesses' names are Celtic.

³ Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ.

Scotland owes so much of her civilisation. After transferring the abbey founded by him at Selkirk to Kelso, the king grants to the abbot and convent all the churches and schools of Roxburgh, with all their pertinents.¹ About A.D. 1180, Bishop Joceline of Glasgow confirmed to the church of St Mary of Kelso this gift of the churches and schools of Roxburgh, in the burgh of the king, free and quit of all custom; and between A.D. 1195 and 1199, King William further confirmed the same gift of the churches and schools of the burgh of Roxburgh, free of all custom.² Still further, in A.D. 1232, Walter bishop of Glasgow ratified to Kelso the same churches and schools of Roxburgh, free and quit from all custom, synodal rent, aids, lodgings and conreds, 'according to the confirmation of Herbert and Joceline, of good memory, bishops of Glasgow.'³ Pope Innocent IV. subsequently confirmed to Kelso the churches and schools of Roxburgh, free from all synodal rent and conreds—'sinodi redditu et conrediis,' as Herbert late bishop of Glasgow granted and confirmed to the abbot and convent by his writings. In A.D. 1241, on the morrow of Matthew the apostle and evangelist, the abbot and convent of Kelso granted to William son of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, the privilege of divine service in his chapel, within the court of Malkarneston, but without prejudice to the mother church. Among the witnesses of this grant is the name of Master Thomas, rector of the schools of Roxburgh.⁴

Similar to the foregoing entries relative to schools in connection with churches, are others referring to various other places. About A.D. 1160, Ernald bishop of St Andrews confirmed to the church of the Holy Trinity of Dunfermline, the churches of Perth and Stirling, with their schools and chapels, and all other things pertaining to them.⁵ Richard, the next bishop of St Andrews (A.D. 1163-1173),

¹ Liber S. Marie de Calchou, No. 2, p. 5.

² Liber S. Marie de Calchou, No. 460, p. 350.

³ Ibid., Nos. 279, 433, pp. 229, 332. ⁴ Ibid., No. 239, p. 194.

⁵ Registrum de Dunfermlyn, No. 93, p. 56.

confirmed to the abbey the same gift, with all the schools which belong to the churches of Perth and Stirling, freely and quietly, in perpetual alms, without any challenge or exaction.¹ William bishop of St Andrews in turn confirms to Dunfermline the church and school of Perth and the church and school of Stirling²—a confirmation ratified by the chapter of St Andrews.³

Pope Lucius confirms in A.D. 1183 to the abbot and canons of Dryburgh all their possessions, and forbids any one to interfere with the masters in their parish of Lanark in regulating the studies of the scholars provided they did not make unjust exactions—*'nec magistris in parochia vestra de Lanark scolarum studia sine prava exactione regere volentibus temere quisquam audeat inhibere.'*⁴ Four years later, Pope Gregory VIII. granted to the prior of St Andrews, and to his brethren professing the life of the regular clergy, the church of Linlithgow, with its lands and houses within and without the burgh, with the chapels, tithes, and school of the same place—*'scola ejusdem loci.'*⁵ This grant was confirmed by Clement III. in the same year;⁶ by Innocent III. in A.D. 1206;⁷ by Honorius III. in A.D. 1216;⁸ by Innocent IV. in A.D. 1246 and 1248.⁹ An ordinance of Richard bishop of Aberdeen, regarding the vicarage of Buthelny, dated A.D. 1262, is witnessed, among others, by Master Thomas of Bennam, rector of the schools of Aberdeen.¹⁰

§ 4. We have thus, over a series of years, references to the existence of schools in connection with churches; and the fact of schools being not uncommon in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as witnessed by those casual notices, receives additional confirmation from Reginald of Durham, who wrote in the twelfth century. He tells us that in a

¹ Registrum de Dunfermlyn, Nos. 94, 96, pp. 57, 58, 418.

² Ibid., No. 110, p. 66.

³ Ibid., No. 110, p. 66.

⁴ Liber de Dryburgh, No. 194, p. 249.

⁵ Registrum Prioratus S. Andree, p. 63.

⁶ Ibid., p. 68.

⁷ Ibid., p. 72.

⁸ Ibid., p. 77.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 92, 99.

¹⁰ Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc, No. 254, p. 193.

church on the Tweed founded in honour of St Cuthbert, in which a school was kept for the benefit of the neighbourhood, a lad called Haldane, aware that punishment awaited him for his idleness, threw the key of the church into a deep pool in the river called Paddwell, hoping by this means to escape punishment, and be no more distressed with the slavery of learning—'discendi servitute.' This incident happened previous to the time of Reginald, but what is important for our purpose is, that in speaking of the school kept in the church of Norham, he says it is a practice which now is common enough—'more nunc solito.'¹

It frequently happens that we learn for the first time of the existence of a school by accidentally lighting on its name in an old feudal writ; thus among the archives of the University of Glasgow there is an instrument of the infeftment of the tenement called the 'auld petagoge,' made to the venerable man, the late Master Gilbert Rerik, formerly archdeacon of Glasgow, by the vicars of the choir, dated 8th February 1475.² So far back as 1481, there was a school in Dumfries, for we find Master John Turnbull, rector of the school of Drumfreis—probably the germ of the present Dumfries Academy, a witness to a seisin of Robert Lord Maxwell, in a tenement in the town.³ We know that there was a school in Brechin in 1485, as in that year, Alexander Hog, rector of the school of Brechin, is witness to an instrument of resignation by Robert Williamson.⁴

On the 17th of November 1498, the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh had ordained that all schools 'scail' and none be held, and that the children dwelling to landward remove to their friends at once, and remain there until God provide remedy.⁵ Perhaps but for the occurrence of the plague in this year, we should have been without the evidence

¹ Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus, c. 73, p. 149.

² Origines Parochiales Scotiæ, i., 7.

³ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, p. 502 (2d ed.).

⁴ Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, ii., 119.

⁵ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

which this entry seems to afford us, that (in addition to the grammar school and the Canongate school, both of which were under the direction of the abbey), there were in Edinburgh other schools, no doubt English or 'lecture' schools, and 'dame schools,' over which neither the church nor the burgh claimed any jurisdiction, or if they possessed it, did not care to put it in force.

§ 5. The officer of the school with whom we are best acquainted in Scotland is the Rector or Master, who is frequently mentioned in the chartularies of the religious houses. In the Register of the priory of St Andrews there is preserved a record of an important case bearing on the early history and different officers of the schools. This record is headed, '*Conventio inter nos et scolares de Sancto Andrea*,'¹ and refers to a dispute which had arisen between A.D. 1211 and 1216, in which the parties were Simon prior of St Andrews, on the one part, and Master Patrick, master of the schools of the city of St Andrews, and the poor scholars of the same city, on the other part. The matter in dispute originated in connection with certain measures of barley claimed by Master Patrick and the poor scholars from the land of Neuechi, and with the 'cane' which was wont to be paid from the lands assigned to the prior and convent, in amicable settlement of the strife between them and Master Laurence, archdeacon of St Andrews. Pope Innocent III. appointed the bishop of Glasgow, the abbot of Melrose, and the archdeacon of Glasgow, to settle the controversy, which was eventually determined, with the assent and goodwill of Master Laurence, who was both archdeacon and ferleyn. The settlement arrived at was that certain lands should remain with the prior and convent freely and quietly for ever, according to the charter of Bishop Richard, of good memory; but that they and their successors should yearly, at the feast of St Martin, pay to Laurence the ferleyn, and his successors in the house of the ferleyn of the city of St Andrews, for the use of the poor scholars, the old cane of the lands which they hold in their hand, amounting

¹ Registrum Prioratus S. Andree, pp. 317, 318.

to forty stones of cheese, seventy measures of barley and a sheep, which shall be levied from the tenants by the servant of the prior, accompanied by one servant of the ferleyn—'uno serviente ferlani,' and be paid to the ferleyn in the manner prescribed. Thus was the agreement made between the parties, and by authority confirmed, so that neither archdeacon, ferleyn, master of the schools, nor poor scholars, should do anything hereafter against the tenor of this agreement. We have here the three grades of the ancient officers of the school, the scoloc, the master, and the ferleyn, 'exhibited together,' says the learned Joseph Robertson, 'in their proper order and relation.'¹

Mr Robertson has collected much learning explanatory of the ferleyn and of the scoloc as scholastic officers. What the chancellor was in the English and Scoto-English churches, the ferleyn, he thinks, was in the Irish and Scoto-Irish churches.² The scoloc he believes to have been the Scottish form of 'scholar,' a churchman of an inferior degree—an ecclesiastic 'clerk.' The first notice of the scolocs in Scottish record occurs in A.D. 1265, when Gameline, bishop of St Andrews, lets his lands of Ellon in Buchan, which the scolocs of Ellon hold—'quam scoloci de Elon tenent,' in lease to Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan. At the end of the lease the earl undertakes to restore the land to the see by its right marches as the scolocs now hold it—'sicut scoloci eam nunc tenent.'³ The next case quoted supports Mr Robertson's theory that scoloc and scholar are, if not the same, in some degree related. At an inquest held in A.D. 1387 regarding the tenure of the church lands of Ellon, called the 'scoloc lands,' the jury reported that for these lands there should be found for the parish church of Ellon four clerks, with copes and surplices, able to read and sing sufficiently; that the quarter or fourth part of Easter Ellon should find a house for the scholars at Ellon; that the quarter or fourth part of Candellan should twice in the year supply twenty-four wax candles

¹ Miscellany of Spalding Club, v., 76.

² Ibid., 56, 57.

³ Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, 311, 312.

for the 'park' before the high altar; and that the quarter or fourth part of Ferley is bound to find a smithy—'fabrinam,' at Ellon.¹ This inquest is also recorded in the register of the Bishopric of Aberdeen, but here the church lands of Ellon called the 'scoloc lands,' are changed into church lands of Ellon called the 'scholar lands.'² Mr Robertson pushed the inquiry concerning the scoloc still further back, and found in the book of the Miracles of St Cuthbert, written in the twelfth century, 'clerici' described as 'scolofthes' in the Pictish language.³

§ 6. The Master or Rector was in ancient times an officer of high dignity: in the oldest record in regard to schools we have found him classed with some of the highest names in the land, including three sons of Malcolm Canmore, as well as dignified churchmen and great lords.⁴ The ancient records show that the Master was not only an officer held in honour, but was frequently employed in settling disputes and acting as judge in causes. For example, Pope Innocent III., in A.D. 1212, addressed a bull to his beloved the archdeacons of Dunkeld and Dunblane and to the master of the schools of Perth—'magistro scholarum de Pert,' appointing them judges for settling a dispute between William clerk of Sanquhar, and the monks of Paisley, as to which of them owned the church of Prestwick. These judges found that the monks of Paisley possessed the church of Prestwick as mother church for forty years and more, and so the three judges

¹ Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, 311, 312.

² Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, i., 177, 178. The inquest held at Ellon is also important as illustrating a process with which every student of church history is familiar. The scoloc lands of Ellon were in the hands of laymen, who became hereditary tenants, supplying substitutes to perform the office for which the lands were set apart. In this way endowments became secularised, so that the persons provided to perform the work were deprived of almost all the benefice.

³ The words are, 'clerici illi, qui in ecclesia illa commorantur, qui Pictorum lingua Scollofthes cognominantur:' Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus, c. 85, p. 179.

⁴ Supra, p. 3.

decern the right of the church of Prestwick to belong to Paisley, enjoining at the same time silence for the future on the clerk of Sanquhar.¹ In 1233 the abbot of Paisley obtained from the pope a commission to three persons to settle a dispute between his abbey and Dugald, rector of Kilpatrick, with regard to the lands of Monachkeneran on the Clyde, claimed by the monks of Paisley, but which were held by a contumacious layman, Gilbert son of Samuel of Renfrew. The judges chosen by the pope were the deans of Cuningham and Carric, and the master of the schools of Ayr—'magister scholarum de Are.' The deans and the master of the schools, as delegates of our lord the pope, certify to the bishop of Glasgow that they have carefully examined many witnesses, that the suit was rightly tried before them, and that they have adjudged the possession of the disputed lands to the abbot and convent of Paisley, who have proved their contention—'intentionem suam sufficienter probasse.'² In a dispute between the abbot and convent of Kelso and Walter vicar of the church of Robertoun, regarding the teind sheaves of Robertoun, the sub-prior of Coldingham and the rector of the schools of South Berwick—commissioners of the abbot of Dunfermline who had been delegated judge by the pope—find, after the examination of instruments produced by the pursuers, and on the confession of the defenders, that the teind sheaves of Robertoun belong to the abbot and convent of Kelso, as rectors of the church of Robertoun.³

Again, we find the rector of the schools taking an honourable part in the public history of the country. On 26th September 1357 each of the Three Estates of Parliament grants an obligation for the ransom of David II., a prisoner in England. The prelates undertake to pay 100,000 merks of sterlings to the King of England towards the ransom; the barons become liable for an equal sum; and the aldermen,

¹ Registrum Monasterii de Passelet, p. 229.

² Acts of Parliament of Scotland, i., p. 87.

³ Liber S. Marie de Calchou, p. 5.

burgesses, and merchants, in the name of all the burgesses and merchants of the whole kingdom, oblige themselves for payment of a like sum; among the representative burgesses are the names of Nicholas, rector of the school of Cupar,¹ who was probably a layman.

Frequently the Master of the schools performed the duties of an officer of the Crown. Thus on 27th March 1359, there is a notice of the account of Nicholas, master of the schools of Cupar in Fife, as one of the custumars—‘*unus custumariorum*’ of the burgh of Cupar, rendered at Dundee.² Between 18th May 1387 and 12th June 1388, the high chamberlain pays to William of Trauernent, rector of the schools of Haddington, clerk of the coket of Haddington and of North Berwick, one penny from every sack of wool weighed in the places foresaid, for himself and his substitute in the office of coket, amounting in all to 11s. 4d.³ Between 1392 and 1393, the sum of 26s. 10d. is paid by the chamberlain to Master William of Trauernent, who was wont while he lived to receive by the gift of the king one penny from every sack in augmentation of his fee, the gift now ceasing by his death.⁴ At a time when learning was confined to churchmen, and when even the barons were unable to sign their names, the services of the master of the schools must have been in demand in all matters of process requiring a memorial of the transaction.

The office of master of the grammar school continued long to be held in high repute. In a general assembly of the University of Glasgow held 1521, the master of the grammar school was chosen one of the deputies for electing the rector;⁵ among the *non-regentes* nominated to examine the graduates of that university, we find in 1523 and 1525, Mathew Reid, ‘*magister scolæ grammaticalis*’; in 1549 and 1551, Mr Alexander Crawford, ‘*magister scolæ grammaticalis*’; and in

¹ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, i., 515-518.

² Exchequer Rolls, No. 35.

³ Ibid., No. 98.

⁴ Exchequer Rolls, No. 111.

⁵ Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis, ii., 138, 139.

1555, Archibald Crawford, 'preceptor scholæ grammaticalis.'¹ The following extract from the works of the learned Ninian Winzet is worth giving as showing the esteem in which the Master of the school was regarded before the Reformation: 'I judgeit the teaching of the youthhood in virtue and science, next after the authority with the ministers of justice, under it and after the angelical office of godly pastors, to obtain the third principal place most commodious and necessar to the kirk of God. Yea, sa necessar thought I it, that the due charge and office of the prince and prelate without it, is to them, after my judgment, wondrous painful and almost insupportable, and yet little commodious to the commonwealth, to unfeignet obedience and true godlyness, when the people is rude and ignorant; and contrary, by help of it to the youthhood, the office of all potestates is light to them and pleasant to the subject.'²

§ 7. There is little doubt that in the period to which these early references to schools relate, the scholars were generally young ecclesiastics—those who were to become churchmen, but we have reason to believe that at a very early time laymen also were educated in the schools, under the superintendence of churchmen. The earliest case that would seem to give support to this view is recorded in the chartulary of Kelso. In A.D. 1260, an agreement was entered into with Matildis, lady of Molle, who in her widowhood granted to the abbot and convent of Kelso all that belonged to her as dowry

¹ M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, i., p. 456 (2d ed.).

² Ninian Winzet, born at Renfrew, in 1518, was appointed schoolmaster of Linlithgow about 1551, where he taught till the Reformation, 'children of that town to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants.' In 1561, the schoolmaster, like his other professional brethren, was cited to sign the Confession of Faith, but, 'continuing obstinate, he was shott out of his kindly town and from his tender friends,' and, in 1562, was obliged to 'take occasion of a ship that was bound for Flanders.' In 1576, the abbacy of the Scottish monastery of St James, at Ratishon, having become vacant, the champion of the old faith, was appointed superior by the Pope; he died in 1592: *Certaine Tractatis*, pp. xi., xx. (Maitland Club).

from the land which they received in farm from her late husband Richard of Lincoln, on condition that they maintain her son William in victuals—‘*exhibuerint in victualibus*,’ with the better and worthier scholars—‘*majoribus et dignioribus scolaribus*,’ who stay in the poorer house.¹ In the Chamberlain Rolls there are other instances of scholars being boarded in the middle of the fourteenth century. The treasurer, between 1st March 1383 and 16th March 1384, accounts for £14, 10s., as having been disbursed by him by command of the king and chamberlain for divers small expenses incurred for James Stewart, son of Robert II., when he was with the bishop of St Andrews.² A subsequent entry in the Rolls throws light on this notice; between 16th March 1384 and 31st March 1385, the royal treasurer accounts for £4, 13s. 4d., as the expenses of James Stewart while studying—‘*stantis in studio*,’ at St Andrews, for the year of this account.³ Two other notices relating to boarding at this date are worthy of being quoted. In the first, the treasurer pays, by command of the king and chamberlain, 26s. to Gilbert de Haia, son of Thomas de Haia, while at the schools of St Andrews;⁴ and, secondly, 32s. for his clothing while in the schools of St Andrews, for the year of this account—16th March 1384 to 31st March 1385.⁵

§ 8. The disbursements from the royal exchequer on account of Thomas de Haia were probably not made from a charitable motive; Thomas, being of nearly the same age with the king’s son, and his near kinsman, was perhaps sent to St Andrews at the expense of the king as companion to the prince. Yet the scanty materials at our disposal for sketching the ancient history of our schools furnish us with data enough to show that in early times schools and poor scholars were favoured and cherished by our kings. In A.D. 1329, the year of good King Robert’s death, the treasurer, in accounting

¹ Liber S. Marie de Calchou, No. 173.

² Exchequer Rolls, No. 95.

⁴ Ibid., No. 95.

³ Ibid., No. 96.

⁵ Ibid., No. 96.

for his disbursements, enters 20s. as having been paid to David of Monrose in aid towards the schools—‘in auxilium ad scolās.’¹ It may be wished that there existed ground enough to feel certain that this small sum was a contribution by the great king in support of the schools of Montrose. Tradition says that the school of Montrose, once so famous, was endowed by Robert I., but the record does not justify that conclusion, however fondly we should like to cherish the idea. Again in 1329, £13, 6s. 8d. are accounted for by the treasurer as a gift from the king to Master Gilbert of Bermachtyn, for the sake of studying—‘causa studendi.’² This royal gift was probably made to Master Gilbert for carrying on his studies abroad. A few years later, in A.D. 1364, the treasurer takes credit for £54 which had been paid by command of the king (as his letter shows) for food and clothing to a ‘poor scholar kinsman of our lord the king.’³ On 22d March 1378, payment of £3, 15s. 2d. is made by the chamberlain to the master of the schools of Haddington by command of the king, the said master confessing on the account that he received the money.⁴ Between 5th March 1381 and 13th February 1382, the chamberlain pays, for the expenses of two scholars from Bute, to William of Prestwick, £5, 6s. 8d., as is clear by the letters of the said William shown on the account.⁵ Again, in the period from 1st March 1383 to 16th March 1384, the chamberlain accounts for £4, as having been paid by command of the king for the board—‘pro mensa,’ of a certain poor scholar—‘cujusdam pauperis scholaris,’ who is at the schools in the town of Haddington during the time of this account.⁶

§ 9. Scotland had not, so far as our inquiry into the history of education has proceeded, any great schools of her own. Her sons who sought a higher education than that supplied by the grammar school could only receive it abroad—at the great universities of England, or at Paris, Bordeaux, Geneva, Heidelberg, Saumur, Montauban, Louvain, Bologna, or Pisa; and as the subject is pertinent to the present inquiry, in

¹ Chamberlain Rolls, i., p. 95.

² Ibid., i., 96.

³ Ibid., ii., 413.

⁴ Exchequer Rolls, No. 85.

⁵ Ibid., No. 93.

⁶ Ibid., No. 95.

so far as those who were educated abroad were often appointed masters of the schools when they returned to their native land, a few gleanings may be quoted as bearing on the assistance given by our sovereigns to those who sought a higher education than was to be found at home. In the account from 12th June 1387 and 20th February 1388, the chamberlain paid, by command of the king, to Sir John de Cornetoun, chaplain, who is leaving for the purposes of study—‘eunti ad studium,’ the sum of £4, of which Sir John confesses the receipt.¹ Between 4th January 1392 and 26th March 1394, the king grants a letter under the privy seal, authorising payment of £8 from the custom of six sacks of wool, for the son of Sir Patrick Graham, towards his expenses while studying at Paris—‘studentis Parisiis;’² and to Master Robert de Cardny for the expenses of John Stewart, brother of the king, while studying at Paris, £10.³

§ 10. To prevent the inconvenience of sending abroad the Scottish youth who desired a liberal education, the University of St Andrews was founded by Henry Wardlaw bishop of St Andrews, with consent of Parliament, in 1411, the date of the battle of Harlaw. The joy of Scotland was so great on obtaining a university of her own, that when Henry Ogilvy, who was sent to Benedict to receive the bull ratifying the foundation, returned with it on 13th February 1413, the whole clergy (four hundred in number) and convent, in solemn procession, sang ‘Te Deum’ at the high altar, and the citizens gave themselves up to universal festivity and joy.⁴ This university continued long to be the most famous of our great schools, and with it were connected during the next two centuries, almost all the most eminent Scotsmen, either as teachers or pupils.⁵

It was in 1450 that Nicolas V. issued a papal bull es-

¹ Exchequer Rolls, No. 99.

² Ibid., No. 112.

³ Ibid., No. 112. For an interesting account of the Scottish student at Oxford and foreign universities, see ‘Fasti Aberdonenses,’ pp. xxix., xxx.

⁴ National MSS. of Scotland, part ii., p. xv.

⁵ M’Crie’s Life of Andrew Melville, ii., 336, 337

tablishing a 'studium generale' in the city of Glasgow, which, from the salubrity of the climate and the abundance of all the necessaries of life, is particularly adapted for such an institution. The edict bears that James II. applied to the Holy See for this grant, because, although he might erect the university in his dominions, he could not confer on the licentiates and doctors the privilege of acting as teachers and regents in all seats of the general study throughout the Catholic Church, without any examination or approbation, in addition to that which they received when they obtained their academical degrees; this privilege being bestowed by apostolic authority. The object of the institution is the extension of the Catholic faith, promotion of virtue, and cultivation of the understanding by the study of theology, canon and civil law, the liberal arts, and every other lawful faculty.¹

In 1494 our own accomplished prince James IV. and the admirable Bishop Elphinstone founded the University of Aberdeen. Pope Alexander VI., in the preamble to the bull authorising the erection of the university, gives as his reason for granting it that a petition was presented by his dearest son in Christ, James, the illustrious King of Scots, desiring that the condition of the people of his kingdom might be improved; and considering that in the northern or north-eastern parts of his kingdom, there are certain places separated from the rest of the kingdom by arms of the sea and very high mountains, in which dwell men rude and ignorant of letters, and almost barbarous—'homines rudes et literarum ignari et fere indomiti,' who on account of the too great distance from the places in which universities flourish, and the dangerous passage to such places, cannot have leisure for the study of letters—nay, are so ignorant of those letters that, not only for preaching the Word of God to the people of these parts, but also for administering the sacraments of the Church, proper men cannot be found; and considering that if, in the famous city of Old Aberdeen, which is near enough to the places foresaid, there should flourish a

¹ Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis, i., p. 3.

university in all lawful faculties, very many men of the kingdom, and especially of those parts, as well ecclesiastics as laymen, would readily apply themselves to such study of letters, and acquire that most precious pearl of knowledge; the ignorant would be informed, and the rude become learned; and thus not only would provision be made to a great degree for the advantage of the common weal of the kingdom, but also for the salvation of souls, and the rude and ignorant people would be instructed in honest life and manners by others who would apply themselves to such study of letters.¹

This picture of the Highlands and Isles was not too highly coloured, there being even at this day some impediments to education in those parts of the country, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that Aberdeenshire and the eastern coasts and Lowlands of Scotland were so barbarous as this papal erection would lead us to suppose. John Barbour did not write 'The Brus' for a people altogether barbarous and ignorant of letters.²

Perhaps none of our national institutions has on the whole more fully realised the expectations of the founders than the University of Aberdeen. The civilising influence of this famous school of learning over the Highlands and Islands, as well as its solid contribution to the best part of the literature of Scotland, is a matter of history. It is also true that not a few of the best grammarians of Scotland have been masters of the grammar school of Aberdeen, including Vaus, Cargill, Reid, Wedderburn, Dun, Beattie, Melvin, and Geddes. It will be observed as a distinct feature in its history, that the university was not founded as a place for educating or recruiting churchmen alone. It was an institution for the people—for laymen as well as ecclesiastics; and perhaps in this document is found one of the earliest national provisions for the education of laymen, although as early as A.D. 1260 we have referred to a private endowment for the education of poor scholars, who,

¹ National MSS. of Scotland, part iii., No. 6.

² *Fasti Aberdonenses*, iv., v.

it may be thought, were not ecclesiastics.¹ In one great respect the result was disappointing to the Apostolic See. The Holy Fathers consented to the founding of general schools at St Andrews in 1413, at Glasgow in 1450, and at Aberdeen in 1494, that the Catholic faith, by an 'impregnable wall of doctors and masters, by whom she was surrounded, might be enabled to withstand heresies and errors, and grow strong.'² This result was not realised; for the universities, especially that of St Andrews, have done more than any other agency to bring about the Reformation: they

'Nursed the pinion which impelled the steel.'

Learning in Scotland may be said to date from the time when the church, after having founded schools all over the country, made the grand and successful effort to establish universities—'studia generalia,' in which the rich and the poor received together a liberal education.

§ 11. The schools as yet remained dependent on and under the superintendence of the church, the chancellor directing schools established in connection with the cathedral. Among the statutes of the church of Aberdeen, enacted in 1256, the duties of the chancellor are said to consist in preparing the charters of the chapter, reading letters in the chapter, and, as we read, 'it belongs to the dignity of the chancellor's office that he should supply a fit master, who shall have the direction of the schools of Aberdeen, and know how to teach the boys in grammar as well as in logic.'³

Unlike our universities, the constitution of many of the cathedrals in Scotland was formed on an English model, and those constitutions are of interest so far as they bear on the subject of this work. In the register of the bishopric of Glasgow is found a letter from the chapter of Sarum addressed to the venerable and discreet the dean and chapter of Glasgow, in answer to their letter inquiring as to the constitution

¹ *Supra*, p. 12.

² National MSS. of Scotland, part ii., No. 63.

³ *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ii., 45.

and customs of that church. The dean and chapter of Sarum inform their brethren that, according to the instruction of Osmund, of happy memory, founder of their church, there are four principal persons in that cathedral, namely, the dean, chanter, chancellor, treasurer, four archdeacons, besides a subdean and subchanter. The duties of the chancellor consist in ruling the schools—‘in scholis regendis,’ repairing and correcting books, hearing and determining lessons—‘auscultare lecciones et terminare,’ keeping the seal of the chapter, preparing charters, and reading letters that are to be read in the chapter.¹ In the same record there is a deed or instrument declaring that Master Martin, chancellor, and his predecessors, chancellors of Glasgow, are, and have been, according to the statutes of the church of Glasgow, and the privileges of the dean and chapter, confirmed by apostolic authority, undisturbedly and beyond the memory of men—‘inconcusse et ultra memoriam hominum,’ in peaceable possession of the right of instituting and deposing—‘instituendi et destituendi,’ the master of the grammar school of Glasgow, and of having the care and direction of the said school, and mastership of the same—‘magisterium ejusdem,’ so that without the licence of the chancellor no one can keep a grammar school, and instruct and teach the scholars in grammar or the youths in the rudiments—‘in puerilibus,’ in the city of Glasgow.²

Bricius bishop of Moray, who succeeded to that see in 1203, adopted the constitution of Lincoln for his cathedral, the nature of which was ascertained by a mission to England. The duties of the chancellor of Lincoln consisted in superintending the schools of theology—‘scolas theologic regere,’ and it pertained to his dignity that no one should teach—‘nullus potest legere,’ without his licence. He had the disposal of all the schools in the earldom of Lincoln, excepting those which are in the prebends. In 1489, among the statutes and acts of convocation of the chapter of Moray

¹ Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, i., No. 211, p. 170.

² Ibid., ii., No. 470, p. 490.

is one headed, 'pro cancellario de scola generali.' The general school, it provides, must be built by those who ought to erect it at the town of Elgin in the place assigned for this purpose, and the chancellor is to see that a fit man be appointed for ruling and governing the school, teaching those who come to it, and instructing them in grammar.¹

The constitution of the chapter of Dunkeld was likewise modelled after Sarum—'ad instar Sarum.' The historian of the bishops of Dunkeld, writing in the beginning of the sixteenth century, relates that Master George Brown, chancellor of the cathedral, not unmindful of his office, had endowed, in honour of our Lady of Consolation, a scholastic chaplain—'scolasticum capellanum perpetuum,' who was to serve in the church of St George, and be master of the grammar school—'scolam grammaticalem rectorum.' The annalist tells us that the chancellor intended to make another foundation for promoting grammatical learning, from which the church may expect many good scholars learned in grammar if it be kept up—'si servetur ecclesie doctos grammaticam dabit.'²

In the register of the bishopric of Brechin there is recorded an obligation of the chapter, dated 20th October 1429, engaging to observe all things contained in the charter of the mighty and potent prince Walter, son of the king, regarding the perpetual foundation of two chaplains. One of these chaplains was ordained to have the charge and direction of the schools of grammar for the chancellor, with all and each the fees, customs, and profits pertaining to the school, in which the chaplain is to labour during the hours unoccupied with divine things—'horis vacantibus in diuinis.'³

Looking further north, we discover an arrangement of very considerable interest in the school history of the king-

¹ Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis, pp. 57, 270.

² Vitæ Dunkeldensis Ecclesiæ Episcoporum, p. 59.

³ Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, ii., No. xvii., p. 26.

dom. Shortly after the Orkneys were granted in pledge to Scotland as part of the dowry of Queen Margaret of Norway, Kirkwall, on the 31st March 1486, was erected into a royal burgh, and the cathedral and bishopric were conveyed to the town, with a condition that the rents thereof should be used in supporting the church and school.¹ On 28th October 1544, the good Bishop Reid of Orkney founded and erected certain offices in the cathedral for the service of God; among these was a grammar school, of which the master, a chaplain—'sacellanus,' to whom was allotted the chaplaincy of St Peter, shall be, it is provided, a graduate of arts, and hold no other offices in the cathedral.²

In 1434 occurs the earliest authentic notice of the school of Dundee, in which, according to Blind Harry's ballad, our national hero, Sir William Wallace, was educated. On 22d August of that year, Sir Gilbert Knycht, priest—'presbyter,' compeared before the bishop of Brechin, who acknowledged his shortcomings—'defectus,' and prayed the bishop to pardon him for disobeying his lawful commands, in appealing with regard to the government of the school to the abbot of Lundores, who collated him to the benefice thereof. Sir Gilbert withdraws the appeal wickedly made by him, and resigns all his right to the schools and to their government to the bishop, who accepts the resignation and collates to the same Master Lawrence Lownan.³

The convention general and provincial council of the church, which met at Edinburgh on 27th November 1549, ordains the archdeacon of St Andrews to provide a master of the grammar school in that city, who shall be versed in grammatical knowledge, imbued with good morals—'bonis moribus,' and competent to teach to the boys the rudiments of grammar—'puerilia grammaticæ.'⁴ The last clause of this statute, says Mr Joseph Robertson, preserves a trace of the ancient usage of St Andrews, where there then was no chan-

¹ Peterkin's Rentals of Orkney, App. 42.

² Ibid., 23.

³ Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, i., No. 42, p. 62.

⁴ Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ; ii., No. 201, 105.

cellor; and the archdeacon, in right of his office of ferleyn, a remnant of the old Celtic church, had charge of the schools.¹

The earliest record of an actual collation by the chancellor of a master to a grammar school is in the burgh records of Aberdeen, in which we find a deed dated 10th October 1418, headed, 'pro libertate et facultate presentandi magistrum scolarem.' In it Duncan chancellor of the church of Aberdeen sets forth that whereas to the dignity of the chancery the collation of the benefice of the master of the schools is known by clear right to belong; and the schools of the burgh being now vacant by the death of Andrew of Syves, late vicar of Bervy, last master, Master John Homyll, an honest, prudent, and discreet man, is presented to the same, and having been examined regarding his sufficiency, and being found of good life, laudable conversation, 'et honeste magne literature et sciencie propter quam scienciam non immerito in artibus graduatur'—the chancellor has given him corporal and real possession of the foresaid benefice, 'per donationem birreti mei.' ²

Abbey schools were under the direction of the abbot as representing the bishop. In 1486 an arrangement was made for three years between the abbot and convent of Aberbrothoc, and a schoolmaster, a discreet clerk, Master Archibald Lame, for teaching the novices and young brethren.³ The grammar school of Edinburgh was under the superintendence of the Abbey of Holyrood, founded by David I. In his great charter he grants to the monks the churches of the Castle and of St Cuthbert, with all appendages and rights.⁴ In other instances we have seen that the conveyance of the church frequently included the schools; and it may be supposed that David's charter granted to Holyrood the school of the Canongate and the grammar school of Edinburgh, as

¹ Statuta Ecclesiarum Scoticarum, ii., No. 290.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc, No. 295, p. 245.

⁴ Nat. MSS. of Scotland, i., xvi.; Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis, p. 3.

well as the churches.¹ In support of this, it may be noted that James V. confirms a charter by George bishop of Dunkeld, abbot of the Holy Cross, appointing Master Henry Henryson one of the masters of the grammar school. The abbot's charter runs: 'As it is clearly known to us, that our lovite clerk and orator, Master David Vocat, principal master and teacher of our grammar school, has chosen his lovite friend and disciple, Master Hary Henryson, to be joint master with him in the said school, and to have half the profits thereof during the lifetime of Master David Vocat, and that after his decease Master Hary Henryson shall be his successor; and because we, the abbot and convent, understanding that Master Hary is an able and sufficiently qualified person for the office, he having made good and "perite" scholars when he was master of our school of the Canongate, ratify and approve the admission of Master Hary Henryson, to be co-master of the grammar school with Master David Vocat, and to be principal master after his decease. Master Hary Henryson is taken bound to be the good, true, and thankful servitor of the abbot and convent, and their successors, during his lifetime, and to attend high mass and evensong at the high, solem festival times, with his surplices on, to do them service, as effeirs.'²

Dunfermline had also its abbey school,³ which is believed to have been honoured towards the end of the fifteenth century with the schoolmaster, 'gud Maister Robert Henrisoun,'⁴ as he is described by Dunbar in his well-known poem, 'The Lament for the Death of the Makaris.'⁵ On 13th October 1573, a complaint came before the Lords of Privy Council, at

¹ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, v., p. 69.

² Registrum Magni Sigilli, xxiii., No. 157.

³ The school was probably as old as the abbey founded in A.D. 1124; the grammar school was destroyed with the great abbey in March, 1560.

⁴ Henryson was a notary public, as well as a schoolmaster; he is designated 'schoolmaster of Dunfermline' first on the title of his Fables in 1570 and 1571, and again on his Cresseid in 1593: Henryson's Poems, p. xv. (Laing's ed.).

⁵ Henryson's Poems and Fables, p. xxi. (Laing's ed.).

the instance of 'John Henrysoun of the Grammar School within the Abbey of Dunfermline,' stating that he and his predecessors had continued masters and teachers of the youth in letter and doctrine to their great commodity, within the said school, past memory of man, admitted thereto by the abbots of Dunfermline for the time,¹ to whom only he was amenable.

From a contract registered in the books of the town of Haddington, dated 15th November 1576, it appears that the abbot of Holyrood was also patron of the grammar school of that burgh. The school having in that year fallen into disorder and 'sklander,' the Town Council prevailed upon the teacher to renounce all right and claim which he had to the mastership thereof; and for better verification of his demission he 'delivered to the Council, for cancel, his presentation and admission to the office of schoolmaster, with the lords' letters thereupon, granted to him by Adam, commendator of the Abbey of Holyrood, and confirmed by the king.'²

In addition to the cathedral and abbey schools, there were also collegiate schools founded in connection with *prepositura* or college churches, instituted for performing divine service and singing masses for the souls of the founders, patrons, and their friends. There were thirty-three collegiate churches in Scotland,³ and Principal Lee thinks that it was for maintaining schools that the rents of several of them were granted.⁴ The direction of these schools probably belonged to the provost. There are still preserved the writs describing the origin of the schools of the ancient burgh of Crail. An instrument dated 9th November 1525 bears that in presence of the bailies and others of the community of the burgh, patrons of the altar of the Holy Cross within the collegiate church of Crail, appeared Sir William Myrtoun founder thereof, and proponed it as his intention to found within the burgh a

¹ Registrum Secreti Sigilli.

² Burgh Records of Haddington.

³ Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, p. 284.

⁴ Lee's History of the Church of Scotland, i., 49.

school for teaching grammar.¹ Sir William Myrtoun's intention does not appear to have been carried into effect, the grammar school having been endowed by Sir David Bowman, prebendary of the altar of St James the Apostle in the college church of St Mary of Crail, who granted a charter on 5th October 1542, establishing the school and appointing his kinsman, Mr John Bowman, priest, preceptor thereof. The inductive cause of the grant is the offering of prayers for the prosperity and safety of James V., Mary his queen, David archbishop of St Andrews, his own soul, those of his father, Hugh, and mother, Elizabeth, and his brother, Sir John Bowman, deceased. The pious founder disposes as an endowment to the school, certain crofts, tenements, houses, biggings, lands, and gardens, and declares that the right of patronage of the school, and admission to the chaplaincy with which he endowed it, pertains to himself during his life, and after his death to the honourable and discreet men, bailies, and burgesses of the burgh, and their successors. Some of the provisions of the deed are curious: Master John the priest, and his successors, are forbidden to be gamblers—'aleatores,' card-players—'cartarii,' drunkards—'potatores'—night-watchmen—'nocturni vigiles,' or to have a housekeeper or public concubine—'focariam seu publicam concubinam.'² In 1545, the college of Biggar, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was founded by Malcolm Lord Fleming, great chamberlain, for a provost, eight prebendaries, four singing-boys, and six poor men; the founder appoints one of the prebendaries to be teacher of the grammar school.³

§ 12. Our burgh schools were not created by an Act of Parliament; they had their origin in connection with the church, or were called into existence by the people themselves; but in whatever way they were founded, undoubtedly towards the end of the fifteenth century schools were planted in every considerable town in Scotland; and the memorable Act of 1496, which has been so frequently quoted, assumes

¹ The Original in the charter chest of Crail.

² Ibid.

³ The Original in the Wigton charter chest.

the existence of schools enough for supplying the people with knowledge of art, 'jure,' and 'perfect Latin.' This Act was passed in the reign of James IV.—Ariosto's hero—the most accomplished of our Scottish kings. In it the king ordains, that all burgesses and freeholders of substance shall send their eldest sons and heirs to school, 'fra thai be auct or nyne zeires of age,' and to remain there 'quhill they be competentlie foundit and have perfite Latyne.' The statute further provides that the sons shall thereafter remain three years at the schools of art and 'jure.'¹ The object of this early example of 'compulsory education' is a high one, namely, that 'justice may reign universally throughout the realm, and that those who are sheriffs or judges may have knowledge to do justice, so that the poor people should have no need to see our sovereign lord's principal auditors for every little injury.' The penalty for neglect of this Act is twenty pounds, but unfortunately no record is preserved showing that it had ever been enforced.²

The Act has been censured for not going far enough by some who urge that it only provides for the education of *eldest* sons of barons and freeholders, but makes no provision for instructing the rest of the family, or the poorer people, or girls! In answer to such objections, we have the high authority of Lord Neaves, who, in his inaugural address as Rector of St Andrews University in 1872, deprecated the idea that the Act was passed for the rich as compared with the poor, or that the benefits sought to be derived from it were partial or one-sided, and not designed for the advantage of rich and poor, high and low. The Act, it may be said, was in its conception far in advance of its time, and although the higher class of the community only were to receive the training ordained by the Act, the poor are specially mentioned as those for whose benefit the provision was made. Our forefathers—who proved to be wise and good legislators

¹ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, 1496, c. 3, ii., 238.

² Mr Burton thinks that this, like many other Scottish Acts, was rather hortatory than legislative: *History of Scotland*, iv. 100 (1st ed.).

four hundred years ago—attempted to make education partially *compulsory*, and we must not reflect on them, if they did not carry out such a comprehensive measure as some would like to see in the nineteenth century. It is enough for our purpose to note that in no other country was such an Act passed at so early a period, and the Act shows that there were minds then at work with liberal forecast for the welfare of the country.¹

At a later period there are preserved many stringent ordinances of town councils commanding parents to send their children to the burgh or grammar school; but even before the Reformation there appears to have been such a thirst for letters that the authorities found it difficult to suppress private schools, which were springing up in the principal burghs, notwithstanding the strenuous endeavours made from time to time to extinguish them.² We cannot, it is true, produce figures or statistics showing the actual attendance, yet we sometimes meet with incidental notices of scholars, tending to prove that the schools were numerous attended. Thus at the grammar school of Perth, taught by Andrew Simpson, that distinguished teacher and grammarian³ sometimes had as many as three hundred scholars under his charge, including sons of the nobility, gentry, yeomen, and burgesses;⁴ and the following incident told of them, shows the party to which they were likely to ally themselves at the Reformation, which was close at hand. The boys had, it would seem, a copy of the most popular book in Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Sir David Lyndsay's '*Satyre of the Three Estates*,'⁵—and being struck with the resemblance of some of his descriptions with the manner of a friar who was preaching against heretics, expressed their

¹ Innes's *Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities*, p. 130. ² *Infra*, p. 32.

³ Author of the admirable '*Rudimenta Grammatices in gratiam juventutis Scoticæ conscripta*,' first published in Edinburgh in 1557.

⁴ *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. vii.

⁵ From 1558 to 1614, fourteen complete editions of Lyndsay's works were published: Lee's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ii., 361.

disapprobation of the preacher by hissing him so emphatically that he became alarmed, and ran out of the church.¹

Sir David Lyndsay, in his 'Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo,' written in 1530, is emphatic as to the duty of attending school :

'Gar lordis send thair sonnis, . . .
To seik science, and famous sculis frequent ;
Syne thame promote that wer moste sapient ;'

and when James V. was taken from school at the age of twelve and placed at the head of the government, our satirist in his 'Complaynt,' says :

'Imprudentlie, lyk wytles fuilis,
Thay tuke that young prince from the scuilis,
Quhare he, under obedience,
Was lernand vertew and science.'

The poet warns his royal master of the deceitfulness of the representations made to him by his intriguing councillors :

'Schir, sum wald say your Majestie
Sall now go to your lybertie ;
Ye sall to no man be coactit,
Nor to the scule no more subjectit :
We thynk thame verray naturall fulis,
That lernis our mekle at the scuilis !'

Parliament passed another great measure previous to the Reformation—a measure which not only accelerated that event, but powerfully contributed towards diffusing the blessings of education, especially a knowledge of the vernacular language among all classes. An Act passed in 1542, grants to the people the privilege of having the Scriptures, 'baith the New Testament and the Auld, in the vulgar toung in Inglis or Scottis,' without incurring pains for having or reading the same, provided that no man dispute or hold opinions contrary to the Acts of Parliament. This privilege is granted because 'ther was na law schewin nor producit in the contrar,' but on the same day the archbishop of Glasgow, for himself and all the prelates of the realm, dissented until such

¹ Lee's History of the Church of Scotland, i., 262.

time as a provincial council of the clergy should decide 'gif the samin be necessar, and therupoun askit instrumentis.'¹ Sir David Lindsay, in his 'Exclamation touching the vulgar and maternal tongue,' written in 1552, says :²

' Bot let us haif the Bukis necessare
To common weill and our salvatioun.
Justlye translated in our toung vulgare.'

§ 13. Till the beginning of the sixteenth century, church schools and burgh schools appear to have been more or less under the superintendence of the church, and up to that period there is little evidence that the burghs exercised much control in the appointment of the masters, or the management of the schools. But from that time downwards the church was becoming less and less influential—at least in the principal burghs—in the management and superintendence of the schools, and the burghs were more and more taking the control of them into their own hands.

Though this seems to be the general conclusion, as gathered from records, it would not be safe to say that the practice was uniform. For example, from an entry in the records of the burgh of Peebles, we learn that so early as 1st October 1464, the bailies and the neighbours appointed Sir William Blaklok schoolmaster of the burgh, and ordained that he should

¹ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, 1542 c. 12, ii., 415. In the account of the High Treasurer of Scotland occurs this entry : ' 28 March 1543, gevin to Johne Rob, messinger passand to Dumfermling and Perth to proclame twa lettres tueching the having of the Scripture in Inglis, xxiii.' John Knox states the effect of the Act : ' Then mycht have bene sein the Byble almaist upoun everie gentilmanis table. The New Testament was borne about in many menis handes : ' History of the Reformation, i. 100 (Laing's ed.). Two Acts passed in 1525 c. and 1535, stand in curious juxtaposition to 1542 c. 12 ; they are entitled, ' Acts anent the damnable opunyeouns of heresy,' and seek to guard against the heresy spread in diverse countries by the heretic Luther and his disciples, by preventing ' any strangers that happins to arrife with their schippis,' from importing any of his works, and from disputing or rehearsing any of their opinions, ' bot geif it be to the confusioun thereof, and that be clerks in the sculis alanerlie : ' 1525 c. 4, ii. 295 ; 1535 c. 2, ii. 341.

² Works of Lyndsay, i., 253 (Laing's Ed.).

have the profit of the school for the children that he teaches; in May 1468 Sir Lowrans Johnson was chosen schoolmaster of Peebles, the bailies coming under obligation that he shall be paid for the children he teaches 'lyk as wont and wa is'² —perhaps the first appearance in our records of the phrase so much used in our own day:

Those two schoolmasters were churchmen, as is evidenced by the title prefixed to the name, and by a very humble application, made seven years after his appointment, by the said Lowrans Johnson, who in 1475 meekly besought the bailies and neighbours that they would vouchsafe to grant him a service in Holy Church that falls in their gift.³ The patrons statute and ordain that the first service that falls vacant shall be given to the said Sir Lowrans, 'he beand beisse of techyn and kenying upon the childer' in his school late and early when time is. But so far as the town records go, there is no indication that the ecclesiastical authorities had any voice in the election of the schoolmaster at Peebles. The school of Ayr was under the control of the town council before the Reformation. In 1550 the provost and bailies of the burgh passed an ordinance, suppressing rival schools in the burgh, and in the following year they chose a schoolmaster for one year; in 1551, George Cochrane, parish clerk of Ayr, offers to teach a sang school within the burgh.⁴

Although the salaries of the masters and the expense of maintaining the grammar school house fell on the burghs at an early period, it does not appear, notwithstanding the cases of Peebles and Ayr, that they had at first much voice in the choosing of the teacher, this right being claimed by the chancellor, abbot, and provost, as pertaining to their dignity. The burghs, however, began at last to assert their right in appointing masters of the grammar school. Thus we learn that on 28th June 1509, the provost, bailies, and community of Aberdeen presented Master John Merschell to the grammar

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

school of that burgh vacant by the decease of umquhile Master William Strathachin—who was collated by the chancellor, and admitted him to the schools by the gift of a pair of beads, bestowing on him the right to all commodities, freedoms and profits pertaining to the office.¹ This appointment was made without any reference to the chancellor, who had hitherto presented and collated the schoolmaster to his office; but it was evidently called in question, for on 13th January 1521 Master John Merschell was thus interrogated by the bailies and magistrates: 'Who appointed him to his office?' He answered that it was the 'good town of Aberdeen,' he undertaking to render to them and their bairns all his service and pleasure, and having 'renouncit his compulsitor of the court of Rome in all poyntes.'² It would seem from this that he appealed to Rome, and got a decree in his favour.

Unfortunately we do not know the circumstances of this case, but there is little doubt the quarrel arose between the church and the burgh as to which of them possessed the patronage of the grammar school. On 27th November 1523, Master John Merschell, master of the grammar school, whose appointment is here recorded, admits that he has offended his masters, the good town, prays them to pardon him, and confesses that he held the school of them as his predecessors before him.³ It would thus appear that in the struggle between 'town' and 'gown,' the former was victorious; and accordingly we find that in 1538 the provost, bailies, and council elected Master Hew Munro to be master of the grammar school, and ordained him to go to the chancellor of Aberdeen for his admission conform to the king's command.⁴ And on the same day, Master Laurence Chene, scribe of the consistory of Aberdeen, in name of the right worshipful clerk, Master John Reid, chancellor and commissary general of Aberdeen, showed to the provost and council how he had chosen an able, suitable, and discreet man to be master of their grammar school, named Master Robert Skene, and

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

begged them and the whole town to receive him thankfully, because the admission and presentation of the mastership pertained to him. If Master Robert Skene were not fit for the office, he promised to remove him, and appoint another person in his place.¹ The deliverance of the town council in answer to the claim put forward by the chancellor is not preserved; but subsequent events showed that in the competition between the church and the town council for the patronage of the schools, the town was successful; for on 14th July 1544, the whole council all in one voice assigned and granted to their servitor, Master Hew Munro, master of the grammar school, a yearly pension for his diligent labours for the instruction and learning of the bairns of the school.² On 14th April 1550, he resigns the office of master of the grammar school 'to be disposed by the town as it thinks fit;' and accordingly, four days later, the town elected Master James Chalmer, to be master of the grammar school, and presented him to the chancellor for admission by him as in times past.³

§ 14. The patrons of the schools, whether the church or town councils, or both, were always ready to support and further the interest of the schools under their charge according to their lights. The chief mode by which they sought to encourage their schools consisted in extinguishing all private schools, schools not sanctioned by them, the proper authorities. Of this there are many instances on record. Thus the chancellor of Glasgow prosecuted before his bishop Robert Blacader, Master David Dun, who had actually presumed to teach and instruct scholars in grammar, and youths in the rudiments, within the city and University of Glasgow, without his licence. The bishop decreed that Master David Dun should hold no grammar school, or teach and instruct the scholars in grammar, or the youth in the rudiments, without the special licence of the chancellor for the time, asked and obtained.⁴ In like manner, on the 11th April 1519, the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh ordain, for reason-

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, ii., 490, 491.

able causes, that no indweller of the burgh send his bairns to any other school in the town than to the principal grammar school, under penalty of ten shillings from each person that does in the contrary.¹ On 13th January 1521, the master of the grammar school of Aberdeen claims that it shall be 'lesum to him to persew the techaris of grammar within the burgh.'² On 4th September 1524, the abbot and convent of Holyrood discharge all others in Edinburgh from teaching grammar schools within the burgh than the master of the principal grammar school, under the pains contained in the 'Papis bullis.'³

We gather from the burgh records of Ayr that not only was the keeping of private schools strictly prohibited within the burgh, but that the masters of such schools were compelled to repay to the master of the grammar school any fees collected by them. Thus on 28th February 1550, the judge ordains Thomas Falconer and Thomas Speir, scholars, to make payment to the schoolmaster of the burgh of the scholages uptaken by them from the children of the school of Ayr, at the term of Candlemas last; they and all other clerks are commanded to desist from holding any schools in all time coming within this burgh, the burgh schoolmaster alone having authority to keep a school; the magistrates command their officers to proclaim this ordinance at the market cross of the burgh, so that its terms be observed in all time coming.⁴

Those restrictions were accompanied by certain exceptions under which the higher education only was protected. It will be seen that in the cases quoted, reference is made to 'grammar schools,' while in several there are exceptions showing the extent to which the prohibition applied. Thus the ordinance dated 11th April 1519 in the burgh records of Edinburgh prohibits the bairns to be sent to any other

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Registrum Magni Sigilli, xxiii., No. 157.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

school than the grammar school of the city for being taught in any science, 'but only grace buke, prymer, and plane donatt.'¹ And in the confirmation of the ordinance by the Abbey of Holyrood, the prohibition bears to be 'except the teching and hering of lectouris alanerly.'² The obvious intention of the prohibition seems to have been of a strictly protective character, but it is not difficult to find advantages springing from the restriction in the preservation of the status and dignity of the mastership, through which the services of men of culture and learning were secured. As regards the simpler rudiments of learning and the teaching of the vulgar tongue, the time had not yet come for such an arrangement.

§ 15. As to the endowment of schools for masters and scholars, there are few data before the Reformation to guide us. That schools and scholars were endowed, and received maintenance from endowments, from a very early time, is quite certain; and it is also equally certain that these endowments were in course of time diverted more or less from the purpose for which they were intended. We have already seen that there was an endowment at Ellon in A.D. 1387 for four scholars; but the scholar lands were not enjoyed by the scholars themselves, being held by tenants who had become hereditary, and possessed their lands on condition of supplying four scholars for the parish kirk of Ellon.³ In 1489, the chapter of Moray ordained that the rector of the church of Kincardine be cited to govern, rule, and teach the school, for which purpose he possesses and holds his rectory.⁴ Here we see that the endowments set apart for the maintenance of the school were enjoyed by a person who failed to perform the duty incumbent on him.

On 20th January 1460, Simon Dalglish, precentor and 'officiar' of Glasgow, dispones a tenement 'lyand in the Meikle Wynd' of the burgh, to Master Alexander Galbraith,

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh. For a notice of the 'Donat' see p. 48, note 3, and p. 49, note 3.

² *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, xxiii., No. 157.

³ *Supra*, p. 8. ⁴ *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, pp. 57, 270.

rector of the grammar school, and to his successors in office, on the condition that he and the scholars 'perform some popish rites;' the council of the burgh shall be patrons, governors, and defenders of the donation.¹ In 1494 William Stewart, canon of Glasgow, endows a chaplaincy in St Ninian's Chapel, and stipulates that the chaplain, master of the grammar school, shall, after the founder's death, commend him every night to all the scholars before they part, causing them to pray devoutly for his soul and the souls of all the faithful deceased.²

In 1542, a prebendary in the collegiate church of Crail endows the grammar school of Crail by disponsing a croft of six and a half acres, with tenements and gardens lying as specified; another croft of arable land, called Lyne Croft, containing half an acre; also his tenement, with several houses, biggings, and yards, lying in the overgate or mercat gate; with a fold above the garden toward the north, extending up to the common loan between the land of the Holy Cross on the west, and the land belonging to the prebendary of the Blessed Virgin on the east.³ On the 10th June 1560, the master of the grammar school for the time set in feu-farm and heritage a tenement on the north side of the market gate, with 'ane larch buith on the east side of the foryett' of the said tenement, together with the whole lands, houses, yards, and biggings lying within the burgh roods, in a place called the East Green, having the east burn of the burgh at the west, and the common east loan at the east, for payment of a yearly feu fail of ten merks of money to the masters of the grammar school.⁴ The feu-duty continued to be paid to the masters of the grammar school, as appears from a decree of the burgh court of Crail in favour of the master of the grammar school in 1593. On 12th March of that year, the

¹ From the Inventory of the Burgh Records of Glasgow made at the end of the seventeenth century, by a person who evidently was not a friend of the Old Church.

² *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii., No. 469, 490.

³ The Original in the charter chest of Crail.

⁴ Charter of the Kirklands in the General Register House at Edinburgh.

provost, bailies, and council of the burgh, undoubted patrons of the prebend of St Michael, with consent of the last prebendary, who demitted his right in their favour, understanding the earnest care and travail taken by the schoolmaster, the complainer, in reading at the kirk and teaching the grammar school unrecompensed, they, as patrons, grant and dispoise to him the prebend of St Michael, for his stipend during the time that he shall continue reader at the kirk and teacher of the school.¹ Bishop Reid founded a grammar school in connection with his cathedral at Kirkwall in 1544, and endowed it with the altarage of St Peter, and the sang school with the altarage of St Augustine.²

The ancient endowments granted to schools have, as far as we could discover, been secularised and diverted from the purpose for which they were set apart, and all that the charter scholar can now discover is the fact of the mortification having been once made in support of the school, the records leaving no trace of how it passed out of the possession of the school.

§ 16. There is very little information available as to the salaries enjoyed by the masters of schools previous to the Reformation, but the following notices will be read with some interest. From the accounts of the burgh of Aberdeen, extending from 1433 to 1438, we learn that the magistrates paid to the master of the schools 40s.³ The next entry quoted is very vague, owing to no sum being stated. In the records of Peebles we read that on 19th January 1466, the head court of the burgh find that a Master John Doby should 'have all the school, and that those who pwt ony barnys tyll hym suld pay hym a yerris pament.'⁴ We learn from the Exchequer Rolls that in 1467-8, Alexander Lesly of Balcomy, chamberlain of the earldoms of Marr and Gariuach,

¹ Act Buik of the Commissariat of St Andrews. The lands, houses, and tenements given by the founder are not now in possession of the burgh, and the town treasurer has not been able to find any trace of the transaction in the town's books, showing how the endowment has passed out of the burgh's possession.

² Peterkin's Rentals of Orkney, App. 23.

³ Spalding Miscellany, v., 45.

⁴ Burgh Records of Peebles.

paid to Master Simon Doddis, tutor—'instructori'—of the Earl of Marr, by command of our lord the king, for the two terms of this account, £10.¹

On 7th June 1479, the alderman and the council of Aberdeen, at the instance of letters from our sovereign lord, my lord of Aberdeen, and Master Alexander Inglis, chancellor, granted to Master Thomas Strathachin, master of the grammar schools of Aberdeen, that he shall have yearly of the common good of the town £5 Scots, until he shall be promoted to a service within the kirk of St Nicholas of Aberdeen, he undertaking to make diligent and good service for the information and instruction of the bairns at his goodly power.² In 1486 the abbot and convent of Arbroath engaged Master Archibald Lame for three years for teaching, he receiving annually 10 merks Scots, besides his daily portions.³

The next entry will be read with especial interest, as indicating how the chief duty of our recently-created school boards—that of assessing the people, was performed three and a half centuries ago. On 7th May 1529, the whole town of Aberdeen convened in the tolbooth, 'by the hand bell passing through all the rows of the town,' and consented to give Master John Bisset, master of the grammar school, yearly and termly, the sum of £10 Scots, to help to pay his board until he is provided with a benefice of 10 merks Scots, for ruling, guiding, and teaching the school, which is now deserted and destitute of bairns, and it will take a long time before it comes to such a perfection that the master will derive much profit from it.⁴ This gift, with the excellent reason for its bestowal, remained, however, but a short time in force. On the 10th day of January following, the whole town again assembled and consented to the selling of Master John Bisset's pension of 10 merks, given to him for the 'will' of their grammar school and bairns, as is contained in the bond made to him on the said pension,

¹ Exchequer Rolls, No. 259.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc, No. 295, p. 245.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

and ordains the keepers of their common seal to sell the bond with the town's common seal.¹ On 23d March 1536, as we learn from the records of Edinburgh, Master Adam Mure, master of the grammar school there, renounced bygone pensions and acts made in his favour, for which the bailies and magistrates gave him 20 merks yearly, until he be provided with a benefice worth £20 yearly, and £20 for the bygone pensions.² On 27th November 1542, the whole council of Aberdeen, all in one voice, passed an ordinance of which the following appears to be the meaning: the master of the grammar school shall have 4s. Scots, at the least, from the 'soberest' person that receives him on St Nicholas' day, for his wage, every other honest man giving him at his pleasure; and if any honest man of reputation, either craftsman or any other, denies him admission, he shall pay 4s. to the master, and 7s. to the bailies, unforgiven for unlaw, and the officers will distrain and poind his effects for the same. The reason given for this ordinance is, that the master 'has no other fee to live on, like his predecessors and other masters of other schools';³ showing, we think, that while there was no education rate, there was a species of voluntary assessment in operation in Aberdeen, somewhat akin to that which, down to our own day, provided for the necessitous poor of Scotland. In July 1544, there is an order by the magistrates of Aberdeen that 10 merks be paid yearly to Master Hew Munro, master of the grammar school, until he be provided with some other living, for learning and instructing their bairns;⁴ again, on 25th March 1546, a year's pension is ordered to be paid to him, every freeman receiving him and the bishop at St Nicholas Mass, 'conform to the old and loveable use of the burgh, giving him his wages in the old manner, according to their estates.'⁵ In the council records of Edinburgh there is to be found a letter addressed by Queen Mary to the provost, bailies, and council of the burgh, commanding them to make

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

payment to the master of the grammar school of the sums due to him by the town, being 20 merks yearly of fee, and 20 merks yearly for the rent of a sufficient schoolhouse, which they and their predecessors, by their 'actis vse and consuetude are bound to furnish to him for instructing their bairns and upbringing them in virtue, as ane act of their bukis maid to him in the yeir of God 1546 proportis.'¹ In May 1551, a schoolmaster is chosen for Ayr, he having 'feall and casualty as Master Nele had before.'² On 9th December 1551, John Forrest obliged himself to pay to the master of the 'schule' of Haddington 30s. within eight days.³ In 1552, Alexander Park, treasurer of Edinburgh, pays to the master of the grammar school, for his fee, £13, 6s. 8d.⁴

In 1555, the Peebles records furnish another vague entry, yet valuable in what it does give. Here, as in the other entry already quoted,⁵ there is no sum stated, but the bailies are ordered to cause the schoolmaster to be paid in time coming, half quarterly.⁶ The bailies are also to provide him with a chamber where it may be got most conveniently, and also with the use of the tolbooth to teach his bairns reading and writing English. This entry occurs in May, and in November a further entry occurs, in which the bailies and whole community agree to pay to Master William Newdry, 'three pounds of money for the terms bygone at Martinmas next to come, and half quarterly in time coming.'⁷ This entry, however, sheds little light on the rate of payment given to the schoolmaster, as no period is given for which the payment of £3 is made. We are more fortunate in several succeeding entries, from the records of Peebles. In 1556, Sir William Tunno is appointed schoolmaster, for which the town becomes bound that they shall cause their treasurer to pay to the said Sir William, termly at Candlemas, Beltane, Lammas, and All-Hallows, 50s., and shall find him an honest

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Ayr.

³ Burgh Records of Haddington.

⁴ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 35.

⁶ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁷ *Ibid.*

chamber at their expense, with chimney, closet, and necessities, excepting furnishing.¹ This arrangement does not seem to have lasted; and in January following, the bailies are ordained to give Master John Lowys, 20 merks of fee for teaching the grammar school, and to provide his chamber himself.² By March 1558, still another change appears to have been made in this school, as on that date William Haldane is appointed to teach the grammar school till Lammas, entering at Pasche, and to have for his pains 40s., 'and his adventures till the said term.'³ That this was only a temporary and tentative measure, is seen in the provision that if any qualified man can be got, the said Walter shall be removed, or otherwise agree to be 'doctor' and teach under him. Although not strictly concerned with the point now under discussion, we are tempted to quote an entry only four months later, when the burgh, apparently still in an unsettled state as regards the schoolmaster, ordains (28th July 1558) the young man who desires to teach the school to come up to Peebles and 'convene with the bailies and council on the subject.'⁴

The case of Master Robert Dormont, schoolmaster of Haddington, affords an early instance of the distinct assignment of a salary to the office of master, and a rate per head from the number of scholars. In 1559 the town council of Haddington, on 12th October, engaged him to be schoolmaster of the burgh for 24 merks in the year, to be paid from the common good of the burgh, besides 12d. termly of 'schoolhouse fee for each town bairn; and the doctor shall be paid 4d. termly for each bairn by the parents or friends of the bairn.' The arrangement was apparently an established one, as the agreement concludes with the words, 'as use and wont was before.' The council further undertook to find for Master Dormont 'ane chalmer and skoillhouse mail fre.'⁵

On 6th May 1560, the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh ordained their treasurer to pay to Master William

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Haddington.

Robertoun, master of the grammar school, the sum of 10 merks for his fee at Martinmas term last bypast.¹ On 21st March of the same year, the bailies and council of Aberdeen augmented the pension of Master John Henderson, master of the grammar school, with the sum of 20 merks, making in all 50 merks, and they oblige themselves to cause payment to be made to him of the annual rents and duty of his chaplaincy of St Michael, for all terms resting bygone.² In October 1559, we read in the burgh records of Peebles, that if the master teach the children more diligently, whereby they conceive more wisdom, the town shall have consideration thereof³—an early example of ‘payment by results!’ A still further instance of a like disposition, is seen in an ordinance of October 1562, where the schoolmaster receives 40s. with the addition that as he makes ‘cause’ in teaching the children, and they increase in science and knowledge, the said 40s. shall be freely given to him; but failing thereof, the same shall be allowed in his fee, he thereafter providing for himself.⁴

§ 17. Generally before the Reformation the masters of the grammar and sang schools received their appointment during lifetime. The earliest example found on this point occurs in 1418, when the chancellor of Aberdeen gave symbolical delivery of the office of master ‘pro toto tempore vite sue remansuro’ to Master John Homyll ‘per donationem birreti.’⁵ On 28th June 1509, the provost, bailies, and community of Aberdeen presented Master John Merschell to the grammar schools ‘for all the dais of his live;’ he was admitted by the gift of a pair of beads.⁶ In 1524, the abbot of Holyrood nominates Master Hary Henryson to be principal master of the grammar school of Edinburgh, ‘and nane otheris alanerly for all the dayis of his lyftime;’ and the abbot will warrant, acquit, and defend that donation ‘during all the dayis of his

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

lyfe,' against all deadly, without fraud or guile.¹ The office is confirmed to him, by a precept under the Privy Seal, dated 21st March 1529, 'durante vita sua.'² Mr William Roberton was appointed master of the High School of Edinburgh before 1546, 'for all the dayis of his lyfe.'³ The whole council of Aberdeen, in one voice, assigned to the master of their grammar school a yearly pension of 10 merks Scots 'during all the days of his lyf.'⁴ Party feeling appears to have run high at this time in the good town, and the master was obliged to resign his office in consequence of some troubles into which he got, and so losing the support of his patrons. He tendered his resignation on 14th April 1550, and received £40 in full payment.⁵ His successor in office is to receive his salary 'induring the townis vill.'⁶

The oldest entry touching schools in the records of the burgh of Haddington, is dated 21st February 1536; on which day, Thom Burrell was ordained to enter his son with Henry Aytoun for teaching until Candlemas, when he shall be examined, 'gyf he be sufficient eftir thir condicions, and thairefter to fulfill thir condicions at the will of the bailzies.'⁷ In the burgh of Ayr, the master of the grammar school appears to have been appointed for one year only. On 5th May 1551, Master William Nechay is chosen schoolmaster for a year.⁸ Here is an entry showing how the *culpa* became, as it were, self-acting. On 2d November 1555, Master William Newdry, schoolmaster of Peebles, is laid under this obligation, that if it be found that he pass from teaching the children in the school for four days without licence of the bailies and council, he shall lose his balance of fees due, and be discharged of his service incontinently thereafter; and with consent of both parties, the ordinance is to be sufficient warning in time

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, xxiii., No. 157.

² Registrum Secreti Sigilli, viii., 170.

³ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Burgh Records of Haddington.

Burgh Records of Ayr.

coming.¹ Another entry from the records of Peebles sheds some light on the question of tenure, or rather on the kind of fault that should determine a tenure of office. On 9th March 1563, the council of Peebles ordains the schoolmaster to wait on the bairns and not to go to hunting or other pleasures in time coming, without licence of the aldermen ; if he fail, he shall be dispossessed of his office.²

§ 18. With reference to the qualification required in the master of the grammar school, it is evident that at this period he was generally a churchman. Master John Homyll, who was master of the grammar schools of Aberdeen in 1418, succeeded Andrew of Syves, late vicar of Bervy.³ In 1489, the rector of Kincardine, whose duty it was to teach the general school at Elgin, was ordered to be cited for that purpose.⁴ Master Hary Henryson, master of the grammar school of Edinburgh, was taken bound by his bishop in the deed of nomination, 'to be at hie solempne festivale tymes at hie mess and evin sang with his surples upon him,' to do the abbot and convent of Holyrood service, 'the time that we shall doe devyne servuice within our said abbay as efferis.'⁵ In the grammar school of Crail, founded in 1542, the master and his successors, preceptors of the school, are required to be priests—'sacerdotes,' men of proved learning and ability, and of blameless life.⁶ The master of the grammar school at Kirkwall in 1544 was also the chaplain of the cathedral—'sacellanus,' who had to be present on solemn days and festivals within the choir with his surplice 'ad duas saltem ad unam horam majorem.'⁷ His office was declared to be incompatible with the holding of any other office in the cathedral.⁸ Master James Chalmer is discharged on 5th November 1557, from his stall and place in the choir of the parish church of

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis, pp. 57, 270.

⁵ Registrum Magni Sigilli, xxiii., No. 157.

⁶ Lee's History of the Church of Scotland, i., 334.

⁷ Peterkin's Rentals of Orkney, App. 23.

⁸ Ibid.

Aberdeen, because that having been presented to the place for teaching the bairns of the grammar school as master, and having left that cure and passed into the service of the New College of Aberdeen as regent, he has forfeited his place in the choir, and should therefore have no room, place, or profit thereof in time coming.¹ Thus, as master of the grammar school, he was bound to be an ecclesiastic; but on taking the higher office, he forfeited the special place in the cathedral, with which, as master of the grammar school, he was endowed.

§ 19. We have some information with regard to the subjects taught in the schools. Of old the great and perhaps the only subject was grammar—‘ars grammatica,’ which comprehended the whole of classical literature. It would be very important for our subject if we could ascertain the books on which our teachers prelected in the schools before the Reformation; but, unfortunately, there is not, with one or two exceptions, a catalogue preserved of the little libraries possessed by the cathedrals, monasteries, and schools. The catalogue of the priory of Lochleven in A.D. 1150, consisted of sixteen books, among which there was not a complete copy of the Bible, and the rest were books required for the services of the church, or theological books.² The next largest catalogue of books is that preserved in the chartulary of the bishopric of Glasgow, taken on 24th March 1432 by four canons of the cathedral of Glasgow, to which it belonged.³ The catalogue was taken three hundred years later than that of Lochleven, and as it belonged to one of the richest churches in Scotland, we may conclude that it was considered a large one for the time. There are 165 volumes mentioned in the catalogue, and when we consider the labour required for transcribing so many books, and the expense of the vellum on which they were written, it will appear that it was a great library. The library has been classified with the view

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² *Archæologia Scotica*, ii., 343, et supra, p. 3.

³ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii., 337.

of showing what studies most commonly occupied the learned masters and scholars: books necessary for the service of the church, including missals, breviaries, psalters, gradalia, etc.: Bibles: legends of saints, including those of St Kentigern and St Serf: books of the civil and canon law: theological books, including several works of St Augustine, St Jerome, Bede, etc.: philosophical books, treating of morals, metaphysics, or natural philosophy: the classical books are few, and these not the most eminent; there is, however, a *Catholicon*, or great dictionary of the Latin tongue, described as 'valde preciosum et solenne co-opertum coreo albo catenatum juxta magnum altare.'¹ The library does not contain a single book in the Greek language. A more interesting collection of books, if less ample and expensive than the great cathedral library of Glasgow, is that on which Ferrerius pre-lected in the abbey of Kinloss. His list of authors is valuable, as showing the course of study pursued in the monasteries and schools in the fifteenth century, and of the literary tastes of that period.²

The Statutes of the Church at Aberdeen provide that the master of the schools shall teach the boys in grammar as well as logic.³ In a general convention and provincial council

¹ Archæologia Scotica, ii., 346, 347.

² The books comprised: 'Secundum librum de copia Erasmi. Item, Orationem Ciceronis pro Q. Ligario. Item, primum librum Officiorum Ciceronis. Item, Dialecticen Trapesontii. Item, libros decem Ethicorum Aristotelis. Item, Topica Ciceronis. Item, Rhetoricen minorem Melancthonis, cum Schematibus. Item, Rhetoricen Melancthonis majorem. Item, Sphaeram a Sacrobosco. Item, Bucolica Virgilii. Item, Georgica. Item, librum primum de copia Erasmi. Item, Arithmeticam nostram. Item, Dialogum primum Physicorum Fabri. Item, Universam logicam Aristotelis, cum prædicabilibus Porphyrii. Item, libros quinque Physicorum Aristotelis. Item, libros duo Politicorum Aristotelis. Item, primi libri Sententiarum decem distinctiones. Item, Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos. Item, quinque primos libros Augustini de Civitate Dei.' Records of the Monastery of Kinloss, p. 60. Ferrerius also enumerates the list of books in the library at Kinloss, including several theological, classical, and philosophical works, pp. 53-56.

³ Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, ii., 45.

held at Edinburgh on 27th November 1549, various statutes were enacted for teaching grammar, divinity, and canon law, in cathedrals and abbeys. Provision was made for teaching churchmen and poor scholars *gratis*, that they may be able to pass to the study of the Holy Scriptures.¹ In 1531, in presence of Master Adam Otterburn, provost of Edinburgh, Master Adam Mure, master of the high school, bound himself to make the bairns 'perfect grammarians' in three years;² the record unfortunately does not mention how this most desirable result was to be accomplished. When the influence of the church was declining, and the management of the grammar schools was passing gradually into the hands of town councils, the course of study, as was befitting, was made more comprehensive and adapted to the new requirements; accordingly we learn that the master appointed to the grammar school of Aberdeen in 1544, was to instruct the bairns in science, manners, writings, and such other virtues.³ From the statutes of the grammar school of Aberdeen, dated 1553, we learn that the boys had to acquire a moderate knowledge of arithmetic—'numerandi artem modice prælibent,'⁴ and that the master prelected on Terence, Virgil, or Cicero, to those who ought to attend;⁵ and what will startle those who in a spirit of self-satisfaction and complacency regard the times with which we are dealing as barbarous and destitute of letters, is, that the boys were strictly forbidden to speak in the vulgar tongue, but only in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and Gaelic.⁶ This school regulation implies a course of liberal studies, to which we may now be said to be strangers. These languages, dead and living, must have been taught in the school, and though the study of some of them has been said to have been only recently introduced into Scotland, we are almost warranted, from the terms of this directory, in concluding that

¹ Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, ii., No. 189, 201.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, v., 400. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid.

Greek and Hebrew were introduced into Scotland at an earlier period than is generally believed. When Greek was being spoken among the scholars of the grammar school of Aberdeen in 1553, it may be assumed that that language was taught in the universities at a considerably earlier period; the teachers themselves having to be taught before they could instruct their pupils in the language. M'Crie, in his history of John Knox,¹ does not think that the study of that language was introduced into Scotland before 1534, when John Erskine of Dun brought a master from France, who taught it first in Montrose, where George Wishart the martyr acquired a knowledge of the language, and was master of the school. But there is a confirmation of the proficiency in the study of Greek of the students in Aberdeen, at an earlier date than that of the directory of 1553. John Leslie, bishop of Ross, in his book '*de rebus gestis Scotorum*,' states that James V. in 1540 was treated to orations at Aberdeen by the scholars—'*scholasticis*'—in the Latin and Greek tongue²—'*orationes in Græca Latinaque lingua, summo artificio instructæ*.' Here is the account in the vernacular given by the bishop of the progress to the north of the king and his queen: 'They were received with diverse triumphs and plays made by the town, university, and schools, where there were exercise and disputations in all kind of sciences, with diverse orations made in Greek, Latin, and other languages, quhilk was mickell commendit be the king and quene and all thair company.'³ Knox affirms that in a debate in Parliament in 1543, the lay members of Parliament showed better acquaintance with Greek than the clergy,⁴ a statement which goes far to prove that Greek was introduced into Scotland previous to 1534. Andrew Melville, who was taught Greek ('a rare thing in the countrey') in Montrose before the Reformation by the learned Frenchman Pierre de Marsiliers—'*honestlie conducit to the sam be that*

¹ M'Crie's Life of Knox, i., p. 343.

² Lib. ix., p. 430.

³ Historie of Scotland, p. 159; Fasti Aberdonenses, xxiv.

⁴ History of the Reformation, 34.

notable instrument of the kirk, Jhone Erskine of Done,' was so proficient in the language that when he became a student of St Andrews, he could read the logics of Aristotle in Greek, a proficiency 'quhilk was a wounder to the regents of the college that he was sa fyne a schollar.'¹ The famous Mr John Row, author of the 'History of the Kirk,' taught Greek and Hebrew in the grammar school at Perth shortly before the Reformation.² It may be mentioned that Perth claims the honour of not only having been the first place in Scotland where Hebrew was taught, but also Greek; and there is some evidence that Hebrew was taught in other schools than that of Perth considerably before the Reformation.

We are not altogether without some knowledge as to the class books which were most popular in the schools previous to the Reformation. Our old chronicler, Andrew of Wyntown, to whom we are so much indebted for describing events which he himself witnessed, incidentally tells us—and he was a contemporary of Chaucer—the grammar taught in the schools during his own time:

' Donat³ than wes in his state,
And in that tyme hys libell wrate,
That now barnys oysys to lere
At thaire begynnnyng of gramere;
And Saynct Jerome in thai zheris
The best wes callyd of his scoleris.' ⁴

Different editions of Donat's grammar continued for a long time to be taught in our schools. It is pleasing to know that the printing of the 'Donat' was among the first attempts of the typographical art in Scotland. On 15th September 1507,

¹ Melville's Diary, pp. 24, 31. In 1574, Mr James Melville tells us that he was taught only the A B C, and the simple declensions of Greek, in the University of St Andrews, and that the regent 'went no farder' (ib., 24).

² M'Crie's Life of Knox, i., 294.

³ 'Donat' was so called from a celebrated grammarian, Ælius Donatus, who lived at Rome about the middle of the fourth century.

⁴ Cronykil, b. v., c. x., 704.

James IV.—the beneficent king who enacted that all barons and freeholders send their eldest sons and heirs to school—grants the sole licence of printing to Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, the first Scotch printers;¹ and so great appears to have been the demand for books at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that on 14th January 1509 the interference of the courts of law was found necessary to preserve the rights of the king's printers by preventing other persons from importing and selling 'within this realme in time to come mess bukes, manuallis, portuiss, matin, Donatis and Ulric in personas, and divers uther bukis printed by the said Walter Chepman, under penalty of escheating of the same.'² From the records of Edinburgh, we learn that it was used in the grammar school of that burgh in the beginning of the sixteenth century; on 10th January 1519, the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh, for reasonable causes, enact that children attend no other school than the principal grammar school, 'to be teichit in ony science bot allanerlie grace buke, prymar, and plane donat.'³ Robert Legpreveck was exclusively empowered by writ of Privy Seal on 14th January 1567, to print Donat's grammar.⁴ Another famous grammar used in our schools before the Reformation was that of Despauter,⁵ which long continued to be a standard school book with us. 'Meditationes in grammaticam Despauterianam' was one of the school books of which the monopoly of printing was granted in 1559 to Master William Nudrye.⁶

¹ Registrum Secreti Sigilli, iii., 129.

² Acta Dominorum Concilii, vol. xxi., fol. 70; the Knightly Tales of Gola-grus and Gawane, p. 24. For the different editions of the 'Donat,' printed before the Reformation, the reader may consult Repertorium Bibliographicum, p. 273; and Ebert's Bibliographical Dictionary, voce 'Donatus.'

³ Burgh Records of Edinburgh. The 'grace buke and prymar' were books in use for the religious education of the scholars who did not understand the Latin and Greek tongues: Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, iii., 388, 389.

⁴ Registrum Secreti Sigilli.

⁵ John Despauterius was a distinguished Flemish grammarian who lived from 1460 to 1520.

⁶ Registrum Secreti Sigilli, xxx., 5a.

These grammars, however, so extensively used in all schools before the Reformation, were, as we have seen, written by two famous foreign grammarians, but there is happily preserved the first grammar written by a Scotsman; and being a book of rare occurrence, and exceedingly instructive to the grammarian, as showing the method of teaching grammar in our schools at the beginning of the sixteenth century, we do not think an apology necessary for giving, in a form slightly abridged, the part in the Scots tongue. The extract is from the first edition, printed at Paris in 1522, entitled 'Rudimenta puerorum in artem grammaticam per Joannem Vaus Scotum.'¹ This grammarian, 'who,' says Chalmers, 'as he published the first grammatical treatise,

¹ The second and third editions are of still greater rarity: the second edition was published in 1531, with this title-page: 'Rvdimenta puerorum in artem grammaticam per Joannem Vaus Scotum: ex variis collecta: in quibus tres præcipui sunt libelli. Primus, de octo partibus orationis fere ex Donato. Secundus, de earundem partium interpretatione lingua vernacula. Tertius, de vulgari Scotiæ eruditione, continens in se quinque capita: Primum, de Declinationibus nominum, præmissa Latinarum literarum diuisione pro sequentibus necessaria; Secundum, de Formatione temporum omnium modorum; Tertium, de Concordantiis grammaticalibus; Quartum, de Resolutione grammaticali, breuissima de constructione oratoria, adiecta appendice; Quintum, de Regimine omnium partium orationis in generali. Quartus Itidem lingua Scotica seorsum additur libellus, continens Interrogatiunculas de exactione nominum et verborum regimine, vna cum regulis, quæ a pueris ob facilitatem aureæ vocantur; præmissis etiam ad rem ipsam attinentibus nominum et verborum diuisionibus.'

The third edition was published in 1553, the chapter 'de constructione oratoria' ending thus: 'Bot yit of ane thing vill ye be advertit, that rewlis of oratrie ar changeable eftyr the iugment of weill imbutit eiris, for nay thing is mair delectable in eloquens than variete, and craiftius spekyne without greit apperans of the samyn, for les offend is the eir (at the leist in our quotidiane spekyne), facile fluand congruite than thrawine effekkit eloquens apperand ouyr crafty:.' Fasti Aberdonenses, pref. xxi., xxii. This edition, the work of Theophilus Stuart, has the title, 'Rudimenta artis grammaticæ per Jo. Vaus Scotum selecta et in duo diuisa. Prima pars dat literarum, syllabarum et dictionem prima libamina partim Latine partim vulgi lingua tradita. Secunda docet usum dictionum ad orationes congruas statuendas secundum sep-

may be regarded as the Whittington of Scotland,¹ was master of the grammar school of Aberdeen in 1520, and the first humanist in its university,² whose first principal, the famous Hector Boece, commemorates him thus: 'in hoc genere disciplinæ admodum eruditus, sermone elegans, sententiis venustus, labore invictus.'

The following extracts may serve to show the method pursued by the first Scottish grammarian in introducing our forefathers to the mysteries of conjugations, declensions, and pronouns. . . . Preterito perfecto et plusque perfecto, tyme perfitley and mare than perfitley bygane. Vtinam amauissem, wald god i haue lwfit or had lwfit, et pluraliter, etc: futuro, tyme to come, vtinam amem wald god i sall lwf. Coniunctiuo modo, coniunand mode, it spekis of dowl: tempore presenti, tyme present, cum amem, qwhen i lwf: preterito imperfecto, tyme imperfitley bygane, cum amarem, qwhen i lwfit: preterito perfecto, tyme perfitley bygane, cum amauerim, qwhen i haue lwfit: preterito plusque perfecto, cum amauissem, qwhen i had lwfit: futuro, cum amauero, qwhen i sal lwf. Infinitiuo modo, on endit or determyt mode to

tendecim congruitatis formulas; unde omnis grammaticæ artis oratio dependet. Parisiis ex officina Roberti Masselin 1553.' The extensive learning of Mr Stuart has been highly extolled: 'sed quis astrologorum motus, arithmeticorum numeros, geometrarum dimensiones, grammaticorum regulas, rhetorum elegantias, philosophorum subtilitates, medicorum thesauros, uberius unquam possedit quam in vicinia nostra Theophilus Stuartus:' Collections of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff (Spalding Club), 66. Ferrerius, at the end of the third edition, addresses to the editor the following lines:

'Sint procul ambages manibusque teratur ubique
Iste liber format qui bene Grammaticum
Theophilus noster præclari muneris author
Ista suis pueris scripsit Aberdoniæ,
Vausius hæc primum dederat, vestigia pone
Theophilus sequitur, doctus uterque. Vale.'

—Miscellany of the Spalding Club, v., 44.

¹ Life of Ruddiman, p. 7.

² Fasti Aberdonenses, p. lxxxiii. Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, 66.

nowmyr or persone: amare, to lwf; amauisse, to haue lwfit or had lwfit; amatum ire vel amaturum esse, for to lwf. Gerundia vel participalia verba sunt hec amandi amando amandum, hec thyr, sunt ar, participalia verba verbis lyke participilis, amandi, of lwfing, amando, in lwfing, amandum, for to lwf. Supina, amatum, to lwf, amatu, to be lwfit. Duo participia, twa participilis, trahuntur ar drawyn, ab hoc verbo actiuo, fra this verbe actiue, presentis et preteriti imperfecti temporis et futuri, ane of the present and preterit imperfect-tyme, ane wthyr of the futert: presentis et preteriti imperfecti ut amans, he yat lwfis or lwfit: futuri vt amaturus, he that is for to lwf.

Et aduerte omne participium in ens vel in ans est presentis et preteriti imperfecti temporis licet breuitatis causa dicatur presentis temporis in sequentibus.

Amor, amaris, amatus sum vel fui, amari, amandi, amando, amandum, amatum, amatu, amatus, amandus.

Indicatio modo, schawand mode: amor, i am lwfit, amaris vel amare, thow art lwfit, amatur, he is lwfit; amabar, i was lwfit, amabaris vel amabare, thow was lwfit; amatus sum vel fui, i haue bene lwfit; amatus es vel fuisti, thow hes bene lwfit; amatus eram vel fueram, i had bene lwfit; amabor, i sal be lwfit, amaberis vel amabere, thow sal be lwfit.

Imperatio modo, byddand or exhortand mode: amare, be thow lwfit, ametur, be he lwfit, amemur, be we lwfit, amimini, be ze lwfit, amentur, be tha lwfit, amator tu vel ille, be thou lwfit or he, amemur, be we lwfit, amaminor, be ze lwfit; amantor, be tha lwfit.

Optatio modo, yarnand mode: utinam amarer, wald god [I be luffit, or war luffit¹]; utinam amatus essem vel fuissem, wald god I haue bene lwfit or had bene lwfit, amatus esses vel fuisses, thow hes bene lwfit or had been lwfit; . . . utinam amer, wald god i sal be lwfit, ameris vel amere, thow sal be lwfit.

Coniunctio modo, coniunand mode: cum amer, quhen i am

¹ The words in square brackets are not in the original; they are inserted in a space left blank, in a handwriting of the sixteenth century.

lwfit, cum amarer, qwhen I was lwfit; cum amatus sim vel fuerim, qwhen i haue bene lwfit; cum amatus essem vel fuisssem, qwhen i had bene lwfit; cum amatus ero vel fuero, qwhen i sal be lwfit.

Infinitiuo modo: amari, to be lwfit; amatum esse vel fuisse, to haue bene lwfit or had bene lwfit, amatum iri, for to be lwfit. Supina, amatum, amatu. Duo participia, tway participilis, trahuntur ar drawyn ab hoc verbo passiuo, fra this verbe passiuie; preteriti perfecti et plusque perfecti temporis et futuri, ane of the preterit perfect tyme, and preterit plusque perfect tyme, ane wthyr of ye future tyme preterit, etc.; vt amatus, he that is lwfit, futuri, vt amandus, for to be lwfit.

. . . Datiue cais, to or till before ane casuale worde is the takyne of the datiuie cais, as do tibi, i gif to the. The accusatiue cais, it is gouernit eftir my verbe and resauis the deid of the verbe, as amo ioannem. The vocatiue cais, ony thing that i call on is vocatiue cais, as o petre fac ignem. The ablatiuie cais, in with by throuch tyme tide or houre is takyne of the ablatiuie cais, as sum in schola, percussi eum pugno, veni hora sexta. How mony declinationes of nownes is thare? fiue, quhilk fiue? the first, the secund, the thrid, the ferd, the fift. Quhair by knaw ye the first declinatione of ane nowne? that is of the quhilk the genitiue cais singulare endis in e, and datiuie cais siklike, as nominatiuo, hec musa, genitivo, huius muse, dativo, huic muse. Quhare by knaw ye the secund declinatione of nowne? that is of the quhilk the genitiue cais singulare endis in i, and datiuie cais in o, as hoc scamnum, huius scamni, huic scamno. Quhare by knaw ye the thrid declinacione of nowne? that is of the quhilk the genitiue cais singulare endis in is, and the datiuie cais in i, as hic et hec sacerdos, huius sacerdotis, huic sacerdoti. Quhare by knaw ye the ferd declinatione of nowne? that is of the quhilk the genitiue cais singulare endis in us, and datiuie cais in ui, as hec manus, huius manus, huic manui. Quhareby knaw ye the fift declinatione of nowne? that is of the quhilk the genitiue cais singulare endis in ei be diuidit syllabis, and the datiuie cas sik like, as hec species, huius speciei, huic speciei.

DE PRONOMINE.—Quhat is ane pronowne? Ane part of orisone quhilk is put for ane nowne and may almaist als mekil as ane nowne, and sumtyme resauis certane persone. How mony thingis fallis to ane pronowne? aucht, quhilk aucht? qualite, gener, nouwmyr, figure, kynde, persone, cais, and declinatione. Quhare in is the qualite of ane pronowne partit? In twa. Quhilk twa? In pronownes of finite qualite, or infinite qualite. Quhilk pronownes ar of finite qualite? thay that resauis certane persone, as ego, tu, ille. Quhilk pronownes ar of infinite qualite? thay that resauis na certane persone, as quis, que, quod. How mony generes is thare in ane pronowne? almaist als mony as in ane nowne, quhy say ye almaist als mony as in ane nowne? for the epiceyn gener and the dubie gener ar in ane nowne, and noucht in ane pronowne. The masculine gener, as iste, the femynine gener, as ista. The neutre gener, as istud. The comone of twa, as hic et hec nostras, hic et hec vestras. Quhilk twa wer umquhile of al gener vndir twa terminationes, as hic et hec nostras et hoc nostrate, hic et hec vestras et hoc vestrates. The comone of all, as ego, tu, sui, bot thow sal vndirstand that all pronownes of thare nature ar adiectiues and tharfore tha ar all gener vndir ane terminatione twa terminationes or thre terminationes bot ane pronowne is callit masculine gener because it is put for ane nowne of the masculine gener or ioynit with it and for sic like resone callit femynine gener and neutre gener. How mony nowmeris is thare in ane pronowne? Twa. Quhilk twa? ane singulare and ane plurale. Quhare by knaw ye the singulare nowmyr? it spekis of ane thing singulary, as hic this man. The plurale nowmyr spekis of ma things pluraly, as hi thir men. How mony figures is thare in ane pronowne? thre, quhilk thre? ane sympil and ane componit, and ane decomponit. The sympil, as is, the componit as idem; the decomponit, as identidem. How mony kynde of pronownes is thare? twa, quhilk twa? ane pronowne primitiue, and ane pronowne deriuative. Quhat is ane pronowne primitiue? It that is first in the self and nocht dryuin fra ane othir, as ego. Quhat is ane pronowne deriuative?

tive? it that is dryuin fra ane pronowne primitiue, as meus. How mony pronownes are primitiue, and how mony deriuatiuis? aucht ar primitiuis, and seuin ar deriuatiuis. Quhilk ar the aucht primitiuis? ego, tu, sui, ille, ipse, iste, hic, and is. Quhilk seuin ar deriuatiuis? meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester, nostras and vestras. Qubare fra ar the seuin deriuatiuis dryuin? fra the first thre pronownes primitiuis, ego, tu, sui. How mony fra ego? How mony fra tu? How mony fra sui? thre fra ego, thre fra tu, and ane fra sui. Quhilk thre fra ego? meus, noster, and nostras. Quhilk thre fra tu? tuus, vester and vestras. Quhilk ane fra sui? suus alanerly. How is meus, noster, and nostras formit fra ego? of this mener: persone prime generis omnis, ego mei change the i in u and put till it ane s and than it is meus. Et pluraliter nos nostrum vel nostri, change the strum in ster and than it is noster, and change the ster in stras and than it is nostras. How is tuus, vester, and vestras formit fra tu? of this manere: persone secunde generis omnis tu tui, change the i in u, and put till it ane s and than it is tuus. Et pluraliter vos vestrum vel vestri, change the strum in ster and than it is vester, and change the ster in stras and thane it is vestras. How is suus formit fra sui? of this maner: persone tertie generis omnis sui, change the i in u and put till it ane s and than it is suus. How mony pronownes is thare? Fiftene indoutabile. Quhilk fiftene? Ego, tu, sui, ille, ipse, iste, hic, and is, primitiuis. Meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester, nostras, and vestras, deriuatiuis. How mony of thir ar relatiuis and how mony ar demonstratiuis, and how mony ar baith relatiuis and demonstratiuis? seuin ar relatiuis, is, suus, ipse, sui, iste, hic, and illic, and qui, que, quod, qualis, quantus, cuius, a, um, cuias, quotus, and quot: quhilk mony callis nowmnes relatiuis. How mony ar demonstratiuis? Thretene. Quhilk thretene? ego, tu, ille, ipse, iste, hic, is, meus, tuus, noster, vester, nostras, and vestras. How mony ar baith relatiuis and demonstratiuis? all the relatiuis bot qui, sui, and suus. Nevir the les hic and iste ar seildin tane relatiuis and is

seilden demonstratiue. How mony of thir deriuatiuis ar callit possessiuis? fiue. Quhilk fiue? Meus, tuus, suus, noster, and vester, for nostras and vestras ar callit gentilis, and thare interrogatiue is cuius. How mony persones is thare in ane pronowne? Thre, quhilk thre? the first, as ego, the secunde, as tu, the thrid, as ille. Qwhy is ego first persone, and tu secunde persone? for al nowne al pronowne al participil, ar thrid persone, except ego, first persone singular, nos, first persone plurale, tu, secunde persone singulare, vos, secunde persone plurale, and al vocatiue cais quhilk ar secund persone. How mony pronownes hes the vocatiue cais? foure, quhilk foure? tu, meus, noster and nostras? thir four hes the vocatiue cais, and al the laif wantis it be this reule. Tu, meus, et noster, nostras, hec sola vocantur. Quhy is ane pronowne first persone? for it signifyis the thing that spekis of itself.¹ . . .

In 1559, a monopoly of printing certain schoolbooks was granted, as already indicated, to Master William Nudrye, by the king. The list of books is valuable, as being no doubt the most popular elementary books in our schools just before the Reformation. The deed runs thus: 'Quhairas Master William Nudrye hes set furth for the better instructioun of zounge chylderin in the art of grammar to be taucht in scolis diuers volumes following—that is to say, Ane Schort Introduction; Elementar degestit into sevin breue taiblis for the commodius expeditioun of thame that ar desirous to reid and write the Scottis toung; Orthoepia trilinguis; Compendiariæ Latinæ linguæ notæ; Calographiæ index; Tables manuell breuelie introducing the unioun of the partis of Orisoun in Greik and Latene speichis with thair accidentis; Meditationes in grammaticam Despauterianam; Meditationes in publium memographum et sapientum dicta; Trilinguis literaturæ syntaxis; Trilinguis grammaticæ questiones; Ane instructioun for bairnis to be lernit in Scottis and Latin; Ane regement

¹ We are indebted to Mr David Laing for the use of this invaluable schoolbook—the edition of 1522. Several leaves are wanting, but Mr Laing is not aware of any perfect copy existing.

for educatioun of zoung gentillmen in literature and virtuous exercitioun; Ane A B C for Scottismen to rede the Frenche toung, with ane exhortatioun to the nobles of Scotland to favour thair ald freindis; The geneologie of Inglishe Britonis; Quotidiani sermonis formulæ; E. Pub. Terentii Aphri comediis decerptæ. Master William Nudrye is to have the sole printing of these books or of any other volumes of which he may be the author or setter forth during ten years; and all our sovereign lord and lady's subjects, printers, and booksellers are commanded not to print or sell, within this realm, any of the said volumes, but only Master Nudrye, his factors and assignees; nor to buy any other impressions of these books, but only those that will be printed by Master William Nudrye, under all pain.¹ In this list it will be observed that the English, or rather the Scots, language is fairly represented, leaving little doubt that our own tongue—our own literature we can hardly call it—formed one of the subjects of study in our schools at a very early date.

An interesting account of the character of the accomplished Alexander Stewart, natural son of James IV.,² written by the famous Erasmus, the restorer of learning in the Middle Ages, is worth quoting, as illustrating the subjects of instruction and the method of educating our higher classes of scholars towards the end of the fifteenth century. Erasmus is very eloquent in praise of his admirable pupil, who was provided to the archbishopric of St Andrews in 1509, and who fell with his gallant father at Flodden in 1513, when he was only eighteen years of age; but we shall only quote that part of the character which bears more immediately on our subject.

¹ *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, xxx., fol. 5a.

² His mother was Margaret daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw, and his tutor, the learned Dr Patrick Panter. The young Archbishop, after having gone through a course of grammar at home, made the tour of France, went to Italy, and settled at Padua, where he pursued his studies under Erasmus Reterodamus, who, with many others, deeply lamented the premature death of a pupil of so great promise: Keith's *Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 33. (Russell's ed.)

'I once lived with him,' says Erasmus, 'and taught him rhetoric and Greek literature. Immortal God! how many things he could at once embrace! At the same time that he was studying law—no very pleasant subject, from the uncouthness with which it is written, and the hateful verbosity of its expositors—he received instruction in elocution, and declaimed on set subjects, thus exercising at once his pen and his tongue; and learned things in Greek, and daily repeated at a stated time what had been given him. In the afternoon, he studied instrumental music on the 'Mons chord,' the flute, and the harp—'monocho-chordiis, tibiis testudini,'—and sometimes also practised singing. Nor even was meal time allowed to be completely free from intellectual occupation. A priest always read some useful book, as, for example, the papal decrees, or St Jerome, or St Ambrose, and the reader was never interrupted unless either of his teachers, between whom he sat at dinner, called his attention to anything, or he himself, not quite understanding what was read, put some question. Again, after repast there were fables, but short ones, and in writing. In fact, no part of his life was free from study except what was given to religion and sleep; for even if there were any leisure (which, in the midst of such a variety of studies, was scarcely ever the case), it was employed in reading history, for he was especially fond of this branch of knowledge. And thus, while still a lad, hardly out of his eighteenth year, he had acquired an amount of learning in every department that would have been remarkable in any one. In short, no one could be worthier of his royal descent, and of descent from such a king.'¹ We learn from Sir David Lyndsay's 'Complaynt' that the young archbishop's brother, James V., was taken from the schools when he was only twelve years of age, 'learning virtue and science.'

The learned schoolmaster of Linlithgow, Ninian Winzet, tells, in his third 'Tractate,' that there was 'sometimes submitted to his techement (albeit his erudition was small) humane

¹ Gavin Douglas's *Æneid* (Bishop Sage's ed.), p. 3.

childer of happy ingynis, mair able to leir than he was to teche; to whom he proponed almost daily some theme, argument, or sentence, of which he caused them to make orison or epistle, in Latin tongue.¹

James Melville, the nephew of Andrew Melville, has left a record of the course of instruction pursued at the schools of Logie and Montrose, when he had attended them shortly after the Reformation. About the fifth year of his age—he was born in 1556—he tells that the ‘*grace buik*’ was put into his hands at home; but having learned little of it at the age of seven, he was sent to a school at Logie-Montrose, where he was taught the Catechism, prayers, Scriptures, rudiments of the Latin grammar, with the vocables in Latin and French, diverse speeches in French, with the proper pronunciation. He next proceeded to the etymology and syntax of Lillius, to the syntax of Linacer, to Hunter’s *Nomenclatura*, the *Minora Colloquia* of Erasmus, *Eclogues* of Virgil, *Epistles* of Horace, and the *Epistles* of Cicero ad Terentiam. The good teacher, Mr William Gray, minister at Logie-Montrose, ‘who for thankfulness he names,’ was very successful in resolving his authors, whom he taught grammatically, both according to etymology and syntax.² Having attended this school for five years, he was next sent to a school at Montrose, where, during the first year of his attendance, he passed through the rudiments again, next through the first part of Sebastian’s grammar, with which he heard the *Phormio* of Terence, and was exercised in composition; after that he commenced the second part of the grammar, the *Georgics* of Virgil, and ‘diverse other things.’³

§ 20. With regard to the conduct of business within the school we have a valuable directory—the only one extant before the Reformation, containing minute rules and regulations to be observed in the grammar school of Aberdeen. This directory is printed at the end of Mr John Vaus’s ‘*Rudiments*

¹ *Certaine Tractatis* (Maitland Club, p. 27).

² Melville’s *Diary*, pp. 13, 14. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

of the Art of Grammar, printed at Paris, in 1553;¹ but there is a strong presumption that it was in use long before that time. The following are the provisions of the statutes and laws of the grammar school of Aberdeen—*‘ludi literarii grammaticorum:’*

At first, the boy on entering the schools shall prostrate himself on the ground, with bended knees salute Christ, the best, the greatest, author of the human race, and the Virgin, the equal of God, with a short prayer in this manner: I thank Thee, heavenly Father, that Thou hast willed that the past night hath been prosperous for me; and I pray that Thou wilt also be favourable to me this day, for Thy glory, and the health of my soul; and Thou who art the true light, knowing no setting, sun eternal, enlivening, supporting, gladdening all things, deign to enlighten my mind, that I may never fall into any sin, but by Thy guiding arrive at life eternal. Amen. Jesus, be Thou Jesus to me; and by Thy chief spirit strengthen me—*‘et spiritu principali confirma me.’*

At the seventh hour in the morning, a part shall be commenced, and when it is finished, the preceptor will enter, chastise either by word or strokes the deficient; when the punishment is done, let there be a public prelection of all the lessons, by the preceptor himself, at the eighth hour in the morning. When the prelection is ended, the boys will make haste to breakfast. There will be a private prelection by the assistant masters at the tenth hour in the morning; and at eleven or half-past eleven, licence shall be granted to the poor scholars of going to town, and a little afterwards to the town boys if there be any. There will be a second prelection by the head-master, on Terence, Virgil, or Cicero, at half-past eleven, to those who should attend—*‘qui adesse debent.’* Lastly, when the hour of mid-day strikes, power will be given to the boys to go to dinner.

Afternoon Statutes: Before two o'clock in the afternoon

¹ The directory is followed by a letter from Alexander Skeyne, addressed *‘juventuti Aberdonensi grammatices studiosæ,’* from Paris, 15 Kal. Julii 1553: *Miscellany of Spalding Club*, v. 44 (pref.).

let each scholar be in the school for hearing the class prelections. One of the assistant masters will always in his turn be present in the school, and will take notes of errors, mistakes—'ineptias'—made in the Latin language, and of those who are less inclined to studies. They will also see lest that thing which they from their office ought to reprehend others for doing, they do not themselves. And at the fourth hour in the afternoon, the boys, after the ringing of the bell, will rehearse to their tutors—'recenseant suis instructoribus'—the work of that day. They will go out in pairs at the necessity of nature, with a mark or a baton; it will not be lawful for any one to go out unless compelled before the return of those to whom leave of going out was granted. The head-master himself shall hear one or other class besides the highest, when it will be agreeable to his mind. There will be evening disputations from the fifth to the sixth hour of night; and when that is finished, they will hasten to sing prayers to God, the best, the greatest. A Pythagorean silence of one year shall be enjoined on scholars in the rudiments, and on neophytes. They will learn by heart the table of confession. They will learn fairly the art of counting. All will speak in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Irish—'Hybernice,' never in the vernacular tongue, with the exception of those who know Latin. Every scholar will carry his own rod. The family—'familia,' will not deal with strangers—'extraneis,' nor any of the class of grammarians with a dialectician.

Laws: It will not be allowed to barter, nor to buy a thing from another, nor to sell what is one's own without consulting the head-master or his assistant. No one will play by staking a book, or money, or clothes, or dinner; but for a stake such as leather pins or thongs, the more advanced may contend. Playing of dice is forbidden; the poor will rejoice in the gain of dice. It will not be lawful to play out of the presence of the assistant masters.

Laws of Conduct—Animadversionis: No one shall do injury to another by word or deed; and if he who is hurt shall bear it quietly, the offender will be punished by his

complaining. But if by fighting they raise strife and altercation on both sides, each will suffer punishment; if instead of words any gives blows, he alone who inflicts the blows shall suffer punishment—‘at qui pro verbis dat verbera, solus verberator det pœnas.’ If they who are more advanced in years, by sinning in the premises will give an occasion of transgressing to the younger scholars, they will be mulcted with a double punishment, because they transgressed and gave an occasion of transgressing to scholars, who otherwise had not the mind for transgressing.¹

§ 21. In the directory of the grammar school of Aberdeen there is a catalogue of the most common offences or misdemeanours which subjected the poor scholar to discipline, and the following shall be punished: Those not listening to what is said; those coming late in the morning to school; those who do not know to say their part, with the text of the lesson; those removing unnecessarily from place to place; those running here and there; those talking in the time of prelections; those returning late from breakfast and dinner; those dragging out the time in the work of nature—‘*moram trahentes in naturæ officio*’; those talking in the vernacular tongue; those long absent ‘*ab auditorio*’; the authors of mischief.²

It appears from the records of Peebles that personal chastisement in the shape of confinement, if not of stripes, was exercised by the schoolmaster. An entry, dated 1555, takes the shape of a complaint—which is continued to the next court, and the history of the affair is thus lost sight of, that Master William Newdry, schoolmaster, ‘confessit that he band Thome Alexander handis in way of correction.’³ The council seems to have accepted the defence as valid, but the next time they appoint a schoolmaster, 10th June 1556, ‘to teach their bairns after his knowledge,’ they do so for a limited time, cautiously adding, however, ‘and farther, if he and the bairns can agree, and if they agree not, he shall

¹ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, v., 399.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of Peebles.

make lawful naming to the bailies, council, and community, that they may provide another master before the term.¹

§ 22. The following extract from the burgh records of Dundee is the only scrap found with regard to the duties of masters on Sundays before the Reformation. We learn from this solitary entry that the masters were required to attend to the behaviour of the scholars on Sundays as well as on week days: in 1558, masters and doctors of schools attending are ordained to see that neither scholars nor servants play, cry, or dispute during the preaching, under pain of being punished with all rigour; if bairns break any 'glasen windows,' their parents shall be obliged to repair them at their own expense.²

§ 23. Our knowledge of the English school is very scanty before the Reformation. In the burgh records of Edinburgh, 8th June 1499, the town council forbid the holding of schools by any manner of person, men or women, in consequence of the plague, under pain of being banished from the town;³ but this interference was, it will be observed, dictated solely by considerations of danger to the health of the scholars and of the community. This is probably the oldest notice to be found of dame-schools, although doubtless the instruction of the young of the common people was then even more than now in the hands of women. The entry in the burgh records of Edinburgh, dated 10th January 1519, forbidding parents to send their children to any other than the high school, unless to learn elementary knowledge—'grace buik, prymar, and plane donatt,'⁴ seems to bear the inference that the municipality took no heed or oversight of the schools in which the less important branches of education were taught, and it would seem that the Church had not either exercised the same strict control over them that it did over the grammar school. In the charter by James V. sanctioning the appointment in 1524, by the abbot of Holyrood, of Master Harry Henryson as master of the grammar school

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Burgh Records of Edinburgh. ⁴ Ibid.

of Edinburgh, the 'teching and hering of lectouris' is expressly excepted from the prohibition against the teaching of grammar in Edinburgh by any other teacher than the master of the high school.¹ No doubt in 1494 the chancellor of the Cathedral of Glasgow maintained and obtained a decret in his favour by the bishop, that without his licence no one could teach or instruct 'juvenes in puerilibus per se clam aut palam intra predictam civitatem;' ² but perhaps 'in puerilibus' may only mean the mere rudiments of grammar, and not the subjects taught in an English or 'lecture' school—reading, writing, and arithmetic. The master of the grammar school of Aberdeen claimed on 13th January 1521, it would seem, authority to prosecute all who taught grammar within the burgh, 'afor thair iugis ordinar, in sa far as he mycht of law,' but not the right of suppressing schools in which English is taught.³ An inquest, dated 11th October 1559, admits the schoolmaster of Peebles to teach the bairns of the burgh 'as afore.' He is ordained separate the English readers to the tolbooth from the Latinists, and to make daily residence with the children.⁴

§ 24. Besides the grammar school and lecture or English school, there was another class of schools before the Reformation—namely, the *Sang School*, which was not called into existence by a statutory enactment. At first, perhaps, it existed only in cathedrals and cathedral towns, for the education of boys intended for the choir; but long before the Reformation we meet with it not only in the seats of great abbeys, as Jedburgh and Dunfermline, but in almost all the leading burghs of Scotland. There is no evidence that before the Reformation any other subject was taught in those schools than music, 'meaners, and vertew.' Shortly after the Reformation, however, we shall find that English was taught in several of them, in addition to music, though

¹ Registrum Magni Sigilli, xxiii., No. 157.

² Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, ii., 490.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Burgh Records of Peebles.

in many instances the burgh or English school and the sang school remained distinct down to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The existence of such a school, with a regularly appointed master, is evidenced in the statutes of the church of Aberdeen as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. Those statutes provide that on all the greater feasts and other days there shall attend four singing boys—'qui bene sciant cantare'—two for carrying the tapers, and two the incense—'duo ceroferarii et alii duo thuribularii,' who will be present at matins and great mass. The songsters, it is further instituted, shall receive their wages 'de communia,' and the master of the schools is enjoined to see to their regular attendance.¹ In 1429 the chapter of Brechin bound and obliged themselves to observe the foundation granted to their cathedral by the Earl of Athole and Caithness, endowing the sang school, which was to be taught by a chaplain, and superintended by the precentor.² In 1525 the vicar of Lathrisk proposes to the community of Crail to endow a music school within that burgh, of which Sir James Bowman shall be preceptor; and we are told that the bailies and community approved of his intention, which, however, does not appear to have been executed.³ In 1544, Bishop Reid founded and endowed in the cathedral church of Orkney a sang school, the master of which was to be chaplain of St Augustine, and must be learned in both singing—'utroque cantu per omnes numeros.' The precentor, it is provided, shall be examined, and shall be the master of the sang school. It is declared to be incompetent for him to hold any other benefice, altarage, or service in the cathedral, and it is required of him to teach *gratis* the boys of the choir, and the poorer who wish to attend.⁴ It is worthy of observation from this, that though the sang school was primarily founded for the service of God in the church,

¹ Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, ii., 49.

² Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, ii., xvii., p. 26.

³ The Original in the charter chest of Crail.

⁴ Peterkin's Rentals of Orkney, App. 22.

provision was made for instructing the lay people in music who were willing to avail themselves of it. We have very little further information regarding the sang school before the Reformation, but it would seem that to the sang school of the cathedral the precentor or cantor held the same relation as the chancellor did to the grammar school. But whether the patronage of the sang school belonged to the bishop and precentor or to the town council, there is little doubt that from early times the salary of the master and the expenses connected with the school were paid by the magistrates.

The duties of the master of the sang school are fully set forth in a contract dated 7th October 1496 between the town of Aberdeen—in which there was for a long time a famous school of music,¹ and Robert Huchosone, songster, who obliges himself by the faith of his body, all the days of his life, to remain with the community of the burgh, singing, keeping, and upholding mass, matins, evensongs, completories, psalms, responses, antiphonies, and hymns in the parish kirk on festival and ferial days, for a salary of 24 merks Scots annually. The town council further appoints him master of their sang school to instruct burgesses' sons in singing and playing on the organs, for the upholding of God's service in the choir, they paying him his scholage and dues.² If he fails in observing any of the points stipulated, the magistrates may dispoise his fee to any others they may think suitable, without impediment or exception—age and infirmity only excepted.³ In the same records, on 15th September 1503, there is reported a case of some interest, as showing that the grammar school was recruited from the sang school. Jok of Mar, one of the clerks of Aberdeen, shows to the council, that having been licensed to pass to the schools for his instruction, he had with their consent appointed the child Cristy Narne to be his substitute as one of the clerks in the choir; the substitute, however, has passed from the sang school to the

¹ Book of Bon-Accord, p. 124.

² Miscellany of the Spalding Club, v., 32, 33.

³ Ibid.

grammar school, and having made no service in the choir, he prays therefore the town council to admit Thomas Chalmer to the clerkship; the magistrates grant the prayer of the petitioner.¹ In May 1541, an interesting case appears on the records, in which the council assigns to Robe Portair and Robe Nicolson, 40s. each yearly, to buy clothes as long as they continue in the sang schools, and serve in the choir.² Three years later (18th September 1544), the whole council engage Sir John Fethy to be one of the prebendaries of the choir, and to have the organs and sang school for instruction of the men of God's bairns, he keeping them in good order, and making continual residence in the choir.³

Two years later a dispute arises as to the management of the sang school of Aberdeen, but unfortunately little or no information is to be gathered from it as to the constitution of the school. In this dispute, which occurs between Sir John Fethy, master of the school, and his assistant, John Black, singer, the master agrees that the latter may teach singing to all the bairns of the school and uplift the whole profit as long as he makes good service. The remaining provision is a curious one, touching the exercise of discipline in the school; it is arranged that the depute shall have power to punish and correct his own two brothers, Alexander Gray's two sons, one Skeyne,⁴ and one Lumnesdan, bairns of the

¹ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, 34.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Ibid. Mr Joseph Robertson gives the name of this teacher of music as John Lesly, and supposes that he was afterwards the Bishop of Ross who distinguished himself as the champion of Queen Mary: *Book of Bon-Accord*, 124.

⁴ This was probably the 'Skeyne' mentioned in the same records, on 24th January 1549, as having 'disciplined' an assailant of the master of the school. On that day, Gilbert Kintore was convicted by a sworn assize of invading Daue Anderson, doctor, in the grammar school in St Nicholas Kirk; on the other hand, Daue Anderson was convicted of 'fetching out the bairns of the grammar school and attacking Gilbert Kintore, whereby he was strikin and strublit by a scholar called Skeyne, with ane tre:' *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*. Tradition says that the

school, while Sir John Fethy, as superior, shall have the right of punishing the remaining bairns.¹

As regards the salary enjoyed by the teacher of music of this time, we find that the treasurer of Edinburgh, pays in 1552 to the master of the sang school for his fee, £10;² and by a precept of the town council, dated 15th December 1553, the treasurer pays to Sir Edward Henrison, master of the sang school, £4.³ In December 1551, George Cochrane, parish clerk of Ayr, offers to teach a sang school within the burgh, instructing 'neighbours' bairns, or others whomsoever, for payment.'⁴ A fuller account is preserved in the records of Aberdeen, of a contract between the town council and the master of the sang school, by which they grant him yearly a pension of 22 merks. The tenor of the letter of gift is as follows: 'We, the provost, bailies, and community of the burgh of Aberdeen, understanding the good and continual service done to us by our lovite servitor, Sir John Black, chorister in the choir of the parish kirk of Aberdeen, master of the mid lettron thereof, and of the sang school, in maintaining and upholding God's service in the kirk, in the diligent care and labours taken by him in the instruction and learning of the bairns of the sang school—his labours by their fruits being notovrlie known to us—have given, granted, and disposed to him 22 merks Scots, to be paid to him from the common good at Whitsunday and Martinmas, by equal portions, during the days and terms of his lifetime, providing always that he will remain in the service of the choir and school, and continue to give the same attention to the service as he does at present—saving the impediment of infirmity and inability of person, all the days of his life.'⁵

scholar called Skeyne' was the famous Sir John Skene, Clerk of Register, so well known to the student of Scots law and history.

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

§ 25. Not less interesting than the questions of salary to the masters and others already treated, is that of the expense of building and keeping in repairs the sang school and grammar school houses. These seem to have fallen entirely on the town councils as far back as any notices of them have been traced. From a certain period, such notices are of frequent occurrence, and a few of them may be quoted by way of illustration. On 13th October 1527, the master of the grammar school having stated to the council of Aberdeen that the grammar school is decayed and liable to fall, the provost, bailies, and community charge the master of the kirkwork to build it at the town's expenses.¹ In 1552, the treasurer of Edinburgh pays to Sir John Bauld 40s., the rent of the grammar school due by the town.² In the same year there is an item of 30d. in the discharge of the town's treasurer for 'bussumis' to two schools.³ In this year also we have recorded what is probably the first of those educational benefactions which have made Edinburgh a name in the history of education. On 7th October 1552, James Henderson, a public-spirited burghess of Edinburgh, proposed to the town council that for certain privileges mentioned he would build for the town 'ane fair scule to mak pepill cum to the toun.'⁴ In 1553 the treasurer of Edinburgh pays to Agnes Kincaid for the maill of the grammar school, £8;⁵ and in the following year, 40s. to Sir Bartill Bauld, prebendary of the Kirk of Field, for the 'annual' of the grammar school owing to him.⁶ In 1554 the town council ordain their treasurer to cause the grammar school lying on the east side of the Kirk of Field Wynd to be built as soon as possible;⁷ on 13th June 1555, the council engage from John Betoun of Capeldra, the whole lodging lying at the foot of the Black Friar Wynd for a grammar school, until Whitsunday next, at £16 of maill, the magistrates undertaking to keep the house water-tight, and mend the windows broken by the bairns.⁸ In pursuance of this agreement, it is seen that on 27th November 1556, the treasurer of the town was requested

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.³ Ibid.⁴ Ibid.⁵ Ibid.⁶ Ibid., 292.⁷ Ibid., 210.⁸ Ibid.

or authorised to pay to John Betoun £8, for the Whitsunday term rent of the grammar school, and £8 for the last Martinmas rent.¹ These extracts from the burgh registers of Edinburgh are not without interest as showing that at a time when the patronage of the grammar school belonged to and was exercised by the church, the expense fell on the town, which, unlike Aberdeen, does not seem to have had any voice in presenting the master of the grammar school before the Reformation.

In the same way, the expenses connected with the sang school were paid by the town councils. Thus, on 27th April 1554, the council of Edinburgh, sitting in judgment, ordain the dean of Guild to repair and 'upbig' the sang school in the kirkyard, so as to make it habitable for the bairns;² and on 18th August following, the treasurer is required to furnish six joists and two dozen deals for building the sang school;³ the price of the joists being 12s. each, and of the two dozen deals £3, 12s.—in all £7, 4s.⁴ In the same year the treasurer pays to Mungo Hunter for a lock and pair of bands, and the mending of another lock, with a new key to the sang school door, 11s. 6d.⁵

§ 26. With church schools and burgh schools in all parts of the country, we may be sure that they did something to 'teach the poor for God's sake, and the rich for reason, and nothing to pay except they be profitted.' Apart, however, from the fact of schools being spread all over the country long before the Reformation, the character of our literature—many works of history and imagination written in the native tongue—shows that there was a large body of the people who read and appreciated it. The chief difficulty to the diffusion of education arose, no doubt, from absence or scarcity of books more than from want of schools or teachers. Scottish authors met with great difficulties in publishing their little works long after the grand discovery of printing, and even for some years subsequent to the introduction of the art into Scotland.

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

The same king who enacted that barons' sons be sent to school, granted to Chepman and Myllar, on 21 September 1507, the privilege of setting up a press, with the sole licence of printing. The works of that press are still the envy of printers; and it is worth remarking that the very first volume of Scottish printing, of which there is a copy in the Advocates' Library, printed about 1508, consists of works of Dunbar and Chaucer, of tales of chivalry and romance, of poems of the broadest and most homely humour, joined to moral poems and old ballads.¹ The Breviary of Aberdeen issued from the same press about 1510, and for the next twenty years it does not appear that any book was printed in Scotland. The poor Scottish author during these long twenty years, who was ambitious to write, was obliged to go abroad and get it printed.² The venerable grammarian, John Vaus, has put on record the dangers which he had to encounter in getting his 'Rudimenta' published—'per maxima terrarum et marium discrimina, piratarumque qui injustissimi

¹ Ledger of Halyburton, 1492-1503, p. lxiv.

² Some of the books printed abroad between the date of the last work issued from the press of Chepman and Myllar and the re-establishment of printing in Scotland: Dav. Cranstoun de Fortitudine, Par. 1511: Quæstiones Physicales. Geo. Lokert Scoti Ayrensis Scriptum de Materia Notitiarum, Par., 1518; Geo. Lokert, S. T. P. Syllogysmi, Par., 1522. Ejusdem Tractatus Proportionum. Ejusdem Quæstiones et Decisiones Physicales, Par., 1518. Ejusdem Tractatus Exponibilibum, Par., 1522. Ejusdem de Oppositionibus, Par., 1523. Gul. Manderston Tripartitum Epitome in dialecticæ Artis principia, Par., 1514. Gul. Manderston Bipartitum in Morali Philosophia Opusculum, Par. 1518 (second ed., 1524). Jo. Majoris, Scoti Haddingtonani, Introductorium in Aristotelicam Dialecticam, Lugd. 1514. Ejusdem in Quartum (librum) Sententiarum Commentarius, Par. 1516. Quæstiones in Tertium Senten., Par. 1517. Ejusdem Literalis in Matthæum Expositio, etc., Par. 1518. Ejusdem Quæstiones in Quartum Senten., Par. 1519. Ejusdem Historia Majoris Britan., Par. 1521. Luculentæ in Quatuor Evengelias Expositiones, Par. 1529, etc. Jo. Vaus, Grammatica, Par. 1522. Hect. Boetii Episcoporum Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Vitæ, Par. 1522. Ejusdem Scotorum Historiæ, Par., 1526. See Lee's History of the Church of Scotland, i., 34, 35.

sunt latrocinia.¹ Hector Boece, principal of the University of Aberdeen, thus apologises for the errors in his history, which was published by Ascenius—'horum similia si offendes, lector, clementer ignosces: difficile enim erat in re ignota et litera peregrina, ab archetypo aberasse nihil.'²

§ 27. The scattered jottings collected in this chapter show our obligation to the ancient Church for having so diligently promoted our national education—an education placed within the reach of *all* classes. A great impetus, no doubt, was given to the cause of education by the Reformers; but who taught the Reformers? asks Principal Lee. The schools in which were educated Buchanan and Knox, Fergusson and Row, Wynram, Willock, Andrew Melville, Alexander Arbuthnot, John Douglas, and the first John Spotswood, owed their origin and principal support to the Roman Catholic clergy.³

§ 28. The foregoing notices of grammar schools show that at a very early period the existence of schools was not uncommon in Scotland. Traces of them are found in connection with most of the cathedrals, abbeys, and collegiate churches, principal burghs, and even in towns which have since sunk into obscurity; the Act of 1496 assumes that there were schools enough in Scotland to teach 'perfect' Latin, arts and law. The early schools were under the direction of the church, the chancellor superintending the cathedral schools, the abbot directing schools belonging to the monasteries, and the provost of colleges probably controlling schools founded in connection with collegiate churches. We have also seen the high social position enjoyed by the master—that he was frequently selected as judge and arbiter in important causes, recognised as a public man in public affairs, and occasionally employed as an officer of the Crown. The master was, in the earliest times of which we treat, a churchman; but long before the Reformation learning ceased to be the exclusive property of ecclesiastics, and laymen are found engaged as teachers. It is important to remember that some

¹ Fasti Aberdonenses, p. xxi.

² Ibid.

³ Lee's History of the Church of Scotland, i., 49, 50.

of our extracts from record, scanty though they may be, tend to show that at a very early time the scholars were sometimes laymen—not educated with the view of becoming churchmen, and that at the end of the fifteenth century sons of barons and burgesses doubtless took advantage of grammar schools. We have also found that all classes co-operated in promoting the education of youth: our native kings, from the good King Robert downwards, patronised education; the church, after having founded schools in the most important towns, set herself to erecting those universities which in Scotland have always continued so national in their character, affording a liberal education from the highest to the lowest of the people;¹ and to the first act of education passed by our legislature, there is not, as far as we have been able to learn, any parallel in the statute books of any other country. We have also seen that though the management of the schools originally belonged to the church, yet the burghs, so early as the fifteenth century, claimed a voice in appointing the school-master. In Peebles, the burgh school appears to have been under the exclusive control of the town council; while in Aberdeen there was a keen contest between the chancellor of the cathedral and the town council, as to which of them had the right of appointing the master of the grammar school of the burgh. The warm interest taken in the welfare of the grammar school by the patrons, whether ecclesiastical or municipal, is shown by the jealousy with which they opposed any rival or adventure school. Such schools were summarily suppressed by the town council or by the church, not that they were enemies to the spread of knowledge, but because private schools interfered with burgh schools, and the competition was calculated to destroy the usefulness of the latter. If we have scanty information about the endowments of schools for masters and scholars, there is

¹ In the admirable Report of the Commissioners appointed in 1867 to inquire into the Burgh Schools in Scotland, it is related that the son of a Dumfries beggar attended the late Professor Pillans's class, and was a diligent student.

little doubt that originally they enjoyed a fair share of the patrimony of the church; while our records afford ample evidence that as the ecclesiastical benefices continued to be secularised and appropriated by laymen, the Reformation left the schools almost entirely unprovided with endowment, the church having succeeded in retaining *some* of its property, but the schools being less fortunate.

It is difficult to make any comparison between the salaries of schoolmasters before the Reformation and those of the teachers of our own time. Yet it would appear that the scale of payment—no doubt varying with the wealth and importance of the burgh, was not unworthy of the high office of the master. Although the church claimed to **have** the management of the schools, **the burghs** contributed most **towards** their maintenance. The master of the schools was in some instances endowed from church lands, but in the great majority of cases he was paid from the common good of the burgh, or by voluntary assessments imposed by the burgesses for his behoof, and by the fees and other perquisites payable by scholars. And in all the notices touching school buildings, we have found that they were erected and repaired at the expense of the burghs. On the interesting subject of tenure, we have seen that perhaps in the majority of cases the master was appointed 'ad vitam aut culpam;' but the practice was far from uniform, as agreements were sometimes entered into, appointing the master to the office 'induring the townis will.' The subjects taught in the schools were various. Latin, so necessary to the churchman, was of course the principal subject taught in the grammar school, while Greek was also taught. In the valuable directory of the grammar school of Aberdeen, the scholars were to learn by heart the table of confession, to learn fairly the art of counting, and all were forbidden to speak except in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, or Irish. The vernacular tongue did not, it is true, occupy an important place in the branches of education, but it was not altogether neglected, for among the books of which a monopoly of printing was granted in 1559 to Master William

Nudrye, the Scots language—the language in which Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas, Knox, and Burns spoke to their countrymen—has a place. In the principal grammar schools, however, the common tongue does not seem to have been taught as a subject of instruction; it was generally taught in private or adventure schools, which were not so rigorously interdicted by the authorities, so long as they were content to limit their teaching to reading. In course of time music became a subsidiary branch of education in the sang school, which at last taught chiefly English, arithmetic, and writing, although still called the sang school. It is worthy of observation that in the sang school, which was primarily intended for the service of God in the church, provision was made for instructing laymen in music. Whether the patronage of the sang school lay with the church or with the town council, the salary of the master of the sang, and the outlay necessary for the fabric of the sang schools were, it would appear, paid by the burgh.

PART II.

SCHOOLS AFTER THE REFORMATION.

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CHAPTER I.—THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO SCHOOLS.

- § 1. SCHEME OF EDUCATION PROPOSED BY THE REFORMERS.—§ 2. PLANTATION OF SCHOOLS.—§ 3. PROVISION FOR SCHOOLMASTERS.—§ 4. JURISDICTION OF THE CHURCH; ACTS OF PARLIAMENT; ACTS OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—§ 5. JURISDICTION EXERCISED.—§ 6. JURISDICTION RESISTED.

§ 1. WE have already seen the part taken by the Old Church in promoting education,¹ including the higher education, believing she was erecting thereby a strong bulwark in defence of the faith. The Reformed Church encouraged education—at least, general education—more zealously than her predecessor, not again so much for its own sake, the blessed sake of diffusing knowledge among the people, as for establishing the ‘true religion.’ Evidence enough is preserved to enable us to form some estimate of the part taken by the Protestant Church in encouraging and superintending burgh schools.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, the great reformer, John Knox, ‘the most Scottish of the Scots,’ proposed a plan of education so far in advance of his times, that we are *now* only attaining towards the high standard at which he and his brethren at that time aimed. In the

¹ *Supra*, p. 72, § 27.

year 1556 Knox urged that school and colleges should be established for instructing the youth in the 'tongues and human sciences,' because otherwise they 'cannot so well profit in knowledge;'¹ and in 1559 he pleads that schools should be established in all cities and chief towns.² In the 'First Book of Discipline,' of which a large part is devoted to the subject of education, the magistrates are requested to be most careful for the virtuous education of youth; and it is urged that each kirk should have a school connected with it, in which grammar and Latin should be taught;³ further, that in every notable town a college—what we call a higher school—ought to be erected, in which the arts, logic, rhetoric, and the tongues should be read by sufficient masters, for whom, as well as for the poor scholars who cannot support themselves at letters, provision must be made; it is also proposed that the great schools or universities should be replenished with those who have aptness for learning; that no parent of whatever condition may 'use his children at his own phantasy,' especially in the days of their youth, but must bring them up in learning and virtue; that the rich shall be compelled to educate their sons at their own expense, but the children of the poor shall be supported at the charge of the church, the sons of rich and poor alike, if they have aptness for learning, continuing at the schools until the commonwealth have profit of them; that a certain time be allotted to instruction in the catechism, grammar, arts, philosophy, and tongues, and a certain time to that study in which the scholars intend chiefly to labour; and that at the expiry of the course the children must proceed to further knowledge to be acquired at the universities, or be sent to a handicraft, or some other profitable exercise.⁴

This scheme, drawn up by John Knox, with the probable assistance of the learned Mr John Wynram sub-prior of St Andrews, and Mr John Douglas provost of the New College, separates the parish from the burgh or higher schools, and

¹ Works of Knox, v., 520 (Laing's ed.).
Ibid., v., 520.

² Ibid., 520.

⁴ Ibid., ii., 209-212.

establishes grades of seminaries for conducting the scholar from the primary through the secondary schools to the universities. It will also be observed that the plan provides for the moral, intellectual, and technical training of the youth, places within the reach of the poorest child in the community, if he have 'engine,' the blessings of a liberal education, and makes school attendance compulsory. If Parliament had been liberal and patriotic enough to have seconded at that time the endeavours of the church to plant, no country in the world, as Principal Lee remarks,¹ would have been so well supplied as Scotland with the means of elementary and higher education.²

§ 2. Though no legislative enactment followed on this national scheme of education, it cannot be believed that the suggestions and advocacy of Knox and other energetic Reformers failed to produce beneficent results. The church continued the good work of diffusing the principles of useful knowledge, and, indeed, of the Three Estates of the realm, the clergy alone, for a long time after the Reformation, appeared to take any interest in this great subject; and it is not true, as has been alleged, that the Reformation in Scotland extinguished learning; a few extracts will show the earnestness with which the church sought to plant primary and secondary schools everywhere, and maintain them from the ecclesiastical revenues to which they had at least some right.

In 1563 and again in 1571, the General Assembly granted commissions for planting schools in Moray, Banff, Inverness, Ross, and the counties adjacent;³ and in the year first named, the Assembly desired that 'some order be taken for the sustentation of poor scholars.'⁴ In 1574, the whole kirk, with one voice, appointed certain loved brethren to visit schools in Caithness and Sutherland, planting in these bounds

¹ History of Church of Scotland, i., 200.

² No wonder that educationists have called the outline of this system a perfect one; according to Dr M'Crie, it contemplated the revival of the system adopted by some of the ancient republics, in which the youth were regarded as the property of the public rather than of their parents: Life of Knox, ii., 10.

³ Booke of the Universall Kirke, pp. 34, 239.

⁴ Ibid., 34.

masters, readers, and other members requisite for a 'perfectly reformed kirk,' and suspending such as they shall find unworthy of their office.¹ The church continued in advance of town councils and parliaments in striving to establish a higher class of schools than already existed in burghs. Thus, at a general visitation made by the kirk between 1611 and 1613, the visitors, being dissatisfied with the school at Burntisland, in which reading and writing only were taught, ordered the town council to establish a grammar school. The records show that the council were somewhat slow to follow out this order, and it was only upon a threat of legal proceedings that steps were taken to purchase ground and build a school-house, with residences for the master and doctor.² In 1641 the General Assembly overtured Parliament to erect and maintain grammar schools in all burghs and other considerable places,³ on the ground that the 'good estate of the kirk and commonwealth mainly depended on the flourishing of learning.'

§ 3. It is impossible to regard without admiration the struggle made by the church to retain or recover for the use of schools some part at least of the pious donations made before the Reformation; and perhaps there is not a more painful page in our annals than that which records her complete failure in making the avaricious barons disgorge for the purposes of education even a fraction of the patrimony of the church, which they with impious hands appropriated. The following gleanings from the records of the church may suffice to show the protestation of the church against the secularisation of church property converted by the commendators into temporalities, and divided by the bishops among their friends and descendants, legitimate and otherwise.

In 1562 the Assembly urged that schools in burghs should be maintained out of the annual rents of 'sources hitherto devoted to idolatry.'⁴ In 1565 the church prays Queen

¹ Booke of the Universall Kirke, 311.

² Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 95. ³ Acts of Parliament, 1641, v., 646.

⁴ Booke of the Universall Kirke, p. 17.

Mary to apply the emoluments of friars, annual rents, altar-ages, and obits of priests, to schools in towns and other places;¹ and in 1568, a petition to the regent prays that the superplus of benefices may be applied to schools, 'according to the will of God.'² In 1572 the kirk requests the regent and council to 'reform the nobility in the urangous vsing of the patrimony of the kirk to the great hurt of scullis';³ and in 1575 the kirk again implores the regent to provide for schools and for men of 'good engine,' that they may visit other countries and universities for acquiring more learning.⁴ Among the 'grievs' of the kirk presented to the king in 1587, there is one to the effect that the youth are not sufficiently instructed in the knowledge necessary 'to come to the true meaning of the will of God.' 'How shall the youth be so trained up,' it is asked, 'or qualified men take charge of them in schools, so long as the patrimony of the kirk is so rugged' to profane persons, and erected into temporal lordships? For remedying this great evil, the church proposes that the Thirds be reduced to their first integrity; that no superplus be made until schools be sufficiently 'staiked'; and that 'idle bellies' be deposed from benefices.⁵ In 1601, the decay of schools caused by lack of provision for maintaining qualified schoolmasters, is assigned by the kirk, as a cause of defection from the true religion.⁶

The proper sources for supporting schools having entirely failed, the General Assembly in 1595 ordains every presbytery to deal with the magistrates for augmenting the stipends of masters of grammar schools;⁷ and in 1641 the church prays Parliament to provide other means, so that poor children who are of 'good engine' may be educated.⁸ In 1642 the Assembly overtures Parliament to 'hold hand' to grammar

¹ Booke of the Universall Kirke, 60.

² Ibid., 127.

³ Ibid., 253.

⁴ Ibid., 339.

⁵ Ibid., 723.

⁶ Ibid., 965. For particular instances of the dilapidation of scholastic benefices, see Church Lands, as one of the sources from which the teacher's salary was derived.

⁷ Ibid., 856.

⁸ Acts of Parliament, v., 646.

schools in burghs and other considerable places;¹ and in 1649 the kirk again supplicates Parliament to provide that teachers in burghs and landward schools receive what was granted to them before the establishing of the directory.²

Whilst thus appealing to the State and to the burghs on behalf of schools, the church herself did not fail to contribute liberally from her poor exchequer towards the sustentation of the ill-paid master and the free education of poor scholars. The ecclesiastical records abound with acts of charity like the following:

In 1641 the 'doctor to the English bairnis' in the grammar school of Stirling had, we learn, received from the session of the burgh £10 yearly during the last thirteen years in respect he was burdened with 'sume puir schollares';³ in 1647 the kirk session of Dunfermline disburse 13s. 4d. for buying a 'book to John Anderson, a poor scholar';⁴ in 1650, the same session pay the fees and books of poor scholars during the last quarter;⁵ in 1658, it being represented to the kirk session of Aberdeen that James Duncan, schoolmaster, has a number of poor town bairns in his school, for whose learning he receives no payment, the collector is ordained to grant him yearly £20 Scots for teaching the said children;⁶ in 1669, the kirk session of Crail, for the encouragement of an assistant to the schoolmaster of the burgh, pay him yearly £10 Scots out of the session box;⁷ in 1671 the same session give to the schoolmaster of the burgh £10 for teaching poor boys during one year.⁸ We read in the records of the

¹ Acts of Assembly.

² Ibid.

³ Kirk Session Records of Stirling.

⁴ Kirk Session Records of Dunfermline.

⁵ Ibid. Cf. also Minutes of Session dated 14th March 1671, 1st May and 25th June 1672, and 23d December 1686. In 1685 the moderator accounted for £8, 8s., granted in charity to the poor by my Lord Drummond and the rest of the nobles who are scholars. This entry shows that the grammar school had been attended by children of nobility.

⁶ Kirk Session Records of Aberdeen.

⁷ Kirk Session Records of Crail.

⁸ Ibid.

burgh on 26th December 1818 that the session had for a long time been at the expense of educating a certain number of poor scholars.¹ On 23d September 1761, the English schoolmaster of St Andrews obliges himself to teach the poor scholars, as mentioned in the acts of the kirk session.²

§ 4. It is improbable that a church which took so deep an interest in the welfare of the schools had no voice in their management. That the law vested in the church a right of superintendence over parish schools has never been doubted; but it has been much debated whether she had any control over public schools in burghs subsequent to the Reformation. Prior to that event, the church exercised superintendence to some extent over all schools; and it would appear that the Reformed Church continued to exercise part at least of the authority previously used by the ancient church. The question of interest here is, Had the church any jurisdiction over burgh schools? The Act of Parliament, 1567, c. 11, provides that in all schools to burgh and landward, no one may instruct the youth but such as shall be tried by the superintendent or visitor of the kirk.³ Act 1584, c. 2, requires masters of schools and colleges to conform with all humility to the acts commanding obedience to the bishops or commissioners appointed to have spiritual jurisdiction in the diocese, under pain of deprivation.⁴ Act 1662, c. 13, forbids any one to teach a public school or be pedagogue to the children of persons of quality, without a licence of the ordinary of the diocese.⁵ Act 1693, c. 38, declares that all schoolmasters shall be liable to the trial, judgment, and censure of the presbyteries for their sufficiency, qualification, and deportment.⁶ Act 1707, c. 6, incorporated in the Treaty of Union, provides that no master shall bear office in any school without submitting to the discipline of the Established Church,

¹ Burgh Records of Crail.

² Burgh Records of St Andrews.

³ Acts of Parliament, iii., 24, 38; ratified 1581, c. 1, iii., 210.

⁴ Ibid., 1584, c. 2, iii., 347.

⁵ Ibid., 1662, c. 13, vii., 379.

⁶ Ibid., 1693, c. 38, ix., 303.

before the presbyteries, by whatever gift, presentation, or provision he may be nominated.¹

The church's own acts are more explicit with regard to her jurisdiction and control over masters, scholars, and schools. In 1565 and again in 1567, the church passed articles forbidding any one to have charge of schools, or to instruct publicly or privately, who shall not be tried and admitted by the superintendents or visitors.² In 1581 the synodal assembly of Lothian requested the Assembly to 'sute that the trial and admission of all masters of schools be joined to the presbytery.'³ In 1645 the Assembly enact that no schoolmaster be admitted to teach a grammar school in burghs without examination by, and approval of, the presbytery.⁴ The Assembly in 1700 ordain the presbyteries to take care that every schoolmaster shall sign the Confession of Faith; for 'negligence, error, or immorality' the presbytery shall apply to the civil magistrate in burghs, or to a commission of Parliament.⁵ In 1706 the Assembly recommended presbyteries to visit all public grammar schools within their bounds,⁶ and at later dates enjoined presbyteries to call before them all teachers, whether in parochial or other schools, and to take trial of their sufficiency and qualification;⁷ in short, the Assembly claimed that the church had always been in the constant exercise of superintending all schools, and taking cognisance of the sufficiency and qualifications of teachers.⁸

The supervision exercised over tutors and scholars seeking higher education than that available at home shows that the jurisdiction of the church was not limited to public schools, but extended to the private acts of the inhabitants, and to

¹ Acts of Parliament, 1707, c. 6, xi., 403, 414.

² Booke of the Universall Kirke, pp. 60, 108.

³ Ibid., 535. The Assembly agree to propone this matter to Parliament: Ibid., 537.

⁴ Acts of General Assembly, 1645, c. 7.

⁵ Ibid., 1700, c. 10.

⁶ Ibid., 1706, c. 13.

⁷ Ibid., 1799, c. 12; 1800, c. 11; 1801, c. 8; 1802, c. 6; 1808, c. 9.

⁸ Cf. also Acts of Assembly, passed in 1638, 1642, 1649, and 1699.

private teaching. Of this character is an Act of Assembly passed in 1578, by which parents who send their children to be educated over seas where papistry is taught, are charged to call them back, under pain of excommunication.¹ In 1579 the kirk craves the king to make a general prohibition against sending children to Paris, or any other town professing papistry, to the end that the youth be not brought up in idolatry contrary to Christ's religion.² In 1601 the Assembly crave of the king and council that the religion of pedagogues who accompany noblemen's sons abroad be approved by a testimonial of the presbytery;³ and in the following year the king declared in face of the whole Assembly that he would observe the tenor of this prayer,⁴ which, however, was not at once embodied in an Act of Parliament; for the kirk, in 1606, asked that the Acts of the General Assembly as to noblemen's sons passing out of the country should be passed by statute in the next Parliament;⁵ but it was not till 1609 that Parliament ordained persons sending their sons abroad for education, to get a testimonial from the bishop that the pedagogues who accompany them are of good religion.⁶ In 1640, an Act ordains that presbyteries shall examine the pedagogues of sons of noblemen going abroad, and give them testimonials.⁷

In illustration of this interesting subject, we give only two examples. In 1604, at the request of the provincial assembly of Aberdeen, the presbytery examined Mr Thomas Gordon and Mr John Sinclair, pedagogues of my Lord Gordon and the Master of Caithness, as to their religion and how they are educating their pupils. The pedagogues profess, in presence of the

¹ Booke of the Universall Kirke, p. 435.

² Ibid., 437. In compliance with this request, an Act of Parliament was passed in the same year, requiring persons going abroad for their education to obtain the king's licence, giving security for their constancy to the true religion: 1579, c. 9, iii., 138.

³ Ibid., 967.

⁴ Ibid., 990.

⁵ Ibid., 1025.

⁶ Acts of Parliament, 1609, c. 3, 4, iv., 406, 428; 1647, c. 411, vi., i, 795; 1661, c. 8, vii., 26.

⁷ Ibid., 1640, v., 278.

presbytery, the established religion, and testify on their conscience that they have not attended the service of any other church in or out of Scotland; but Mr Sinclair, having been in France for two years, and unable to 'half the sight of the king except at the messe, went there, but gave no reverence to the messe, which he abhors.'¹ In 1663 the bishop of Aberdeen, with consent of the synod, ordains that in respect persons of quality have sent their children beyond seas to be educated in popish universities, a letter should be directed to the archbishop of St Andrews, praying his grace to 'interpose himself' with the king, in order that the 'spreading leprosy of poperie' may be restrained, that a solid course may be adopted for bringing up the youth in the Protestant religion—especially the young Marquis of Huntly—and that the children already sent abroad be 'speedilie reduced.'²

§ 5. The superintendence exercised by the kirk at this time appears to have been generally acquiesced in by the burghs, and a few cases may be quoted in proof of this. The schoolmaster of Stirling having, in 1563, been found guilty of fornication, the kirk ordains him to present his suit in the next Assembly, and abstain from teaching until the church of Stirling makes request to the superintendent for him.³ In 1570 the council of Peebles appoint a teacher of the town bairns 'by the admission of the kirk.'⁴ The council of Haddington, in 1576, undertake to appoint a schoolmaster whose life, conversation, and doctrine, 'tryit be the kirk and conforme to the ordour,' shall be unsuspected of any kind of idolatry.⁵ In 1582 the council of Glasgow, 'by advice of the masters of the university, and others having power by Act of Parliament,' chose Mr John Blackburne to be master of the grammar school;⁶ in 1615 the magistrates request the aid of the presbytery in choosing a successor to Mr Blackburne;⁷ in 1685 the

¹ Presbytery Records of Aberdeen.

² Synod Records of Aberdeen.

³ Booke of the Universall Kirke, p. 44. ⁴ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁵ Burgh Records of Haddington.

⁶ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁷ Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 304.

masters of the college and the ministers of the city prepared a course of study for the grammar school;¹ and the presbytery of Glasgow ordained the regents in the college to try the Irish scholars in the grammar school touching the heads of religion.²

An act of Synod having in 1594 given the presbytery of Jedburgh commission to try a schoolmaster of Dunbar as to whether he could teach a grammar school, the brethren ordain him to compear on a certain day for his trial;³ in 1596, the same presbytery ordain the whole schoolmasters within their bounds to compear before them, to show how they instruct the youth.⁴ In 1604, the council of Paisley remitted a candidate for the office of master of the grammar school to the minister of the burgh and presbytery of Paisley, to take trial of his doctrine and abilities to teach;⁵ in 1626, Mr William Hutcheson was appointed, after having been found qualified by the presbytery.⁶ In 1608 the schoolmaster of Inverurie is appointed to teach the school, 'only on conditions to be intimated to him by the presbytery, bailies, and council.'⁷

In 1612, the archbishop of St Andrews, for himself and his successors, grants to the council of the city the election of 'ane master of the grammar school quhilk pertained of old to the archdeacon of St Andrews, and now to the archbishop, in respect of the annexation of the archdeaconry to the archbishopric,' but reserves to himself and to his successors jurisdiction in taking trial of the teachers' qualifications.⁸ In 1620, the council of Jedburgh, with the advice of the bishop of Caithness, admitted a schoolmaster of the burgh for trial; if acceptable to the magistrates after being examined by the presbytery, he shall receive the appointment;⁹ his successor was appointed in 1624, with the advice of the bishop

¹ The Original in the archives of Glasgow.

² Cleland's Annals of Glasgow, ii., 156.

³ Presbytery Records of Haddington.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Burgh Records of Inverurie; partly, however, landward.

⁸ Acts of Parliament, 1612, c. 62, iv., 517.

⁹ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

of Caithness, and in respect of a certificate of competency granted to him by the presbytery of Jedburgh;¹ in 1649, in presence of the council, compeared Mr David Skeoch, who being found qualified and approved by the presbytery for the charge of the grammar school, and being remitted by that body to the magistrates and council, the latter did 'accord and agree' with him.² The town council of Cupar having, in 1628, elected a master of the grammar school, remitted him to the presbytery for trial in his 'religion, conversation, erudition, and fitness';³ and in 1669, the doctor of the grammar school was appointed on the report of the minister.⁴

In April 1646, the town council of Paisley appointed a call to be given to Mr John Will, student in Glasgow, to be schoolmaster in Paisley, and 'the call to be drawn up and read before the session on Tuesday next';⁵ on 21st May, we read in the records of the presbytery, he compeared before the presbytery to be approven by them; and the presbytery approved of him in respect of his known qualification.⁶ On 21st October 1647, the same council resolve to admit a 'doctor offered to the schooll neamed John Tannahill, gif the minister find him qualified for the place.'⁷ The town council of Perth, having nominated a master of the grammar school, desire him to present his admission to the presbytery, that they may approve of his appointment, 'conform to the order.'⁸ In 1656, after debate and protest, the council of Montrose report to the minister that a doctor of the grammar school had been found qualified in his literature.⁹ The town council of Cupar having, in 1670, appointed a schoolmaster, desire the presence of the ministers of the burgh at the council for their approbation of his qualification.¹⁰ In

¹ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

² Ibid: its constitution was changed in 1656.

³ Burgh Records of Cupar.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁶ Presbytery Records of Paisley.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Burgh Records of Perth.

⁹ Burgh Records of Montrose.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Cupar.

1675, a master of the grammar school of Ayr, who did not favour the 'Indulgence,' having been appointed, and the magistrates being informed that the archbishop of Glasgow is displeased at the nomination, they take steps to deal with his 'grace for his condescendence to take away the misinformation anent the town.' The archbishop would not 'condescend' that the schoolmaster be continued in his office unless the lords of the Privy Council 'condescend.'¹ On the complaint of the archbishop of Glasgow against a doctor of the grammar school of the burgh, the town council, in 1688, removed him from his office.² The council of Stirling having appointed a Latin doctor in 1695, required him to procure a certificate from the 'commission for qualifying and examining schoolmasters to be produced to the united presbyteries of Stirling and Dunblane.'³ In 1722, there was read before this council extract of an act of the presbytery approving the appointment of an English teacher for the grammar school; and this being considered by the council, they instal him.⁴ Mr William Stewart, master of the grammar school of Paisley, having become the subject of church censure and discipline in 1689, was dismissed by the council at the instance of the church.⁵ On a complaint from the united presbyteries of Dundee and Forfar against a master of the grammar school of Dundee for schism, the town council, in 1716, deposed him.⁶

The presbytery of Fordyce, on 14th August 1716, considering that by Acts of Parliament schoolmasters are obliged to subscribe the Confession of Faith and Formula, and understanding that Mr Alexander Davidson, master of the grammar school at Banff, has not fulfilled what the law requires, albeit he has taught that grammar school for a considerable time past, appoint him to be cited;⁷ but after having been called 'three times at the most patent door of the church,' the heretic

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr. He was removed.

² Burgh Records of Glasgow.

³ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁷ Presbytery Records of Fordyce.

failed to compear; on 4th December, the presbytery, finding that though they have used all 'civil and discreet methods,' he still continues contumacious, depose him, and appoint Mr Gordon to intimate the sentence from the pulpit, earnestly entreating the magistrates to use their utmost diligence towards the speedy planting of a qualified scholmaster conform to law;¹ on 15th January 1717, the council, considering that the presbytery have deposed their schoolmaster, declare, 'in compliance with seeklyke,' the place of the grammar schoolmaster vacant, but request Mr Davidson to 'teach the scholars untill ane settled schoolmaster be had thairto.'²

The presbytery of the Chanonry of Ross, understanding in 1743 that a new schoolmaster had come to Fortrose, ordain him to appear at the next diet to undergo trial; he writes that his business does not allow him to attend at that time; whereupon the presbytery declare that they are informed that he has been guilty of several immoralities and gross errors. A 'charge' is formally drawn up accusing him of controverting the Confession of Faith, using profane language, ridiculing texts of Scripture and the habits of pious individuals, whose mode and words in prayer he imitated, etc. The libel having been served on the accused, he compeared, and being asked if he would sign the Confession of Faith, said he was ready to 'subscribe truth wherever he saw it; but in regard he was called, settled, and paid as schoolmaster of Fortrose by the magistrates and town council of Chanonry, which was not subject to the presbytery, he declined the jurisdiction of the court, and protested against their proceedings.' The presbytery threatened to depose him, but out of concern for the town of Chanonry, delayed sentence till the magistrates provided another schoolmaster³—a more liberal course than that followed by their brethren of Fordyce. In 1771, the presbytery of Kirkcaldy removed James Hunter, teacher of the burgh school of Kinghorn,

¹ Presbytery Records of Fordyce.

² Burgh Records of Banff.

³ Presbytery Records of the Chanonry.

from his office 'on account of gross immoralities confessed by himself.'¹

§ 6. The preceding extracts refer to cases in which the councils acknowledged the authority of the courts of the kirk or asked for their advice. The burghs did not, however, uniformly acquiesce in the interference of the church with the appointment of masters or with the management of schools under their patronage. Thus in 1631 the ministers of Perth complain to the presbytery that the burgh 'intend as patrons to place a schoolmaster without their trial in conversation, literature, and profession, whereby great prejudice might come to the seminary and to religion;' and in 1632 the ministers again complain that the magistrates had 'nominated a schoolmaster without acknowledging them, contrary to the custom of this burgh, and Acts of the General Assembly and Parliament, committing the trial of such men, their religion and qualification, to the church.' The council yielded the point in dispute, and 'the ministers of Perth reported that on Monday last, the master of the grammar school acknowledged his oversight in entering to the said school without being tried by them, and in presence of the bishop of Dunkeld and diverse others of the council of the burgh, offered himself to trial if it were their pleasure.' With this offer they rested content, and thereupon went to the grammar school accompanied by the bishop as moderator and divers of the council; and after admonishing the master of his duty in instructing the bairns in literature and manners, and the bairns' duty towards him as their master, did accept him by the hand.'² In 1711 the town council of Dundee, considering that the presbytery have appointed a visitation of the grammar school to be held on 1st August, without acquainting the magistrates, 'contrary to the constant custom of the place, and ane incroachment on the priviledges of the

¹ Burgh Records of Kinghorn. For other instances of teachers having been deposed for nonconformity, see *infra* under Removal of Masters.

² Presbytery Records of Perth.

town as patrons of the school, appoint the school to be visited by the magistrates on 1st September next, and the ministers of the place to be acquainted therewith.¹

The collision of jurisdiction in this case led the rival parties—the presbytery and council, to vindicate their respective rights by appointing examinations to be held at such times as were convenient for each body concerned; but in no instance in which a burgh resisted positively the interference of the church in the affairs of the school was it successful. The illustrations of this point are of recent date; thus in 1817 we find the General Assembly commending the presbytery of Brechin for the firmness with which they had asserted their unquestionable right to examine schools of every description;² and in 1836, 1837, and 1838, similar cases occurred;³ but the leading case on the subject is that of the presbytery of Elgin against the magistrates and town council there, which settled the question whether the right of superintendence over parochial schools vested by law in the presbytery extended also to burgh schools. In May 1844 the presbytery intimated to the town council that they had appointed the annual examination of the academy on 26th June; the council, while approving the time fixed, resolve that in future they alone shall appoint the day of examination; and on 16th June 1845, the town clerk intimated to the presbytery that the council had fixed the day, and invited the presbytery to attend. To this intimation the clerk of presbytery replied that according to the established practice, and in the exercise of their vested rights, the presbytery had resolved to examine the academy on different days—which that body accordingly did; on 6th May 1846 the clerk of presbytery issued the usual notices as to the examination, with the protest that their examining the school did not imply that they recognised as rector one who was a Free Churchman, not in communion with their own church.

On 16th June 1846 the presbytery having met to con-

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee.

² Acts of Assembly.

³ Ibid.

sider what should be done with reference to an act of the town council fixing 22d and 23d June for the examination, resolved to examine the academy on 24th June, as previously appointed; accordingly, on that date they convened at the academy, but found the doors shut up. In these circumstances, they raised a summons of declarator against the council, concluding that the Elgin academy was a public school, and as such fell within the jurisdiction of the pursuers, who, in virtue of certain Acts of Parliament,¹ and of the common law, were entitled, they contended, to exercise over the masters of the school a right of trial with a view to induction, and a right of removal from office. They also maintained that the schoolmasters were bound before admission to subscribe, in presence of the presbytery, the Confession of Faith, to conform to the worship of the Established Church, and to submit to its discipline, as required by Act 1706, c. 6, and other laws applicable to public schools. The defenders resisted the conclusion, contending that the claims of the pursuers rested upon a series of old statutes which applied to parochial schools only; but even if it were held that they extended to burgh schools also, they have received a construction from the practice of the country, opposite to that now sought to be put on them by the pursuers, the presbytery.² The Court of Session held, in 1861, that the academy, which was provided by public subscription, and included the old grammar school and a sang school (the latter endowed out of the hospital of Maison Dieu, and in course of time becoming the English school), formed a public high school—the old constitution remaining the same—and as such was subject to the control of the presbytery.³ The church naturally enough rejoiced at a decision which extended, or rather incontestably established, her jurisdiction over all schools—placing the burgh schools, like the parish schools, under her superintendence; and in the same year the

¹ *Supra*, p. 82, § 4.

² Session Papers, No. 541, pp. 63, 64. It would appear from the foregoing extracts that the 'practice of the country' was otherwise.

³ Dunlop's Cases, xxiii., 287 (16th January 1861).

Assembly strongly recommended the claim of the presbytery of Elgin to pecuniary help for having vindicated the right of the church to examine burgh schools.¹ The church did not long enjoy the victory she had won, for it was in consequence of this decision that Act 24 and 25 Vict., c. 107, was passed, which entirely severed the class of schools we are now dealing with from the church, by providing that no master of any burgh school shall be subject to the government or discipline of the Established Church, or to the trial, judgment, or censure of the presbytery for his sufficiency, qualifications, or deportment in his office.²

¹ Acts of Assembly.

² The example set by the presbytery of Elgin was followed by its neighbour of Forres, which did not claim a right of examining the burgh school at a different period from that fixed by the council until 1849, when they intimated that they would examine it on days fixed by themselves. The council protested that the presbytery had no right to examine or superintend the schools of the burgh, but under reservation of that protest offered no opposition. Accordingly the two bodies continued to examine the school—one examination taking place in March and the other in June, until recently, when the presbytery discontinued their examination, and attended on the day fixed by the council: Burgh Records of Forres.

CHAPTER II.—PATRONAGE AND CONSTITUTION OF SCHOOLS.

§ 1. TRANSFER OF PATRONAGE: APPARENT EXCEPTIONS; THE RIGHT JEALOUSLY GUARDED.—§ 2. LIST OF BURGH SCHOOLS.—§ 3. BURGH AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS: BURGH SCHOOLS BECOMING BURGH AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS; ELECTION OF BURGH AND PAROCHIAL MASTERS; THE TWO BODIES OF PATRONS; LIST OF BURGH AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.—§ 4. CONSTITUTION OF SCHOOLS CHANGED BY ENDOWMENTS.—§ 5. ACADEMIES: THEIR ORIGINAL INTENTION; COURSE OF STUDIES; THE GOVERNING BODIES.—§ 6. THE OLD AND NEW PATRONS.

§ 1. WE have learned from the previous chapter that the church always possessed jurisdiction over burgh schools and burgh teachers, and the next subject for consideration is the patronage of schools. From the introductory part of this work it appears that when we first become acquainted with schools—and, indeed, for a considerable time afterwards, they were attached to, and under the exclusive control of, the church; but long before the Reformation some burghs claimed to elect, while others did, in point of fact, elect, their own masters irrespective of the church. The Reformation nearly completed the change in the patronage of the schools—a change which had commenced as early as the fifteenth century, in the gradual transfer of their management from the church to the burgh, while from of old the latter had always the power of regulating the fees, erecting and repairing the buildings, and paying the teachers' salaries—in short, the power of providing the ways and means.

Two or three cases may be quoted in illustration of the transference of the patronage, which was not always accomplished without protestation and demand for satisfaction of vested interests. In 1576 the council of Haddington earnestly 'requirēt Mr James Carmychell, in consideration of his greit burden in the minstre,' to demit his office of teacher

of the burgh; and in respect of the earnest suit of the council, the incumbent renounces for a consideration all 'claim of property which he has in the schoolmastership,' granted to him by the abbot of Holyrood and confirmed by the king.¹ Four years later the schoolmaster of the Canongate demits in the hands of the council of the burgh, 'as his undoubted patrons,' the office of teacher of the grammar school, granted to him for lifetime by the commendator of Holyrood.² In 1631 the council of Perth having all in one voice found that the ministry and session have 'no power in the putting of the master of the grammar school,'³ appointed Mr John Row master. At this act of the council the 'ministrie wer offendit, becaus they wald have bein at placing ane man of thair awin, and the onlie doars thair of;'⁴ in the following year the council attended at his induction, but the ministry, though also requested to be present, refused, being 'mychtele miscontent because the counsall' appointed him 'haillelie by thair own aduys, quhairupone the ministrie daylie raillit out of the pulpett aganes the provest, bailleis, and counsall, and thairefter did complene to the presbiterie.'⁵ On 12th June of the same year, Mr Row compeared before the council, and wished to know what he should say to the presbytery who summoned him for accepting office without consent of the ministry. The council advised him to say that he was not 'sui juris,' but must obey his patrons the town council, of whom he holds his office, and who represent the burgh.⁶ On 30th July the council positively refused to acknowledge the authority of the presbytery in appointing a master of the grammar school, 'except thai doubted of Mr Row's qualification;' whereupon, adds the record, the ministers 'departit malecontent.'⁷

In some burghs the church continued to have a voice in

¹ Burgh Records of Haddington. ² Register of the Canongate.

³ Burgh Records of Perth. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. The master now chosen was the grandson of the celebrated Dr John Row, the first Reformed minister of Perth, and taught, it is said, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, in the grammar school of Perth. He

the election of the teacher for a long time after the Reformation; but it is probable, that in such cases the ecclesiastical courts took part in appointing the master, either because they were appealed to by the council for advice and assistance in determining his qualifications, or because the teacher performed some office in connection with the church, which made it necessary that the session and presbytery should concur in the nomination. Thus, on 13th July 1612, the council of Stirling appoint a committee to meet with 'two or thrie brethren of the presbiterie,' for planting a master in the grammar school;¹ in April 1646, the council of Paisley appoint a 'call' to be given to a schoolmaster, the call to be drawn up and read before the session;² on 21st May following, the presbytery approve of the call by the kirk session and town council.³ In 1673 the magistrates of Stirling ratify the appointment of a master of the grammar school by a committee of the council, with advice and consent of the ministers.⁴ In January 1710 the council of Ayr acquaint the presbytery that they design to settle a doctor of the grammar school, and desire their approbation and concurrence;⁵ and on 19th October 1728, the council of St Andrews apply to the kirk session for their co-operation in filling up the vacancy in the grammar school.⁶ In 1725 a committee of the town council of Kinghorn was appointed to meet with the kirk session for calling a doctor to the grammar school;⁷ and in 1739 the council choose a schoolmaster, after having 'conversed with the minister for his approbation.'⁸ In 1762, and again in 1770, committees of the same council were appointed to meet committees of the kirk

was afterwards minister of Aberdeen, where he published his Hebrew 'Dictionar,' which he dedicated to the council; for which, and his 'paines in teaching the Hebrew tongue,' they granted to him, in 1643, 400 merks: Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling. Cf. *ibid.*, 1753.

² Burgh Records of Paisley.

³ Presbytery Records of Paisley.

⁴ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁶ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁶ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁷ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁸ *Ibid.*

session for supplying the vacancy of a schoolmaster;¹ but in 1772 the council are described as 'patrons of the public school of Kinghorn.'²

The town councils, after having acquired the patronage of the schools, continued very jealous of any encroachment on their right of presenting the teachers. This is shown by such extracts as the following; in 1595 the master of the grammar school of Edinburgh was dismissed for taking a gift of his office from the abbot of Holyrood,³ the old patron of the school; in 1707 the council of Kirkcaldy expressed great indignation at the kirk session for referring the choice of a schoolmaster to the presbytery, and declared that the session was entirely in the wrong in encroaching on the town's right of presenting a schoolmaster—a right, it is alleged, always exercised by them, as would appear from many of their standing acts before and after the Reformation;⁴ and in 1711 the town council of Peebles request the presbytery to examine a schoolmaster lately appointed by them; the presbytery proposed that the examination should be held at Traquair, and not at Peebles, the usual place; the council, however, object to any such alteration, lest thereby the 'town's right of patronage and presentation may in time be weakened.'⁵

On the principle that 'seeing is believing,' the councils had sometimes recourse to symbols in order to preserve evidence of their undoubted authority over the teachers and right to the patronage of the school. Thus, in 1620, the town of Burntisland introduced a custom, which continued for many years, of the master and doctor annually delivering to the council the key of the schoolhouse, and of their dwelling-houses, as an acknowledgment that they held their offices of the town.⁶ In the same way we learn that on 29th September 1714 there compeared before the town council of Crail the master of the grammar school, who, 'conform to

¹ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

Burgh Records of Peebles.

Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 95.

custom,' produced to the magistrates and council the key of the school door, in testimony of his dependence on them;¹ the key being immediately redelivered to him, with an exhortation to care and diligence. The same custom prevailed in other burghs; and the formality of the delivery of the key was gone through annually, at the end of September, immediately after the election of the magistracy.

§ 2. As an important element in the history of the burgh schools, we now proceed to enumerate the schools which, at the passing of the Reform Act, were managed by the councils, who appointed the masters and regulated the fees and salaries, but did, not to any extent interfere with the teaching and discipline, which they wisely left to the teachers. In Aberdeen there was the grammar school where a master and two assistants taught Latin and Greek; a parochial school, for reading; a mathematical, arithmetical, and commercial school, and a writing school;² in Anstruther Easter, the burgh school;³ in Banff, the grammar school;⁴ in Brechin, the grammar school;⁵ in Burntisland, the high school;⁶ in Campbeltown, the grammar school, which was also the parochial school;⁷ in Dumbarton, the high school, conducted by two teachers;⁸ in Dumfries, the academy, taught by five masters, each having a separate department;⁹ in Dunbar, the grammar school and the mathematical school;¹⁰ in Edinburgh, the high school, taught by a rector, four classical masters, and teacher of writing, arithmetic, and mathematics;¹¹ in Elgin, the academy, a girls' school, and a school at Lossiemouth;¹² in Forfar, two masters in the grammar school;¹³ in Forres, the grammar school, an English school for boys, a

¹ Burgh Records of Craik. ² Municipal Corporations Report, i., 20.

³ Ibid., i., 68. ⁴ Ibid., i., 109. ⁵ Ibid., i., 128. ⁶ Ibid., i., 139.

⁷ Ibid., i., 150. ⁸ Ibid., i., 206. ⁹ Ibid., i., 212. ¹⁰ Ibid., i., 222.

¹¹ Ibid., i., 317. Several schools for English, reading, writing, and arithmetic, were formerly supported by this corporation, but they were gradually discontinued.

¹² Ibid., i., 427. The schoolmaster of Lossiemouth was appointed on the recommendation of the parish minister.

¹³ Ibid., i., 443.

girls' school, and a free school, endowed by Jonathan Anderson, upon which was lately ingrafted an academy for teaching the higher branches;¹ in Glasgow, the grammar school;² in Greenock, the grammar school and the mathematical school;³ in Haddington, the burgh school, taught by two teachers;⁴ in Hamilton, an English school;⁵ in Inverary, the grammar school;⁶ in Inverkeithing, a girls' school;⁷ in Inverness, a music school;⁸ in Kirkcaldy, the burgh school;⁹ in Kirkcudbright, the burgh school;¹⁰ in Kirkwall, the grammar school;¹¹ in Lanark, the grammar school;¹² in Linlithgow, the burgh school;¹³ in Montrose, the academy and grammar school, taught by a rector, two masters, two English teachers, and two writing masters, who also taught arithmetic;¹⁴ in Musselburgh, the grammar school and two English schools (one in Musselburgh proper, and the other in Fisherrow);¹⁵ in Nairn, a girls' school;¹⁶ in North Berwick, the high school;¹⁷ in Paisley, the grammar school, a writing school, parish schools of Low, Middle, and High Church;¹⁸ in Peebles, the grammar school, an English school, and a girls' school;¹⁹ in Perth, the academy and grammar school, school for French and other modern languages, school for writing and arithmetic, school for drawing and painting, school for English reading, school for singing and church music;²⁰ in Port-Glasgow, two schools—English, Latin, and French taught in one; writing, book-keeping, arithmetic, geography, and mathematics in the other;²¹ in Renfrew, the grammar school;²² in Selkirk, the burgh school, and a female school;²³ in Stirling, the high school, a writing and mathematical school, two English schools;²⁴ in Tain, the parish and burgh grammar school, an English school, and a girls' boarding school;²⁵ in Wigton, two schools—one for boys, and the other for girls.²⁶

¹ Municipal Corporations Report, i., 451.

² Ibid., ii., 35.

³ Ibid., ii., 62.

⁴ Ibid., ii., 68.

⁵ Ibid., ii., 74.

⁶ Ibid., ii., 82.

⁷ Ibid., ii., 93.

⁸ Ibid., ii., 110.

⁹ Ibid., ii., 158.

¹⁰ Ibid., ii., 169.

¹¹ Ibid., ii., 177.

¹² Ibid., ii., 190.

¹³ Ibid., ii., 228.

¹⁴ Ibid., ii., 241.

¹⁵ Ibid., ii., 251, 252.

¹⁶ Ibid., ii., 258.

¹⁷ Ibid., ii., 272.

¹⁸ Ibid., ii., 287.

¹⁹ Ibid., ii., 295.

²⁰ Ibid., ii., 309.

²¹ Ibid., ii., 339.

²² Ibid., ii., 361.

²³ Ibid., ii., 399.

²⁴ Ibid., ii., 408.

²⁵ Ibid., ii., 425.

²⁶ Ibid., ii., 440.

Of the schools from which the commissioners appointed to inquire into the burgh schools of Scotland got returns in 1867, the following twenty-six were called by the town-clerks burgh schools: Annan academy, Banff, Burntisland, Dumbarton, Dumfries, Dunbar, Dunfermline, Edinburgh, Elgin, Forfar, Forres, Haddington, Kirkcaldy, Kirkcudbright, Kirkwall, Lanark, Linlithgow, Montrose, Musselburgh, Peebles, Perth, Port-Glasgow, Renfrew (burgh), Renfrew (grammar), Selkirk, Stirling; in Cupar there was a 'Madras' school, in St Andrews a 'Madras college;' and eighteen were returned as academies or grammar schools—namely, New Aberdeen, Old Aberdeen, Airdrie, Arbroath, Ayr, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Inverness, Irvine, Kilmarnock, Leith, North Berwick, Paisley, Peterhead, Stranraer, Tain.¹

§ 3. The constitution of some of the schools was from an early period partly burgh and partly parochial, the patronage being vested in the town council and landward heritors jointly. Such schools are found in burghs of small note, and acquired the parochial character in consequence of the heritors contributing towards their maintenance. A school possessing this constitution was frequently the only one in the town and parish, one school having been found sufficient for the educational wants of the district, and both bodies of patrons being glad to share the expense between them, instead of each having to support a school.² The teacher of the burgh and parochial school was invariably session clerk and precentor, and derived a considerable part of his small income from

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, i., pp. lxx.-lxxii.

² Many of the town councils were quite willing to alter the constitution of their schools, especially the English schools, by sharing the patronage with the heritors of the parish in return for being relieved of part of their burden: thus in 1740, the town council of Dundee, taking into consideration that the heritors of the landward parish bear no part of the expenses of the English school, or the salaries of the schoolmasters, order a report to be made as to their liability to contribute to its support: Burgh Records of Dundee. The town council of Banff, in 1762, considering that no salary is established for a schoolmaster out of the parish, according to law, are of opinion that the salary of the assistant

these offices, which were so frequently conjoined that in practice they came to be regarded as parts and pertinents of that of the teacher; in Kinghorn there was a tedious lawsuit which extended from 1770 to 1791, between the town council and kirk session, the former contending for the 'doctrine that the grammar schoolmaster was also session clerk and precentor *ex officio*.'¹ The necessity of consulting the minister and kirk session when the teacher was to be session clerk necessarily limited the patronage of the town, and in course of time, perhaps, changed the original constitution of the school, which may at first have been strictly burghal.

The following case may be cited with the view of showing how this class of schools originated: on 20th October 1606, the bailies and council, and community of Inverury, resolve to have a grammar school at the expense of their common good. The first teacher was paid from that source, but in 1607 the salary of the second schoolmaster was paid partly out of the funds of the burgh and partly by a 'voluntary collection from the gentlemen and ministers adjacent to the town.'²

We give two instances illustrative of the steps by which the constitution of a burgh school was changed into that of a burgh and parochial school, and of the character of the agreement entered into between the new patrons. In 1656 the council of Jedburgh admitted the heritors of the parish to the joint management of the grammar school of the burgh by a contract stating, that in respect the parish of Jedburgh

master of the grammar school should be laid on the parish, and authorise a committee of their number to take counsel in the matter: Burgh Records of Banff.

¹ Burgh Records of Kinghorn; Session Minutes of Kinghorn; Presbytery Records of Kirkcaldy.

² Burgh Records of Inverury. The school, after having existed only for one year as a burgh school, became burgh and parochial. It retained that constitution until 1649, when it became entirely parochial, the burgh having no voice after that date in the management of the school, although the council continued to contribute more or less towards its maintenance.

consists of a free burgh and a land parish, who have both an equal interest in the school, whenever the 'place of a schoolmaster shall vaik,' the provost and bailies of the burgh and the minister of the parish shall advertise every heritor that the school 'vaiks,' and desire him to attend a meeting for electing a schoolmaster. When the council and heritors convene, they shall choose seven persons on either side—eleven being a quorum, five on each side—who may elect a schoolmaster, but not impose additional burden for the support of the school; and lest the school suffer prejudice by the heritors not compearing, they who attend shall, with an equal number from the town, elect a schoolmaster.¹ A more recent example of a change in the constitution of a school occurred in 1821 when the school of Crail was converted from a burgh school into the school of a parish, consisting of a royal burgh and landward heritors. The history of the constitutional change may be briefly indicated: in 1808, the town council, considering the inadequate means provided for the education of the numerous children in the burgh and landward parish, without having recourse to schools not in connection with the Established Church, propose that another school should be established in the burgh, and appoint a committee to correspond with the heritors in order to provide a salary for the new teacher.² This movement appears to have produced no result, and the question of providing for the educational wants of the town and parish was allowed to sleep during another decade. On 5th December 1818, a meeting of the council being called for appointing a burgh teacher, they resolved to consult the heritors, who, on 15th December, agreed to subscribe £18 yearly during the life of the next incumbent.³ On 27th April 1819, at a meeting of the heritors, the majority gave it as their opinion that the burden of providing for a schoolmaster

¹ Burgh Records of Jedburgh; *cf.* also the Minutes of the Heritors on 19th February 1767 and 14th May 1767, as an illustration of the proceedings of the patrons in appointing schoolmasters under the new order of things.

² Burgh Records of Crail.

³ *Ibid.*

falls on the burgh, and that the heritors are in no respect liable.¹ On the day following, the town council agreed to take the opinion of counsel as to the heritors' liability;² and on 30th June, considering that the opinion of John Clerk, Thomas Thomson, James Moncrieff, and James Wilson, advocates, is favourable to the town, they resolve to call a meeting of the heritors in order that the subject be again resumed.³ A member of the council, present at the meeting of heritors, stated that if they did not join the council, the latter would establish a school for themselves and not admit any scholars from the landward part.⁴ At a meeting of the heritors, held on 4th August, it was resolved, that although the majority of the heritors present do not consider themselves liable by law, yet, considering the numerous children in the parish who are without the means of education, they propose that the landward part of the parish should be assessed for 400 merks, and for two-thirds of the expense of repairing the schoolhouse and providing a garden and house for the master, the town continuing to contribute as formerly.⁵ At a meeting of heritors held on 1st June 1820, it was agreed to delay the further consideration of the permanent establishment of a school and provision for a schoolmaster till 17th July next;⁶ but on 20th December 1820, the minister of Crail produced before the presbytery at St Andrews a copy of the original charter of the foundation of the grammar school of Crail, from which it appeared that the school was strictly a grammar school, endowed by private individuals; the presbytery therefore find that the parish of Crail is entitled to a parochial school, in terms of the Acts of Parliament, and if the heritors shall not, before 28th March 1821, establish the school, application shall be made to the commissioners of supply for remedy, as prescribed by law.⁷ On 15th March 1821, the heritors and town council agree to establish a parochial union school, the heritors paying the maximum salary and the town

¹ Minute Book of the Heritors. ² Burgh Records of Crail. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Minute Book of the Heritors. ⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Presbytery Records of St Andrews.

paying £12 annually for the support of a master.¹ The right of the election of the master, who shall be styled rector of the united grammar and parochial school of the town and parish, shall be after the manner of a *vice* patronage, the heritors with the ministers having the patronage at one time, and the town council and minister at another; and it was further provided that the usher be selected by the rector, who shall submit him to the council for approbation, after which he shall be remitted to the minister for examination, and if found qualified, shall be appointed by the council.²

A few cases may be quoted to show how the teachers of this class of schools were appointed in the absence of any express agreement between the two bodies of managers. In 1663 the council of Pittenweem approve of an agreement made by the bailies and minister for planting a schoolmaster in the burgh;³ and in 1677 the council unanimously agree that the bailies and minister, with some of the council, shall appoint a schoolmaster;⁴ in 1684 the council seriously recommend to the magistrates to consider with the minister and kirk session for settling a schoolmaster;⁵ and in 1697 the minister and elders concur with the council in appointing a master of the grammar school, who was also precentor and session clerk;⁶ in 1729, intimation having been made from the pulpit by the minister, calling a meeting of the heritors for maintaining the fabric of the school, the council appoint a committee to represent the town at that meeting.⁷ In 1730 the town council of Dingwall ordain the minister of the burgh and two heritors to attend the next diet of council, in order to concur in the election of a schoolmaster of the burgh.⁸ The town council of Kilmarnock, in 1764, appoint a committee

¹ Minute Book of the Heritors.

² Burgh Records of Crail; Minute Book of the Heritors.

³ Burgh Records of Pittenweem.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. The school became a parish school towards the end of the eighteenth century.

⁸ Burgh Records of Dingwall.

of their number to attend a meeting of the heritors, and concur with them in the election of a master of the grammar school.¹

Sometimes one body of patrons elected the teacher, the other afterwards homologating the appointment. Thus, in 1689, the council of Irvine, considering that the minister and session had appointed, during the vacancy of the magistrates, a doctor of the school and precentor of the church, who is paid out of the casualties of baptisms and marriages, and out of the town's patrimony, ratify the agreement.² Conversely, on 8th January 1695, the kirk session of Dumbarton being informed that the town council, with consent of the minister, have nominated a schoolmaster, approve of the appointment, the master having the same right as his predecessor to all casualties and fees from the session.³

But the two bodies did not always act so harmoniously together as in the cases just quoted. Thus, in 1718, a vacancy having occurred in the office of master of the grammar school of Selkirk, the town council appointed Mr Andrew Elliot, without the consent of the other heritors. The validity of this appointment was disputed by the heritors, and several commissions having been recovered from 1674 downwards, all bearing that the several masters were appointed by the heritors of the landward parish and the council of the burgh, the Court of Session found that the commission granted by the town council, without the votes of the landward heritors, was void. The corporation reclaimed, but before a re-hearing was obtained entered into an agreement with the heritors, dated in 1719, whereby the 'choiccing, calling, admitting, and installing of the rector of the grammar school' was fixed to be by the heritors having each a vote, and two magistrates each a vote.⁴

¹ Burgh Records of Kilmarnock.

² Burgh Records of Irvine.

³ Kirk Session Records of Dumbarton.

⁴ Contract registered in the Sheriff Court Books of Selkirkshire. The constitution of this school has given rise to a lawsuit. Under the Educa-

In the election of teachers, and management of this group of schools, or of schools entirely parochial but situated in burghs, the session and heritors were less active as patrons than the town councils; indeed, the management of such schools was left almost entirely to the councils, unless a dispute arose, when the claim of right was awakened. In 1665 the schoolmaster of Forfar was appointed by the town council, though the heritors and the session paid part of his salary.¹ The council of Rothesay appear to have managed for a long time the grammar school in the town, but the 'presenting, placing, and giving commission to the schoolmaster' belonged to Sir James Stewart of Bute and his predecessors. In 1780 an extract of the deed of patronage of the school was registered in the sheriff court books of the shire, from which we learn that the heritors of the parishes of Rothesay and Kengarth, the council of the burgh of Rothesay, and the ministers and elders of the parish of Rothesay, being 'sessionally convened' and considering the poverty and daily decay of the school, by reason of the small funds appointed for the maintenance of a schoolmaster, augment his salary—the town contributing, as formerly, £40 Scots from the common good, and furnishing a sufficient schoolhouse. To prevent 'confusion and disorder in the choice of the schoolmaster, and encourage Sir James Stewart and his heirs to continue their patronage,' the heritors, magistrates, ministers, and elders consent that Sir James Stewart and his successors

tion Act, a school board having been elected for the parish of Selkirk, and another for the burgh, both parties proceeded on the assumption that the school in question, as the school of the parish, became vested in the parish board, which accordingly entered into possession of the school and schoolmaster's house. In October 1873, the burgh board opened negotiations with the parish board for purchasing the school and dwelling-house and garden, believing that these subjects had vested in the latter; but a doubt having been raised by the burgh board as to whether the Act had the effect of vesting the subjects in the parish board, both parties agreed to submit the question to the decision of the Court of Session.

¹ Burgh Records of Forfar.

be patrons of the school.¹ The heritors of Campbeltown do not appear to have interfered at any time in the election of teachers of the grammar school in that burgh, though it was a parochial school, supported partly by them; and after the passing of the Act 43 George III., c. 54, they paid half of the minimum salary of the master, the other half being paid by the town council;² in 1831 there was a change in the constitution of this school, which then became a burgh and parochial school, the appointment still continuing with the town council.³

¹ The deed is in the charter chest of Rothesay. The only occasion on which the heritors appear to have interfered with the proceedings of the town council in managing the grammar school was in 1763, when the council arbitrarily dismissed the schoolmaster. On 9th November of that year the provost called a meeting of the council in pursuance of a letter from the Earl of Bute, who, as being the most considerable heritor in the town and parish, and as having a claim to the patronage of the school, disapproved of the method in which the teacher was dismissed without trial. The council, having considered the letter, were, with the exception of the provost, of opinion that there was no reason for retracting anything that had been done; at last the schoolmaster was reponed.

² This Act, passed on 11th June 1803 with the view of improving the position of parochial schoolmasters, did not apply to a parish consisting only of a royal, or part of a royal burgh, but affected the case of a parish consisting of a royal burgh and landward parish, by requiring that the salary and accommodation in such cases shall be equal in value to those provided by the Act. Teachers in burgh and parochial schools availed themselves, accordingly, of the provisions of this Act when their salary was less than that of a parochial schoolmaster; and teachers of burgh schools sought to bring them within the compass of the Act when their conditions were less favourable than those of the parochial teacher. Thus, in 1803, the master of the grammar school of Crail prays the town council to grant him augmentation of salary according to the Act of Parliament lately passed; the council desire the minister to call a meeting of the heritors, the common good of the town not being able to afford any augmentation; on 16th December the heritors declare they are not liable by the Act for an increase of salary, and are resolved to defend themselves at law; the magistrates are also of opinion that Crail being a royal burgh, it does not come under the operation of the Act: Burgh Records of Crail.

³ Burgh Records of Campbeltown.

In 1835, the patronage of the following schools was vested in the town councils and landward heritors. The council of Old Aberdeen had, with the other heritors of the parish, a vote in the election of the parish schoolmaster;¹ the magistrates of Brechin elected, with the minister and heritors of the parish, the parochial schoolmaster;² the magistrates of Culross, as heritors of the parish, had a voice in the election of the schoolmaster, but the manner was not settled;³ the united burgh and parochial school of Crail was conducted by a rector, elected alternately by the burgh and landward heritors, the minister being associated with each as a joint elector;⁴ the magistrates of Forfar were conjoined with the heritors for the election of a parish schoolmaster;⁵ in Hamilton the magistrates had the patronage of the grammar school, the rector being also parochial teacher, and appointed by the heritors of the parish and the council;⁶ in the burgh and parochial school of Inverkeithing the teacher was appointed by the town and heritors jointly;⁷ the patronage of the grammar school of Jedburgh was vested equally in the burgh and landward heritors;⁸ the magistrates of Lauder, along with the heritors and kirk session, appointed the burgh schoolmaster;⁹ the magistrates and minister of Newton-upon-Ayr chose the schoolmaster, who had the minimum salary allowed by the Act 43 George III., c. 54;¹⁰ the magistrates of North Berwick, along with the heritors of the parish, had a vote in appointing the parochial schoolmaster;¹¹ the magistrates of Rothesay had a voice in the election of the schoolmaster of the burgh only as heritors of the

¹ Municipal Corporations Report, i., 50.

² Ibid., i., 128.

³ Ibid., i., 172.

⁴ Ibid., i., 158.

⁵ Ibid., ii., 443.

⁶ Ibid., ii., 75. In 1848 the grammar school passed into the academy, including a parochial, burgh, and proprietary school: Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 254. It is now managed by the school board: Report on Endowed Schools, ii., p. 491.

⁷ Ibid., ii., 93.

⁸ Ibid., ii., 135.

⁹ Ibid., ii., 200.

¹⁰ Ibid., i., 96.

¹¹ Ibid., ii., 272.

parish in respect of the burgh property;¹ the parish school of Rutherglen was under the patronage of the magistrates, but for many years the right had been exercised by neighbouring feuars and proprietors of portions of land;² the magistrates of Selkirk had two votes, along with the landward heritors, in the appointment of the parish school-master.³

The commissioners appointed to report on the burgh schools of Scotland in 1867 found that there were nine burgh and parochial schools, and received returns from six of them—namely, Brechin, Campbeltown, Hamilton, Annan, Wigtown, and Arbroath; Falkirk and Rothesay were returned as parochial.⁴

§ 4. The constitution of several schools underwent a modification or alteration in consequence of an endowment having been granted on condition of the patrons divesting themselves more or less of the right of presentation. Thus the constitution of the grammar school of Dunfermline underwent several changes; before the Reformation it was under the direction of the abbot of Dunfermline; between that event and 1610 the patronage was probably exercised by the council of the burgh or the commendator of the abbey; in 1610 the school received a constitution from Queen Anne, who mortified £2000 for paying the salaries of the masters of the grammar and sang schools, providing 'always that it should

¹ Municipal Corporations Report, ii., 368. In 1868 the patrons were three—the provost, the Marquis of Bute, and the parish minister: Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 153.

² Ibid., ii., 374.

³ Ibid., ii., 399.

⁴ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 70-72. In forty burghs there were no high schools, but only parochial or other schools. From the following twenty-seven burghs they got no returns: Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, Bervie, Crail, Cromarty, Cullen, Culross, Dingwall, Dornoch, Dysart, Fortrose, Inverary, Inverkeithing, Inverury, Jedburgh, Kilremy, Kintore, Lauder, Lochmaben, Nairn, New Galloway, Pittenweem, Queensferry, Rutherglen, Sanquhar, Whithorn, Wick; but in these burghs there are no burgh schools, or if they exist, they are on a level with parochial or other elementary schools.

not be lawful to the provost, bailies, and community of the burgh, nor to their successors, to admit, place, or depose the present masters of the schools or their successors, without the special advice, concurrence, and consent of the Queen's most excellent majesty and her successors, or else of the present heritable bailie of the lordship of Dunfermline, and his successors, bailies thereof, so that the full right of presentation shall remain with her majesty and her successors, and heritable bailies of the lordship; and the provost, bailies, council, and community of the said burgh oblige themselves and their successors to give the said patrons faithful advice as to the qualifications, life, conversation, admission and deposition of the said masters, which advice the said patrons promise to accept, in so far as the same is conducive to the weal of the burgh, and to the virtuous and good upbringing of the youth.¹ The patronage of the grammar school continued from that time till the passing of the Education Act to be exercised by the heritable bailies of Dunfermline, who it is believed generally nominated the person recommended by the town council.²

In 1630, Charles I. granted to the Earl of Dunfermline, as bailie of the lordship of Musselburgh, and to the magistrates, council, and inhabitants of the burgh, the right of presenting the master of the sang school of the burgh, endowed by the king.³ In 1634, Sir Patrick Maule having acquired the lordship of Brechin and the right of presentation to the preceptory of the Maison Dieu, with which the office of schoolmaster was combined, appointed the son of the former chaplain to the preceptory, on condition that he should 'teach the youth of the city in grammar, and exercise the place and charge of master of the grammar school.' It appears that subsequent appointments of masters were made by the council, who, however, recognised the right of the Earl of Panmure as lay impropiator of the benefice, by making formal appli-

¹ The Original in the charter chest of Dunfermline.

² Mun. Corpor. Report, i., 261; Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 97.

³ Report on Burgh Schools.

cation to him at every election for the preceptory. The bishop of Brechin was associated with Lord Panmure in making the appointment in 1685, but from the rebellion of 1715, when the property of the Earls of Panmure was annexed to the Crown, the council were patrons of the grammar school; though, when a rector was appointed, they formally applied to the Crown for the emoluments of the preceptory.¹ On 6th June 1651, three daughters of John Tweedie, sheriff-clerk of Peebles, grant certain lands and houses for augmenting the fee of the schoolmaster of the burgh, providing always that certain persons named have a voice in, and consent to, the election of the teacher.²

The change in the patronage of the school was not always for the benefit of education; thus, in 1700, the magistrates and council of the Chanonry of Ross, considering the deplorable condition of the burgh for want of a schoolmaster, appoint a committee to deal humbly with the Countess of Seaforth for presenting a qualified person to serve as schoolmaster of the burgh.³ In 1716, the town being at a great loss for want of a school, now vacant, the council appoint a committee to wait on the Countess - Dowager of Seaforth, that she may 'extend her goodwill and do justice to this town with respect to the encouragement of a new schoolmaster to be presented by the magistrates, conform to the old letter of mortification given to that effect.'⁴

The history of the origin of the right acquired by the kirk session of Dunfermline in having a vote in the election of the doctor of the grammar school of the burgh is not without interest. On 25th May 1745 there was read before the council an extract obligation granted by the provost,

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 34. ² Burgh Records of Peebles.

³ Burgh Records of Fortrose. We have not been able to discover the date of the endowment, but in 1661 Parliament enacts, that notwithstanding the loss of the deed endowing the school, the proprietors of lands from which the feu-duties are payable shall pay as before to the schoolmaster: Acts of Parliament, 1661, c. 318, vii., 290.

⁴ Ibid.

bailies and council of the burgh, dated 14th September 1678, and registered in the regality books of Dunfermline on 18th September of the same year, narrating that the ministers and kirk session of Dunfermline mortified in the hands of the magistrates and council 1000 merks Scots for augmenting the stipend of the doctor; also, that the council, at that time in office, granted to the minister and kirk session, and their successors, equal right of patronage with them and their successors in presenting a doctor to the school as often as the same should be vacant; all which being considered by the council who 'knew nothing about the bond until lately,' and wishing to cultivate a good understanding with the session, confirm the said obligation in all points; and as the office of doctor is now vacant, the council desire the session to concur with them in settling a proper person as doctor in the school.¹ The right acquired by the kirk session of Crail in having a voice in the election of the school doctor probably originated in the same way as at Dunfermline, that is, by contributing towards his salary.² We read that in 1716 it was represented to the town council that the ministers and elders of the kirk session have unanimously agreed that John Row shall continue as doctor of the grammar school till Martinmas next, a resolution acquiesced in by the town council.³

The most important case in recent times of the surrender by a town council of the patronage of the school, is that of the grammar school of St Andrews, of which the council divested themselves in 1831. On 13th April of that year, the provost of St Andrews stated that he had called the council for the purpose of laying before them a communication from the very reverend Dr Andrew Bell, which his sister, Miss Bell, had transmitted to him through the town-clerk: '9th April 1831. Many of my negotiations and exertions in be-

¹ Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

² In 1669 the kirk session of Crail, for the encouragement of the assistant to the master of the grammar school, agree to pay him yearly £10 out of the session box: Kirk Session Records.

³ Burgh Records of Crail.

half of the good town [of St Andrews] fail, and I am now come to a last effort, if you can meet it, without losing a day. I will make over for the benefit of your school my estate of Egmore, rental £400 a year, if you will engage to pay a free annuity of £400 a year to my sister during her life. Be so good as answer yes or no; and write immediately by post, and send by the mail coach the necessary papers.' The council having considered the 'very liberal and munificent offer of Dr Bell, and the laudable, important and benevolent object which it aims at, deem it incumbent on them as administrators of the property of the city to accede to the proposals of Dr Bell—presuming, as they do, that Dr Bell intends them to continue patrons of the school.'¹ The next entry in the records shows that Dr Bell had no such intentions; for, on August 6, the provost stated that by the deed of trusts certain shares of stocks disposed to the town are to be transferred to four trustees, being the provost and the ministers of St Andrews for the time being, and Professor Alexander, and, at his death, the sheriff-depute of Fife for the time being, for the purpose of erecting and endowing a Madras college in the city; it is also conditioned in the deed that the present salary of £50 sterling per annum now payable to the Latin and English teachers of this city, shall be continued to these masters in time coming, in addition to such sums as may be allowed to them by the trustees of the college. The two public schools would thus be incorporated with the Madras college. In consequence of this grant Dr Bell proposed that the appointment of the Latin and English masters should, upon a vacancy occurring, be vested in the trustees of the Madras college, a proposal which appeared reasonable to the provost, who therefore recommends the council to commit the appointment of these two masters to the trustees and their successors. The council having considered the 'unparalleled munificence of Dr Bell, bind themselves and their successors in office to transfer the patronage and right

¹ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

of presentation of the Latin and English masters of this city to the trustees appointed in the deed.'¹

The constitution of the school of Leith was in 1835 in an anomalous state, being under the management of several bodies nowise connected with one another. Originally there was a school endowed with considerable funds, which having come into the possession of the kirk session of South Leith, they appointed two masters with salaries, the one corresponding to the teacher of a high school, and the other to a parish schoolmaster. In 1804, the high school was built by public subscription, and placed under the direction of trustees, consisting of the magistrates, ministers, and heads of corporations. After the creation of Dr Andrew Bell's trust, a salary was given by the trustees to two of the teachers who, accordingly, were in 1835 under the direction of the kirk session, the trustees of the school, and Bell's trustees.² In 1848 the magistrates and council and two ministers became managers of the school; but latterly, the rector was entrusted with the appointment of teachers and the general control of the school. The school was managed in 1857 in much the same way as an ordinary adventure school, the rector appointing such and so many masters as he considered requisite.³ The school is now transferred by the trustees to the school board of Leith, who have resolved that it shall be deemed a higher class public school.⁴

§ 5. Another class of schools remains to be noticed,—namely, 'academies.' About the middle of last century there

¹ Burgh Records of St Andrews. Objections were made to the arrangement by which the town gave away the property of the school and school grounds, surrendered the patronage of the two masters, became bound to continue to the new establishment the salaries they were wont to pay to their own school, and divested themselves of any control of the funds originally appropriated for a town's school, except in so far as the provost is *ex officio* a trustee of Madras college: Municipal Corporations Report, ii., 382, 383.

² Municipal Corporations Report, ii., 214.

³ Report on Burgh Schools, i., p. 122.

⁴ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., pp. 516, 520.

arose a cry for a more liberal and more practical course of education than that supplied by the old burgh schools, where the neglect or omission of the commercial branches was felt to be a great evil—an evil which the burgesses and others interested in education endeavoured to remove by introducing science classes into the schools. At first, in some academies this branch alone was taught, but in a short time they lost their original characteristics; became, in fact, grammar schools, with this difference, that the new schools, designated academies, had a more practical course of studies, more commodious buildings, better staff of teachers, better organisation, and generally a new body of patrons. Though at first the academies were intended merely to supplement the grammar schools, in a short time they superseded or absorbed them; and in a few instances, instead of amalgamating with them, became their rivals.

The oldest academy in Scotland is that of Perth, which was projected on 24th September 1760, when the town council, considering that it would be of 'great utility to the youth to have an academy for literature and science established in Perth, recommend an inquiry to be made on the footing of academies in other places.'¹ On 17th November following, Mr Bonar, one of the ministers of the city, read before the council a memorial stating that in some ages education had either been entirely neglected or allowed to run in a very narrow channel. 'Not long ago, all learning consisted in the grammatical knowledge of the dead languages, and in skill in metaphysical subtleties; now things begin to be estimated according to their value. The time necessary for completing a course of education at the universities and the expense of such attendance prove an insurmountable bar in the way of the greater part who have inclination for these studies.' The advantage of academies, of which there is scarcely any institution of the kind in Scotland, would, it is stated, be obvious from a scheme of education which he proposed for the acceptance of the council, and might be completed in two sessions.²

¹ Burgh Records of Perth.

² Peacock's History of Perth, 524.

Perth was considered to be a very proper place for an institution of this kind; the town is at a considerable distance from any of the universities, very pleasant and healthy, the centre of a populous country—so that an institution of this kind would co-operate with the national plan of improving and civilising the Highlands—provisions may be had at a reasonable rate, and there is good accommodation for boarders; the people being of a sober and industrious disposition, the manners of the youth are in less danger of being corrupted here than in any of the great towns.¹

At Ayr there long flourished a school in which better provision was made for imparting the education proposed to be now supplied by the academies than, perhaps, in any other school of Scotland. Arithmetic, mathematics, and natural philosophy, were taught in the school of Ayr long before the period when the prospectus of the academy was published in 1794, which sets forth that the education supplied by the universities is tedious and expensive—ill suited to the great bulk of a people in a commercial country. Even among those so educated, well founded complaints are frequently made that the university education has rather tended to unfit than qualify them for the active business of life. Sensible of these disadvantages, and desirous not only that their youth should be more completely instructed in the most useful parts of learning, but that they should have their education more under the observation of their parents and friends than when sent to distant colleges, gentlemen in different parts of the kingdom have procured the establishment of academies for the instruction of youth, furnished with teachers of approved abilities. The town of Ayr is happily situated for a seminary for liberal education from the cheapness of its markets, healthful climate, and central position in a large and populous country.²

Following the example of other burghs, the town council of Elgin, on 14th June 1791, issued an address to the public soliciting subscriptions to establish an academy at Elgin. The

¹ Muses Threnodie.

² Minute Book of the Academy.

prospectus states that university education must ever continue of consequence to those intended for the learned sciences; but sensible of the advantages of having youth educated in the most necessary parts of learning nearer home, and more under the eye of their parents and friends, academies have been established in different parts of the kingdom, and the success attending these institutions has given the most ample proof of their ability. The committee opened a subscription for establishing a good seminary of learning at Elgin, so happily situated in one of the best climates in Scotland; but the academy was not ready until 1801, when the classrooms are advertised as being very commodious, and the school situated in a pleasant and healthy locality; the town of Elgin is large, the country very fertile, and the markets regular, and well supplied.¹

In 1810 the directors of the academy of Fortrose, established in 1791, issued circulars asking for additional subscriptions to the funds of the academy. The circular states that this institution was the earliest of the kind established north of the Spey, that it has already been of considerable utility, and from the abilities and steady conduct of the teachers, the directors recommend it to public notice and patronage. Fortrose, the venerable seat of the bishops of Ross, esteemed by many the Montpelier of Scotland, is perhaps as healthy and happy a situation as any in the kingdom for such an institution.²

¹ Elgin Case (Session Papers, No. 541).

² Records of Fortrose Academy. In answer to that appeal, the most distinguished alumnus of the academy, of whom a greater academy might well be proud, remitted to the Rev. Mr Smith, Avoch, between £600 and £700 for the use of the institution; he writes: 'BOMBAY, 15th June 1810. DEAR SIR,—About a fortnight ago I received your letter of Dec. 16, and I take the earliest opportunity of thanking you and the other managers of the academy of Fortrose for doing me the justice to believe that I shall ever retain an interest in a seminary which opened to me the road to knowledge. I have already circulated the subscription papers here, with more success than I expected, in a place where literature is not much pursued, or, I fear, even respected.'

It is of interest to examine the course of study proposed for these academies. The curriculum sketched for the Perth Academy in 1760 consisted of the higher branches of arithmetic, mathematical, physical, and political geography, logic, and the principles of composition; algebra, including the theory of equations and the differential calculus; geometry, consisting of the first six books of Euclid; plane and spherical trigonometry; mensuration of surfaces and solids; navigation, fortification, analytical geometry, and conic sections; natural philosophy, consisting of statics, dynamics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, and astronomy; and subsequently chemistry was added, consisting of heat, light, including spectrum analysis, chemical affinity, laws of combining proportion, atomic theory, nomenclature, and notation, the gases, acids, alkalies,

I shall use every effort in my power in this subscription, which is the only one I ever recommended. I shall be zealously seconded by Captain Smith (son of Mr Smith, formerly master of Fortrose school), who, after some vicissitudes of fortune, now fills a lucrative and very respectable office, very creditably, I believe, to himself. From present appearances, I should guess that we might hope to raise £500 at this presidency. I shall send a copy of the subscription paper to Mr Falconer, Secretary to Government at Madras, who was my school companion at Fortrose, and who will, I dare say, effectually patronise the subscriptions. The modes of remittance from hence to Great Britain are easy and secure. I shall take care to send you the money, probably in October, but perhaps not till February. If I go home, I shall carry it myself, but this is a matter too uncertain to say anything about.—I remain, very respectfully yours, JAMES MACKINTOSH.' In a second letter, dated BOMBAY, 30th September 1810, he says: 'MY DEAR SIR,—In June I wrote to inform you that I would use every possible exertion to promote the object of the trustees of the Fortrose academy. I have now the pleasure to inform you that we have collected by subscription at this place the sum of £627, 8s. The Governor of Bombay, Captain Smith, son of the late Mr Smith of Fortrose school, and Mr Inglis, nephew of the late Provost Inglis of Inverness, subscribed £50 each; General Abercrombie, and several other gentlemen, have contributed £25 each. I am very happy in being able to give a proof of my zeal for the diffusion of knowledge in my native country, and my good wishes to a seminary to which I owe the inestimable blessing of liberal education. With every good wish to you and your family, I am, my dear Sir, yours truly and sincerely,—J. MACKINTOSH.'

etc.¹ The town council adopted, with some modifications, this programme, voted a large sum of money as salaries, and appointed a rector and master to carry it out.²

The programme adopted for the Dundee academy, if not quite so ambitious as that of Perth, was in substance the same. From an advertisement dated 1786, we learn that the academy was designed to instruct young gentlemen in mathematical learning, and the several branches of science with which it is connected. The whole course will be conducted in the following order: First class, arithmetic in all its parts; second, bookkeeping; third, first class of mathematics, comprehending the elements of Euclid, plain trigonometry, practical geometry, containing the elements of mensuration, surveying, and gauging; fourth, second class of mathematics, comprehending algebra, conic sections, spherical trigonometry, fluxions, and geography; fifth, navigation; sixth, natural philosophy and astronomy; seventh, drawing, perspective; eighth, French.³

A meeting of a committee of the town and county of Inverness was held at Inverness on 29th January 1787, in order to form a plan for establishing an academy at Inverness; on 1st May 1788, it was resolved that there should be

¹ This academy has in a large degree carried out the original intention; chemistry has been taught in it during the last seventy years; natural philosophy, in all its branches, at least a hundred years; and the elements of geology, botany, and natural philosophy about thirty years, so that the claim of Perth to the honour of having been the first burgh in Scotland to introduce science classes into our public schools is well founded: Conference on Education, p. 29.

² The first rector was Mr Mair, who for a long time was master of the grammar school of Ayr; he is well known as the author of a 'Treatise on Bookkeeping,' and an 'Introduction to Latin Syntax;' he filled the office from 1761 till his death in 1769. His successor was Dr Hamilton, who discharged the duties of rector during ten years, when he was appointed professor of natural philosophy in Marischal College, Aberdeen. He is also well known for two treatises, namely, 'Introduction to Merchandise,' and an 'Inquiry into the Rise, Progress, Redemption, and Present State of the National Debt.'

³ Burgh Records of Dundee.

the five following masters in the academy: one for English; one for Latin and Greek; one for writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, algebra, and geography; one for mathematics and astronomy, navigation, fortification, gunnery, land surveying; and one for mechanics, natural and experimental philosophy, and natural history. French and drawing shall be taught by the master best qualified, until a special master can be appointed for these branches.¹ The prospectus of the Ayr academy, issued in 1794, states that it is proposed to engage masters of distinguished abilities for teaching writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, algebra, mathematics, mechanics, navigation, astronomy, natural and experimental philosophy, together with a sketch of natural history; all which, with schools for English, Latin, Greek, French, drawing, and music, shall be included in one seminary; and the grammar school instructions being finished, it is believed that by teaching for ten months in the year, and adopting a proper arrangement of classes, a complete course of the other parts of this academical education may be completed in two years and a half, or at most in three years.² To enable the public to judge of the utility of the institution to be established at Elgin, they were told that masters should be engaged of the first abilities for teaching the English and French languages grammatically, and church music, Latin and Greek, with ancient and modern geography, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, and the elements of mathematics, including geometry, trigonometry, algebra, navigation, surveying, perspective, and drawing.³ When the academy was opened in 1801, fortifica-

¹ Minute Book of the Academy. The year was divided into two sessions of five months each, one commencing on 10th January, and ending on 10th June; the second beginning on 20th July, and ending on 20th December. Each of the three last mentioned masters shall divide his course into two parts, each part to be finished in one session; but when he begins the second part in the second session, he shall at the same time begin the first part again, and so go on with two classes during the same session.

² Minute Book of the Academy.

³ Elgin Case (Session Papers, 541).

tion, gunnery, and architecture were also said to be taught in the most approved method.¹

An elaborate programme or curriculum was adopted for the Fortrose academy. We learn from a report made by the presbytery of Chanonry, of date 1802, that the rector taught Latin, Greek, and French; geography and the elements of general history, both ancient and modern, but particularly the history of Great Britain and Ireland; superintended the good order, principles, and morals of the whole academy; taught his class daily; prayed with and attended to church the other masters and scholars of the academy every Sabbath during a course of two sessions of five months each yearly; and had in his several classes thirteen scholars. The second master taught mathematics, arithmetic, drawing, and book-keeping; the elements of Euclid, algebra, navigation, land surveying, and other measurements; also the elements of chemistry and natural philosophy; taught his class daily, and attended his scholars to church. The third master taught reading, principles of English grammar, and writing, all in the most approved and modern style; held his classes daily; and had sixty scholars in his classes daily.² The Annan academy was founded on 16th July 1801, 'for the education of youth upon a liberal plan.'³ At the commencement of the royal academy of Tain, founded by voluntary subscription in 1810, it was announced that the teachers should consist of a rector and an assistant for teaching, on the most approved plan, reading and writing the English language grammatically and correctly; the Latin and Greek languages, arithmetic, bookkeeping, algebra, geometry, navigation, the elements of fortification and gunnery.⁴ Peterhead academy was founded on 15th June 1846, for 'affording the means of a liberal education to all classes of the inhabitants.'⁵

The constitution of the governing bodies of academies partakes to some extent of the proprietary and public element.

¹ Elgin Case (Session Papers, 541).

² Presbytery Records of Chanonry.

³ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 344. ⁴ Ibid., 600. ⁵ Ibid., 569.

These high schools having been established by voluntary subscriptions, their management was vested in a body of the subscribers and certain persons *ex officiis*, but in the directorate the members of the town councils had more or less a place as representing the community, and because they had contributed from their funds for the erection and maintenance of those schools which as a rule absorbed their own old burgh schools. It is a peculiarity of the Perth academy that the proprietary element was not introduced into its constitution. Its patronage has always been in the hands of the town council, and the subscribers appear to have had at no time any voice in the management of the institution, or the appointment of its teachers.¹ Nor did the town council of Elgin part with the patronage of the academy when it was built in 1800, at the joint expense of the town and the public. This school is now, like other burgh schools, under the school board.² The case of the academy of Dumfries is also exceptional; there were two separate schools in the burgh under the control of the council until 1802—the grammar school, in which classics and English were taught, and the commercial school, in which writing, arithmetic, mathematics, and navigation were taught.

¹ Before 1807 the academy and grammar school were conducted in separate buildings; but at that time a new building was erected at an expense of £7000, of which the town council contributed £1050, and the public the rest. The whole of the departments taught in this building were advertised as one school by the patrons about fifty years ago, and called the Perth academy; and this is the name of the institution in the Education Act.

² At first, however, the projectors intended to give it the same constitution as other academies. In the address to the public, dated 14th June 1791, it was announced that subscribers of £50 sterling shall be directors for life; and such as subscribe £100 sterling to have the same privilege, which shall descend to their heirs, when of age and resident in the county; that the provost, bailies, dean of guild, and treasurer of the burgh, and convener, shall also be directors; likewise two gentlemen heritors to be chosen at the annual county meeting; and two guild brethren, not in council, to be chosen by the guildry: Elgin Case (Session Papers, No. 541).

When the present buildings were erected by subscription, and called the academy, they were opened with a staff of masters—the management being shared between the subscribers and council until 1814. At that date the patronage was handed over to the town council who continued as sole patrons until the passing of the Education Act;¹ in the same way, the subscribers of the Dumbarton academy, erected in 1865, handed over the buildings when finished to the management of the town council, who were succeeded by the school board.²

We shall now briefly describe the constitution of the governing bodies of some of the academies. The Arbroath academy, superintended by the magistrates and a body of directors,³ was superseded in 1861 by the high school, which was managed, in 1868, by representatives of the town, of the subscribers, and of the different churches.⁴ The management of the Ayr academy is vested, by royal charter, dated 28th June 1798, in seven directors, annually chosen from the magistrates and council of the burgh, in the sheriff-depute of the county, in the nearest heir-male of John Ferguson of Doonholm, in all persons, or incorporations, subscribing £50, and in five persons annually from subscribers under £50 and not under £5.⁵ By the Education Act, the Ayr academy is to be managed by the school board of the burgh, as a higher class school.⁶ The trustees of the Annan academy, founded by heritors, burgesses, and town council of Annan in 1801, were formerly a committee of the burgh heritors and town council—now the school board of the burgh.⁷ The grammar school and the English school of Cupar-Fife were amalgamated about 1822 into the academy, the patronage of which was exercised, in 1835, by the magistrates, subscribers of £10, and certain persons *ex officio*; this

¹ Extracted from a Report prepared by the council.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 418.

³ Municipal Corporations Report, i., 5.

⁴ Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 39.

⁵ Municipal Corporations Report, i., 86; Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 262. Cf. also Minute Book of Academy, under 2d May 1796.

⁶ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 353.

⁷ Ibid., 344.

institution was merged into the Madras academy, created by the Bell Trust, and managed by the lord-lieutenant of the county, the provost, the dean of guild, and two Established Church ministers of Cupar.¹ The high school of Dundee is made up of three other schools, now incorporated into one institution; the oldest being the grammar school, towards which Queen Mary, by warrant of her Privy Council, appointed £10 yearly to be paid, from a fund called the hospital fund; the other schools being of more recent origin—the English school and the academy. The patronage of the high school was vested in twenty directors; the subscribers to the building fund, and to a fund for providing a salary to the teachers, elected ten; and the provost and magistrates, with as many more as make up the other ten, completed the number.² The provost of Fortrose, the sheriff-depute of the county of Ross, and the presbytery of Chanonry were appointed constant annual visitors of the Fortrose academy, erected in 1791; also every subscriber of £50, and his heir, was a visitor, with the perpetual right of sending to the academy any one to be educated in the two highest classes, without paying fees; also every subscriber of £21, with the privilege of sending a free scholar during his own life. In 1817, the management of this academy was vested in a president and thirteen directors, five from subscribers of not less than £10, 10s., two from the town council, two from the heritors of Rosemarkie, two from the presbytery of Chanonry, and two appointed at the county meeting.³ Greenock academy was opened in September 1855; half of the directors being appointed by the town council from their own body, and the other half appointed by the proprietors of the school.⁴ A royal charter, dated in 1793, vests the management of the

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 85. Since the trust came into operation the burgh paid nothing, though the deed provided for considerable yearly payments by the burgh, which gave only the buildings: Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 392.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 425; Mun. Corp. Report, i., 233.

³ Records of Fortrose Academy.

⁴ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 482.

Inverness academy in the provost, four bailies, and dean of guild; sheriff-depute of the county; moderator of the presbytery; and five persons chosen annually by the commissioners of supply; subscribers of £50; and heirs-male of subscribers of £100.¹ The academy of Irvine, originally promoted by the town council, who subscribed from the common good £1600, the rest, £400, being raised by subscription, was incorporated by royal charter in 1818, with the following directorate: the provost, bailies, dean of guild, and treasurer, with six councillors; subscribers of £50, and their heirs-male; three representatives chosen from those who subscribe £5 and upwards; the heirs-male of such subscribers being also entitled to elect three representatives from their number.² In the middle of the last century, the parochial or grammar school and the English or high school of Kilmarnock were taught under one building; in 1806, the heritors and ministers proposed to the town council that, as the joint schools were not nearly large enough, a new school-house should be built, containing accommodation for a teacher of English, another, of Latin and Greek, another, of writing and drawing, and a fourth, of arithmetic, mathematics, and geography; a committee of the town council was appointed to co-operate with the heritors, and their labours resulted in the erection of the academy of Kilmarnock, for which a constitution was framed in 1811, and again approved, with some addition, in 1828. The management was vested in the subscribers in equal proportion—five heritors, five councillors, five subscribers, one member of the Merchant Society, three ministers, in all nineteen. That number was afterwards reduced to fourteen (five heritors, five councillors, one subscriber, three ministers). The directors appointed the teachers, other than the parish teacher, who was elected by the heritors, but generally on a recommendation by the directors.³ In 1864, the gram-

¹ Mun. Corp. Rep., ii., 110; Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 291.

² It is now under the school board who have declared it to be a high-class school.

³ Cf. Kirk Session Records, Burgh Records, and Records of the

mar school and the English and commercial school of Paisley were amalgamated into the academy, which was managed by the town council and a committee of subscribers to the building,¹ and is now under the school board. The government of the Peterhead academy, established by public subscription and donation from Government, was entrusted to a board of directors, the provost, three bailies, and Protestant ministers of the burgh being *ex officio* directors; other directors were elected by subscribers of £5; besides these, any subscriber of £50 became a director for life.² The governing body of the Tain academy consists of the provost and eldest bailie of Tain, the sheriff-depute of Ross, the sheriff-substitute of Ross, moderators of the synod of Ross, Caithness, and Sutherland, and of the presbytery of Tain; and others elected annually.³

§ 6. In every burgh of Scotland schools had been founded for instructing the children of burgesses,⁴ the patronage of which was, till recently, generally exercised by the town councils. Eminent educationists have thought that it could not be placed in better hands than those of town councils, as reformed by the Municipal Act; the councils had always exercised the responsible trust with intelligence, impartiality, and success; they represented the community, and did not fail to introduce changes and reforms demanded by their constituents; in most cases they sent their own children to the burgh school, whose character, for their own sake, and for the credit of the burgh, was to them a matter of great importance. In a subsequent chapter we shall see the solicitude with which they appointed the masters of the schools.

The patronage of the second group of schools—burgh and Academy. In 1868, the directors consisted of representatives of the heritors, of the town council, of the original subscribers, and the two ministers: Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 143.

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 166.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 569.

³ Ibid., 600.

⁴ The commissioners appointed in 1867 to report on our burgh schools found that in seventy-six burghs, excluding Kinghorn, Oban, and Portobello, there were eighty-two schools: Report on Burgh Schools, i., p. lxx.

parochial—appears to have been carefully exercised. In this class of schools the town councils and landward heritors appointed the teachers—sometimes alternately, but generally after a certain proportion of representation. The town councils generally took more interest in the welfare of a school to which their children largely resorted, than the landward heritors, who, as a rule, used it in a lesser degree; but between the two bodies of patrons we cannot doubt there would be found a sufficient number who encouraged a promising teacher, or otherwise sought to promote the interests of their little school.

The directorate of academies is well adapted for conducting a school—especially a school intended for teaching the higher branches of education. The town councils were generally represented in the board of management, and there were also the subscribers, who doubtless took a lively interest in an institution to which they had subscribed, more or less liberally.

The Education Act of 1872 produced a revolution in the patronage of schools, which is now vested in the school boards.¹ In some instances the Act has benefited the grammar schools; but experience tends to confirm the opinion of some distinguished teachers who hold that school boards are not particularly well fitted to promote the higher education of the country. The members are in many cases elected after a contest

¹ The Act transfers to school boards the powers and duties of the town councils and magistrates or other authorities with regard to burgh schools, which shall include any school to which that term is now legally applicable, although it may be called an academy, or a high school, or a grammar school, or any other name: 34 and 35 Vict. c. 62, §§ 24, 36. With respect to schools erected or maintained with funds derived from contributions or donations made for promoting education, the persons vested with the title of such a school, with the consent of the persons having the administration of the trusts upon which the school is held, may transfer it to the school board, which, with the sanction of the Board of Education, may accept of such transference. This offer having been made and accepted, the school becomes a public school, and is managed by the school board: § 38. The consent to the transference of the persons having the administration of the trusts on which any school is held, may be given by a majority of not less than two-thirds of those having the administration of such trusts: § 39.

in which little regard is paid to their knowledge of education. Many of them, perhaps, have never paid any attention to the subject; and if any one is elected who has a hostility to the school or teacher—and unhappily such cases have arisen, he has it in his power to do much mischief to the school. An appeal exists to the education board, but it is unpleasant for a teacher to be opposed to his patrons and superiors; and even although pecuniary interests may be materially affected, few would care to incur the risk, expense, and trouble of bringing the case under the review of the courts of law. But if the school boards prove not as good patrons of the higher branches of instruction as the authorities which they have superseded, such certainly was not the intention of the Act, which distinctly aimed not only at organising a system of elementary public schools to be managed by the people themselves, but also at promoting higher instruction by converting schools in which elementary and secondary instruction were formerly given, into schools for promoting the higher branches of knowledge. Perhaps the most important feature of the Act is the section which seeks to separate the elementary from the secondary schools, and encourages generally the establishment of higher class public schools in the principal burghs. Sect. 62 provides that, with respect to high schools existing at the passing of this Act, in which the education given does not consist chiefly of elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, but of instruction in Latin, Greek, modern languages, mathematics, natural science, and generally in the higher branches of knowledge, a school board having the management of any such school shall, so far as practicable and expedient, subject to the approval of the Board of Education, relieve the same of the necessity of giving elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic to young children, by otherwise providing sufficient public accommodation for such elementary instruction, so that the funds and revenues of such higher school, and the time of the teachers, may be more exclusively applied to giving instruction in the higher branches.

CHAPTER III.—PROTECTION OF SCHOOLS.

WE quoted in the first part of this work cases of 'protected' schools—schools to which the sole right of teaching was limited, the monopoly being granted for the protection of the grammar school and encouragement of the teacher. From an early period down to a comparatively recent time, the burgh schools enjoyed a protection more or less rigid; for long and dreary centuries there was as little free trade in teaching as in other articles of merchandise, of which monopolies—oppressive monopolies, were granted, at the expense of the community, to some favoured persons; salt, leather, coal, and other articles of daily use could only be sold by those who received patents to deal in such goods. The doctrine of free trade, allowing a man to do as he likes with his capital and abilities, is of modern growth; it was long before that law of our political economy was accepted which affirms that according as the individual improves his condition by honest labour, in the same proportion he benefits society at large. We can hardly reflect on our forefathers if they failed to realise that every poor adventure teacher—treated by them invariably with contumely till the beginning of this century—who obtained a livelihood by imparting to our youth the blessing of education, conferred a benefit on the community, and was in truth a benefactor of the race. It was not till the beginning of this century that protection was abandoned, and freer ideas crept in; and we feel relief when, in several places, we find the councils actually subsidizing adventure schools—schools competing with their own burgh schools. The extracts quoted show that protection was not confined to a district, but that it prevailed all over Scotland.

In 1563 the town council of Haddington undertake 'not to

permit any other school to be held in the burgh' than that taught by the proper schoolmaster.¹ In 1567 the master of the grammar school of Crail complains to the council that Sir George King is 'seducing the scholars from his school,' and 'teaching them as he pleases in the manner of a school;' the council decern that there shall be no other teacher in the burgh than the master of the grammar school, who alone has title to teach.² The peace of Crail seems at this time to have been much broken by the minister and master of the burgh with their respective followers: on 9th June, and again on 18th February 1580, Mr Buthill represents to his patrons that he had been admitted schoolmaster, but, nevertheless, Mr John Edmiston, minister, has 'seduced' certain of his scholars, contrary to the provision made to him; and it is further complained, that Mr Edmiston's pretended scholars by casting stones at the grammar school and 'dynging the bairns' to the great effusion of their blood, have troubled Mr Buthill, who is supported in his office by the town council.³ In 1576 the council of Haddington take blame to themselves for permitting other schools to be held in the burgh, and discharge 'fra thyne furth all athir scholis within thair burgh, bot the hye grammar schole allanarlie.'⁴ In 1582 the council of Kirkcaldy undertake to the master of the grammar school, to allow no other school to be taught in the town;⁵ and in the same year the council of Ayr statute that no schools shall be held in the burgh by any other person than the common schoolmaster.⁶ In 1584 the council of Edinburgh 'discharge, inhibit, exclude, and stop' all other persons, except the master and the doctors of the high school, from teaching grammar or Latin authors;⁷ and in the same year burgesses are for-

¹ Burgh Records of Haddington.

² Burgh Records of Crail. There is an entry of similar import on 8th December 1569.

³ Ibid. A further entry is found on 29th May 1582, when the same intruder is again specially discharged from teaching 'to the prejudice of the said Buthill's gift.'

⁴ Burgh Records of Haddington. ⁵ Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

⁶ Burgh Records of Ayr. ⁷ The Original in the archives of Edinburgh.

bidden to send their bairns to any other school under a penalty to be paid quarterly to the master of the high school.¹ In 1585 the council of Kirkcaldy order all scholars who are attending James Morrison's school to be remitted to that of Mr John Mitchelson, grammar master, and to pay to him the quarterly fees; and any scholar going to any other teacher shall pay to Mr Mitchelson 20s. yearly.²

In the year following, on the complaint of the master of the grammar school of Aberdeen, against a certain notary, who holds a school without the licence of the master of the grammar school, the council strictly discharge the interloper from holding in future any school in Aberdeen.³ Though William Simpson was discharged in 1590 from keeping a school in Dysart, still, by 'colour and subterfuge,' he teaches a school in Mitchelson; and being still a neighbour of the town, he is ordered to desist and the neighbours are forbidden to send any bairns to him; the act published by the bell.⁴ On the complaint of Mr Thomas Cargill, master of the grammar school of Aberdeen against Mr David Kanzie, in 1593, for teaching grammar, instructing in oratory, poetry, and subjects belonging to the liberal sciences, without his permission, the usurper is enjoined to desist from holding a grammar school;⁵ in 1597, the council, considering that the grammar school of this and of all other burghs, has the prerogative that no other school can be held within the burgh except the music school, without licence of the master of the grammar school, ordain that there shall be no teacher within this burgh except the sang master who shall not be subaltern to the master of the grammar school and have his goodwill.⁶ In 1595, the council of Ayr inhibit any school to be held in the burgh, except the common school, without the licence of the master; and in a contract between the town and the mas-

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dysart.

⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁶ Ibid. In October 1618 the Burgh Records of Paisley contain an entry excepting also the music school from the prohibition.

ter, dated in the same year, it is agreed that there shall be no other school in the burgh for teaching Latin or English to the male children, but the grammar school.¹ In 1598, all persons in Edinburgh are prohibited from teaching the rudiments or any other Latin book, in their lecture schools, in order that the first regent in the high school may be held answerable for their grounding in the rudiments.² In the same year, the council of Burntisland declare that no person shall be allowed to set up a school without their leave,³ and in 1620 we learn that only women may hold private schools in Burntisland.⁴

In 1602, the council of Stirling ordain 'for the better flourishing of the grammar scole' that all bairns exceeding eight years of age sent to any other school within the burgh, or to any landward school about the same, 'to the quhilk bairnes gang furth in the morning and thairfra cumes hame at evin,' be removed from such schools and sent to the grammar school;⁵ in 1603 the magistrates bind James Duncanson and Nicol Murdoch, to receive no male children, under penalty of £10, and their 'scole durris steikit up';⁶ and on 27th May 1609, Duncanson is again discharged from teaching longer than Whitsunday next;⁷ in the same year the council discharge John Matheson of all further keeping of a writing school; he promises to obey;⁸ in 1613, Thomas Couper, tailor, becomes cautioner for Alexander Stevenson, that he shall not instruct male children in his school or in any private house from this time forth;⁹ and, again, in 1625, James Wallace is discharged from teaching 'ony maill childrene,' and ordained to remain in ward until he find caution not to contravene the act of council.¹⁰ In 1605, the town of Ayr again promises to the master of the grammar school to allow no other school within

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr. It would appear that there was not the same strict prohibition against adventure schools for teaching girls.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Burgh Records of Burntisland.

⁵ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

the burgh than the grammar school and music school—boys attending the former, except such as choose to learn music, and girls the latter, or (it is added) ‘any other school they please.’¹ In 1616, a notary in Perth is discharged from teaching bairns,² and in 1623, it is enacted that no other schools shall be allowed in the burgh than the grammar school, without prejudice, however, to the ‘weemen schollis, according to use and wont.’³ In 1618, the council of Paisley prohibit the keeping of any reading schools in the burgh, except the grammar school and music school.⁴

About this period we find in the records a number of entries directed against teaching by women. Thus, in 1626, the council of Dysart, for increasing the number of scholars in their school and promoting literature, ordain that no woman mistress shall receive any male children who can go to the principal or high school.⁵ In 1635 the schoolmaster of Burntisland complains that Mansie Maceggan and Bessie Davidson keep schools to the injury of the grammar school.⁶ In 1636 three ladies in Aberdeen having likewise presumed to take up English schools in the burgh and teach their scholars to read, thereby prejudicing the masters of the English schools, they are discharged from holding any other schools than for teaching bairns to ‘sew and wywe pearling allanarlie.’⁷

At the head court of Jedburgh it is statute in 1638 that burgesses shall send their sons, after six years of age, to the high school only, under pain of £10 for each fault unforgiven.⁸

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr. Whether the licence to attend any other school they please, refers to a private school, or the grammar school, it is difficult to decide: probably it means the grammar school. See a further entry, under 27th May 1606, imposing a penalty of £5, for boys attending any other school; also an indenture, dated June 1612, to the same effect as the contract above quoted.

² Burgh Records of Perth.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dysart.

⁶ Burgh Records of Burntisland.

⁷ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁸ Burgh Records of Jedburgh. A similar ordinance, but without the provision of a penalty, is found in the Burgh Records of Stirling, under date 4th December 1649; likewise under 2d May 1653.

For the encouragement of the doctor of the grammar school of Paisley, the council, in 1647, conclude that all men children shall attend the grammar school, and ordain at the same time women to be discharged from receiving boys into their schools, under pain of censure;¹ in 1648 the council intimate, 'be tuck of drum,' that no woman may keep school without licence of the council;² in 1651 the council discharge all persons from teaching men children so that they may repair to the grammar school.³ It is recorded that in 1654 James Potter, having usurped the privilege of keeping a school in Glasgow, for which he could produce no warrant, and having been warned to pray the council to allow him to keep a school, and seeing he has 'sighted and neglected to do so,' is discharged from keeping school.⁴ In 1656 the council of Peebles discharge 'those women' who keep school for female bairns to receive any male children, either of town or landward, under pain.⁵ A similar indignity to the female teachers of the time occurs in 1658, when the council of Glasgow appoint the bailies to discharge 'the woman' who has at her own hand taken up a school at the head of the Saltmarket;⁶ the council, in 1660, recommend the bailies to take up the names of all persons who keep Scots schools, to ascertain by what warrant they do so.⁷

In 1660 and 1661 vulgar schoolmasters were discharged by the magistrates of Edinburgh from teaching Latin.⁸ In 1662 the magistrates of Inverness prohibit all persons, excepting the town teachers, from giving instructions in reading or writing within the burgh.⁹ In the same year the council of Stirling repeal the statute of 1602—altering the age to six years, above which none shall be taught in any other school within the burgh than the grammar school.¹⁰ Again,

¹ Burgh Records of Paisley.

² Ibid. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁵ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁶ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Chalmers's *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 90. See also Burgh Records of Edinburgh, under date 1654.

⁹ 'Memorabilia' of Inverness.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Stirling.

in the same year, the English and writing schools of Aberdeen having been for several years much neglected and abused by too many persons who had no ability teaching them, licence is granted to two persons to teach these schools, and all other persons are discharged from instructing in reading, writing, or arithmetic.¹ The schoolmaster of Forfar having, in 1664, been compelled to resign his charge, but finding that he still teaches children, the council forbid the 'whole inhabitants from putting children to him.'² The council of Irvine enact in 1665 that no person shall set up as schoolmaster in the burgh without consent of the council;³ and at Ayr in the following year, when William Wallace was appointed schoolmaster, all other persons were prohibited from teaching, except himself and his doctor.⁴ In 1666 women are forbidden in Perth to teach boys older than seven years, or to teach writing to any boys.⁵ In 1668 the council of Edinburgh, finding that though it is specially provided by acts of council that no person may teach Latin or grammar within the city, except the masters of the high school, and that none residing within the town may send their children to be taught without the gates, yet several teach within the city 'to its public loss, and to the overthrow of the high school;' therefore ordain that no person upon any pretence whatever teach grammar within the city except at the schools of Leith, Canongate, and the readers' school of West Port; and that no inhabitant send their children to Bristo, or any other place within the liberties of the city; any one teaching in contempt of this act shall be imprisoned, and parents sending their children elsewhere shall pay quarterly to the master of the high school as much as his other scholars.⁶ In 1674 the council of Brechin ordained that no person shall send a boy, above ten years of age, to any other school in or out of the burgh than the grammar

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Forfar.

³ Burgh Records of Irvine.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁵ Burgh Records of Perth.

⁶ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

school, under a penalty of £20 Scots.¹ In 1675 the council of Ayr resolve that there shall be no other grammar school than that authorised by themselves; and the inhabitants of the town are forbidden to send their children to any other Scots schools than the public Scots school, unless to learn the catechism and psalm book.² In the same year the council of Rutherglen order persons who send their children to other schools than the grammar school of the burgh, to pay to the master of that school double the quarterly wages.³ In 1678 the council of Paisley 'discharge any reading school except the grammar school.'⁴

The Privy Council having issued a proclamation against keeping private Latin schools in Edinburgh or suburbs, the following declaration, dated 28th January 1681, was extorted from the private teachers of Latin by the magistrates of the city: We underscribers, keepers of Latin schools within this city, bind and oblige us, conform to the court ordinance, that we shall, before the term of Whitsunday next, cease to keep Latin schools, and shall not in time coming presume to keep a public or private school for that effect, under such a penalty as the town council think fit to impose upon us.—J. HANNAY, GEORGE YOUNG, W. LEESONE, ROBERT WILSON, WALTER GREENLAW.⁵ The adventure schools seem to have gained ground on the high school in the course of 1684, when the doctors appeal for augmentation, because of the number of private schools which, if suppressed, will become their mortal enemies, slandering them to all concerned.⁶ In 1682, the council of Peebles ordain all boys to be taught at the public school after they can read the psalm book;

¹ Black's History of Brechin (2d ed.), 89.

² Burgh Records of Ayr. A somewhat similar limitation is quoted in the 'Memorabilia' of Inverness in 1677 when Mary Cowie was ordered not to teach reading beyond 'the Proverbs.'

³ Burgh Records of Rutherglen.

⁴ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁵ Steven's History of the High School, 75.

⁶ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

and other schools are discharged;¹ in 1688 the women schools were visited by the magistrates, who ordered such boys as are on the psalm book to attend the public school, under pain of the quarterly payments;² and on 17th October 1692, the council, considering the great division in the burgh, in consequence of all the children not attending the public school, ordain the inhabitants to send their children to the public school within one month from this date, under pain of £10 Scots *toties quoties*.³ The council having, on 9th January 1693, cited John Govan, late provost, James Grieve, late bailie, and George Broun, carrier, inquired of them if they had obeyed this act; answered, they had their children at another school, from which they would not remove them unless there was a settled schoolmaster, which the present master, Mr M'Millan, was not, being a preacher and about to get a kirk; replied, that Mr M'Millan having been found qualified by the presbytery and having yet no other charge, they were bound to send their children to him, which they refused to do; therefore the council fine the delinquents in £10 Scots each and ordained them to lie in prison until the fine be paid.⁴ The encouragement afforded to private schools in Dunfermline by the kirk session raised the opposition of the burgh teachers;⁵ in 1686 Mr Patrick Dykes, schoolmaster of

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² Ibid. A school having been established in a little house at Crosskirk by Henry Hay, a discharged master of the burgh, the council, in 1691, suppress it for preventing the ruin of the public school; he was again, in 1694, discharged from keeping a private school under pain of imprisonment.

³ Ibid. This dispute gave rise to a lawsuit, as we find in 1693 the council nominating Archibald Neill, bailie, to go to Edinburgh and do everything necessary for discussing the suspension raised by Provost Govan and others, of the acts of council anent the public school.

⁴ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁵ A few extracts from the kirk session records of Dunfermline show that the sessions were often more enlightened than the councils in promoting education: 13th July 1679, the session, considering that the 'Gellits Easter' is so remote from the town that children residing there cannot conveniently come to the public school, authorise Patrick Mudie

Dunfermline, produced an act of council discharging all other schools in the town, except those who have licence from the council.¹ In 1686, and again in 1730, ordained that no other than the burgh school shall be held in Wigtown, except for 'lasses to learne shewing,' under pain of £10 quarterly, to be paid by the teachers, and five groats by parents for each child.² In 1688 the council of Banff prohibit private schools from being established in the town, under pain of banishment.³ In 1690 the council of Kirkcudbright forbid any other school to be kept in town (except for children until they learn the psalm book) than the burgh school, and ratify all former acts made thereanent.⁴ In 1693 the council of Edinburgh ordered the doors of private schools to be closed;⁵ and two years later the council of Ayr, for the encouragement of the master of the Scots, writing, and music school, appoint, conform to the ancient acts of the burgh, an 'edict to pass through the burgh by tuk of drum,' prohibiting any other person from keeping any common school for teaching these subjects, including arithmetic; the act extending only to the 'grounding' of young children.⁶ In 1698, and again in 1727, the council of Stirling forbid any child above six years of age to be taught in any other than the grammar school; nor shall any one have

to hold a school in that quarter, providing always that he live orderly and regularly; on 20th May 1683, the session gave out two 'byg dollars' to Patrick Mudie for teaching poor scholars, and £1, 4s. to Elspit Cusin for like pains. In consequence of the remonstrance of the town council, against the supporting by the session of private schools, the session were obliged to give the money mortified for teaching the poor to the master of the grammar school and his doctor, but at the same time resolved to give something out of the 'box' to private schools. Accordingly, James Lamb, who keeps a school in the town, receives £2, 18s.

¹ Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

² Burgh Records of Wigtown.

³ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright. In the same year the council license James Bell to 'keep a school for young children for teaching the catechism and psalm book, and no further or higher.'

⁵ Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman, pp. 90, 91.

⁶ Burgh Records of Ayr. The extension of monopoly to the Scots school and music school only took place in 1687.

liberty to keep a private school.¹ In 1703 the master of the grammar school of Dunfermline once more complains to the council, that to his great discouragement two persons had at their own hand set up private schools in the town contrary to several acts of the council; the council unanimously discharged them and all others from teaching male children, except such as shall be under seven years of age, under pain of £20 Scots *toties quoties*; one-half accruing to the town, and the other to the master and doctor.² The council of Linlithgow, in 1708, for the encouragement of the grammar school, discharge all private schools from teaching Latin and writing.³

In 1713, the council of Ayr inquire by what authority Mr Alstoun sets up a public music school within the burgh;⁴ in 1714, the council, considering that there are several private English schools in the burgh, to the discouragement of the English master, prohibit all persons from teaching to read or write, under a penalty of £20 Scots;⁵ in 1723, he petitions against two private schools in which reading and writing were taught;⁶ in the following year, William Murdoch being examined for keeping an English school, acknowledges that his wife and he have taught reading and writing, but not arithmetic; also John Watson, woolcomber, being indicted for a similar offence, says that the neighbours, observing his business decaying, advised him to employ his time partly in grounding children in reading; and he had taught some children during several months to read the catechism and psalm book; the council, considering that the youth may be sufficiently instructed in writing and arithmetic in the public school, and that the allowing of many private schools discourages the masters of the public schools and prejudices the town, discharge these two private teachers under penalty of £20 Scots;⁷ in 1728 the English master again complains, that although, for enabling him the better to keep

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling.

² Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

³ Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 115.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

the school, he has engaged an assistant, yet David Watt and others teach English schools publicly, to his great loss and discouragement. Watt, on being brought before the council, declares he taught only the A B C and catechism; he is discharged from teaching anything else; but if he does not behave himself christianly and soberly, he shall be discharged from keeping any school;¹ in 1738, there were eight adventure schools in the burgh, taught respectively by David Watt, Mrs Murdoch, Mrs Anderson, Ann Cochrane, Helen Smith, Mrs Maxwell, Jean Smith, and Ann Hamptrie; who were all discharged from keeping schools.²

In 1714, the council of Paisley ordain one Pinkerton to be removed from teaching, in respect he is not a freeman nor a freeman's son, and prejudices the master of the English school;³ the last instance of the council's interference with a private teacher took place in December 1751.⁴ In 1720, the town council of Dundee grant to the music master of the burgh the sole privilege of teaching music, vocal and instrumental, exclusive of any others.⁵ In 1721, the town council of Selkirk, having appointed an English master, declare that no other person shall be allowed to teach, within the burgh, English to boys.⁶ In 1727, the schoolmaster of Forfar complains of such as set up 'schools of writing and arithmetic without any authority;' the council, finding that such conduct prejudices the public schools and discourages the petitioner, enact that no person shall establish private schools, excepting such as initiate children in reading, under the penalty of £40 Scots *toties quoties* and imprisonment.⁷

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr. In 1746 the teacher of this school prays the magistrates to suppress two private writing schools, in respect that he had been 'installed into the office of writing-master as well as English master.'

² Burgh Records of Montrose.

³ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁶ Burgh Records of Selkirk.

⁷ Burgh Records of Forfar. Alexander Williamson having contravened the act, the council, in 1732, discharge him from teaching writing, arithmetic, and reading.

Because of the 'vast discouragement to the burgh of Crail, and particularly to the master of the grammar school,' occasioned by the inhabitants sending their children to other schools, the council in 1728 agree, *nemine contradicente*, that for the future any person in the place who hath male children above six years of age shall send them to the grammar school, under pain of £5 Scots yearly, *toties quoties*—one-half going to the schoolmaster, and the other towards repairing the school; the act to be observed inviolably in all time coming as a precedent.¹

In 1742, Mr Miller, schoolmaster of Kirkealdy, complains of the decay of the public school, which he ascribes, in a great measure, to the tolerating of private schools.² In 1753, the council of Forfar passed an act, suppressing all private teachers;³ and in 1766, no one was allowed to teach English and mathematics in Kirkeudbright but the burgh teacher.⁴

We at last reach the confines of the blessed period of unrestricted competition—the true foundation and the surest guarantee for progress, civilisation, and the welfare of nations as well as individuals. The record cited of the multitude of adventure schools that surreptitiously came into existence, and, when discovered, most humbly prayed for toleration, from the Middle Ages downward, and of the difficulty experienced by the authorities in extinguishing them, is of great value to the student of education, indicating, as it does, an ardent desire on the part of our poor people to partake—in the midst of much darkness, heavy oppression, and national disorders—of the perennial fountains of knowledge, and proving that the public schools established in the burghs were not, as a rule, equal to, or well adapted for, the supplying of instruction to the son and daughter of every burgess and unfreeman, notwithstanding the pious endeavours of the town councils and others to make these schools accessible to the poor and rich

¹ Burgh Records of Crail.

³ Burgh Records of Forfar.

² Burgh Records of Kirkealdy.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kirkeudbright.

alike.¹ From this time forward we find the councils not only tolerating their old enemies the private schools, but actually promoting them with some of the zeal they formerly displayed in suppressing them: thus, on 24th March 1773, the council of Montrose granted 25s. yearly to a person who had set up as a teacher of English;² in 1812, they paid the school rents of fifteen teachers for the past year;³ in 1797, the council of Stirling granted £5 yearly to William Wands, private school-master, 'on account of his great usefulness';⁴ in July 1790, the magistrates and council of Ayr allow the master of the English school of the burgh to take a room nearer the centre of the town than the schoolhouse at the Old Tower, in order that he may compete with the several private teachers who had schools;⁵ the magistrates and council of Forfar, on 14th April 1803, considering that the state of the other schools in the burgh, besides the town schools, were on so good a footing, as to deserve encouragement, grant a small salary to the private teachers.⁶ Many acts of council occur after this date granting such small sums to adventure teachers for their encouragement.

¹ Cf. *infra*, under Fees and Salaries, where there is a notice of poor scholars.

² Burgh Records of Montrose.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁵ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁶ Burgh Records of Forfar.

CHAPTER IV.—VISITATIONS AND EXAMINATIONS OF SCHOOLS.

§ 1. ECCLESIASTICAL VISITATIONS.—§ 2. PARLIAMENTARY VISITATIONS.—§ 3. MUNICIPAL VISITATIONS.

THE most important event in the little history of the school was the 'Visitation,' which was attended with much pomp and solemnity, and was a subject of painful anxiety and careful preparation, on the part of masters and scholars alike. On that awful day the Visitors, who generally included some representatives of the civic and ecclesiastical authorities, and sometimes, as in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, the academic element, subjected the masters and scholars to a rigorous examination, in regard to discipline, doctrine, qualifications and proficiency. These visitations, sometimes made by the church and parliament as well as by the managers, were of incalculable value, in promoting rivalry among the scholars, discipline in the school, and a sense of responsibility in the masters. In fact, visitation was the most salutary plan that could be devised for the government of schools, and without it there were no means of ascertaining their efficiency. We give several entries from the records, illustrating this important subject, beginning with the ecclesiastical visitations, of which there are notices as old as the Reformation.

§ 1. The Book of Discipline, written in 1560, proposes that discreet, learned, and grave men shall visit quarterly all schools for trying the progress of scholars in learning.¹ An Act of Assembly, dated 1567, ordains visitors to try masters and doctors with regard to 'soundness' in religion, ability in teaching, and honesty in conversation.² In 1578, the

¹ Works of Knox, ii., 209 (Laing's ed.).

² Referred to in Acts of Assembly passed on 17th and 18th December 1638.

Kirk passed an order for visiting schools;¹ and in 1595, the Assembly ordain every presbytery, within their own bounds, to visit and reform grammar schools in towns and deal with magistrates for appointing 'most meet persons' to assist the masters in discipline.² In 1642, the Assembly appointed a committee to consider the time and manner of visiting schools, and the 'best and most compendious and orderly course' for teaching grammar;³ and in 1645 the Assembly, with the view of advancing learning and good order in grammar schools, enacted that every such school should be visited twice in the year by visitors appointed by the presbytery and kirk session in landward parishes, by the town council and ministers in burghs, and by the universities, where there are any, always with consent of the patrons of the school, in order that the diligence of masters and the proficiency of scholars may be ascertained, and deficiency censured.⁴ The Act passed in 1645 is re-enacted in 1706, when the Assembly enjoin presbyteries to visit all the public grammar schools, at least twice every year, and order synods to inquire at their privy censures whether this recommendation has been obeyed.⁵

A single extract from the church records may be quoted to show the painstaking care with which the presbyteries assisted in conducting these examinations: on 8th January 1735, the provost of Peebles, in name of the town council, applies to the presbytery for a visitation of the grammar school; the presbytery appoint a committee to visit it on 4th February next, and to report at the next diet of the presbytery, to be held on the day immediately after the examination. Accordingly on 5th February 1735, the brethren having called for the report, the committee stated that they had met yesterday in the school, accompanied by the magistrates and several heritors of the parish; and having caused the schoolmaster to examine the Latin classes severally, they heard each class read and explain parts of the authors used; examined some in different places; tried them upon the parts

¹ Booke of the Universall Kirke, p. 415.

² Ibid., p. 856.

³ Acts of the General Assembly.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

of speech and syntax; likewise prescribed a theme and examined it; having thus got a sufficient specimen of the master's sufficiency and method of teaching, and of the proficiency of the scholars, they unanimously approved of both, and having also heard the other classes of the school examined upon English and arithmetic, they were very well satisfied with them all. The presbytery having 'heard, read, and considered' the report, unanimously approve of the whole, and appoint Mr John Hay, minister at Peebles, to acquaint the magistrates of the same, recommending them to procure, if they can, a more convenient schoolhouse; on 2d April, Mr Hay reports that he delivered the presbytery's commission to the magistrates who promise to provide a more convenient schoolhouse as soon as possible.¹

§ 2. Visitations of schools were also appointed to be made on the high authority of parliament. The Parliament of the Commonwealth instructs the Council in Scotland to visit and reform schools, and suspend statutes or customs which are not agreeable to the good of the people, and are inconsistent with the government.² This Act was conceived in the interest of Cromwell's government more than in that of the schools of Scotland, but a more national Act was passed shortly after the Revolution, when a large body of commissioners was appointed in 1690 to visit schools, providing them with pious and qualified masters, and removing such as shall be found erroneous, scandalous, negligent, insufficient, or disaffected, or who do not subscribe the Confession of Faith; the visitors also to take order with regard to the revenues of the school and set down rules for their management.³ Shortly before the Union we find that an act and commission were read in Parliament for visiting schools;⁴ but it does not appear to have become law—the times being, perhaps, too stormy for passing Education Acts.

¹ Presbytery Records of Peebles. For other examples of presbyterial visitations, see *supra*, Chap. I., § 6.

² Acts of Parliament, 1655, 1658, vi., Part ii., 826, 876.

³ *Ibid.*, 1690, c. 25, ix., 163.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1704 and 1705, xi., 152, 235.

§ 3. Leaving the records of the church and parliament, we come to visitations made by the town councils, the patrons of the school, which are more instructive for the purpose of this work. Our first extract, of date before the end of the sixteenth century, is of great interest, from the minute picture it gives of the mode and extent of the examination of the burgh schools of Glasgow. In a course of study prescribed for the scholars of the grammar school of that city, it is provided that the school shall be twice a year examined by men of eminence and learning, appointed by the council of the burgh and of the university—namely, on the Tuesdays preceding the first days of May and November. The master—‘scholarchas’—shall remind the town council and the dean of the faculty of arts of the fact twenty days previously, in order to the providing of censors and examiners, and warn the scholars publicly, so that they may diligently prepare for the approaching trial. The scholars in each class shall be examined ‘pro artibus delegatorum;’ in the two higher classes themes in the vulgar tongue shall be dictated, which the scholars shall render into Latin, handing their exercises to the examiners. When the examination is finished, the pupils of the several classes shall publicly appear in the place and rank gained by each, when the less proficient shall be reproved, the unworthy put back and the rest advanced with more signal honours and rewards. On the day following the examination of the grammar school, the Scots schools—‘scholæ triviales vernaculæ’—shall be visited by the delegates, accompanied by the master of the grammar school, who shall note the nature of the instruction and the progress of the boys in learning, piety, and morals. At that diet intimation shall be made to those who are to study Latin that year, in order that, not later than the first day of June, they may be preferred to the Latin school; and thus be the better prepared to enter on the first year of their course.¹

The extracts which follow illustrate how common was the system of visitations or exhibitions in the burgh schools of

¹ From the Original in the archives of Glasgow.

Scotland from the end of the sixteenth century downwards. In many burghs the record only acquaints us with the fact of the visitation having been made, but in others we learn how masters and scholars were encouraged, abuses corrected, and reforms introduced. In 1601, the town council of Stirling appointed a day for 'taking ordour with the estait of the grammar school of the burgh,'¹ which was apparently not in a satisfactory condition. Three years later, the council of Aberdeen, for the better discipline of the grammar school, appointed a committee to visit it quarterly for taking trial of doctrine and discipline—the visitors taking advice of the bishop, ministers, and principal of the college;² in 1622, certain burghesses were chosen visitors of all the schools of the burgh—visiting them at least every month, and reporting where they find any disorder or violation of the rules, by masters or scholars.³ The earliest recorded visitation of the grammar school of Perth was made in 1630 for 'settling down injunctions and admonitions' to the master and doctors who are charged with 'evil attendance.'⁴

There does not appear to have been a formal visitation of the high school of Edinburgh till 1640,⁵ when the council, considering that hitherto there has not been 'set down anie solid course for the tryell of the maister and doctors in teatching and attending of the scollaris concredit to thair care,' enacted that in future there shall be two yearly visitations—viz., on the last Monday of October and on the first Monday of May; in the week preceding, the classes shall be tried at two different diets by examiners appointed by the town council, who shall, at the first diet, examine the lower classes on the authors read and rules learned since the last examination;⁶ the

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Perth.

⁵ But as early as 1614 the town council ordained that there shall be two public examinations of the high school each year, the first in May and the other in October.

⁶ Every doctor was required to keep a minute of the authors read and the part of the grammar gone over since the last visitation.

examiners shall next prescribe a theme to such as can 'turn a theame,' which each of the scholars shall deliver to the examiners. At the second diet, the master shall produce, like the doctors, a note of the authors read since the last visitation by the high class, whereupon the examiners shall try such of them as they think meet, and prescribe a theme which each 'sall mak apairt by himself without the help of ane other, and thereafter write it over *in mundo* and deliver it to the examiners.' When the council 'have hard the hearing and the scollaris are dismissed,' the examiners shall report how the youth have profited in learning, after which they shall remove the master to see if anything can be found against him; the doctors shall next be removed for the same purpose, and the council shall remedy any defect which may be found.¹

Visitations of the grammar school of Paisley commenced in 1646, when in June of that year the council appointed the school to be visited by the bailies and ministers once a month,² and we have already seen that a visitation of the grammar school of Aberdeen was in 1622 ordained to be made as frequently—once a month. The record does not indicate the causes of the following visitations of the grammar schools of Peebles, Stirling, and Glasgow: In 1652 the council of Peebles ordain the school to be visited and the minister to be acquainted therewith;³ in 1653 the bailies of Stirling are requested to go 'alongis and take notice of the grammer scoole';⁴ and in 1654 the council of Glasgow order all Scots schools to be visited.⁵ Two years later the council of Jedburgh order visitations of the school to be made on the first Wednesdays of November and May in order that the master and doctor shall be tried 'concerning the soundness of their judgment in matters of religion,' their ability as teachers,

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Paisley. For many years the visitation continued to be made.

³ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁴ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁵ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

the honesty of their conversation, and the fidelity with which they discharge their calling, so that the proficiency of the scholars may be known.¹

An important record concerning visitation is preserved in the registers of Aberdeen, and is very valuable as showing the thoroughness with which it was conducted in the good old town more than two hundred years ago. On 15th June 1659, the town council, considering that the quarterly visitation of the grammar and music schools appointed by former acts, if rightly conducted, would promote the learning of the youth, approve the following regulations, together with the *leges scolæ*,² adopted in 1636: 1. There shall be four solemn visitations of the grammar school every year, one at the beginning of every quarter, when the scholars shall be tried in making themes, interpreting and analysing authors, and making verses—a work which shall take up one day, if rightly done. 2. The master of the grammar school shall keep a register of visitations, in which shall be written the 'laws of the school,' printed about the year 1636, and also the act of council approving these overtures; the scholar who at the quarterly visitation gains the premium shall, with his own hand, insert his name in the register, mentioning whether he gained it by making a theme or a verse or analysing authors; he shall also record the date of visitation, which must be done by *nonas, idus et calendas*, the master helping those of the lower classes to enter the date correctly; the prizeman's theme shall be affixed above his class till the next visitation. 3. Each scholar in the school shall have an antagonist, who as much as possible shall be his equal, with the view of stirring up emulation; neither to receive help in his trials. 4. The master shall keep the themes of the present visitation until the next quarterly visitation, that their proficiency may be marked. 5. They who make the best verse and the best theme shall have each a premium after it appears by examination to be their own making. 6. There

¹ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

² We have not been able to find these 'laws,' which are probably lost.

shall be public acting at every quarterly visitation, that the scholars may learn boldness and a vivacity in public speaking. 7. When two or more are equal in making a theme, or in other point of trial, they may be put to an extempore trial for ascertaining the order of merit; the visitors must be careful not to discourage the unsuccessful competitor, who should receive a word of public commendation from the mouth of him who gives the premium to the victor, nor give a premium in a partial way, because that would bring visitations into contempt and frustrate their chief end; the visitors should therefore be careful to go about the duty seriously and not slightly, as the doing thereof in that way will tend greatly, through God's blessing, to the good of the school and scholars, and doubtless be a means of stirring up charitable hearts to mortify lands to pious uses for the increase of learning and virtue when they perceive that care is taken to fulfil the will of others who have mortified before them for such uses. 8. At every visitation, the act of council, approving or recommending these or other rules, shall be read at the quarterly visitations, for refreshing the memory of the visitors.¹ Nearly half a century later the council, seriously considering that fixed rules have not been drawn up for a long time for regulating the grammar school, ratify on 23d October 1700 the following laws: There shall be a solemn visitation yearly in the beginning of October when the several classes shall be examined and premiums given to the most deserving; the prizemen's names, and the subjects of the prizes, being entered in the school register. Besides this solemn visitation, there shall be three other visitations by deputies of the council, two ministers of the burgh, and two masters of Marischal College—the first visitation on the first Thursday of February, the second on the first Thursday of May, and the third on the first Thursday of August. Besides the four yearly visitations, two or more of the magistrates and council shall visit the school on the first Tuesday of every month, and inquire how the discipline of the school is observed.² In 1711 it was

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Ibid.

further enacted, that at every visitation the master shall provide two catalogues, containing the names of the scholars, the authors and grammar which they are learning, and what they have been taught since the last visitation; one catalogue to be kept by the town clerk and to be brought with the *leges scolæ*, the other to be lodged in the schools among the books.¹

Few visitations are so instructive as those of Aberdeen; but the mere fact of visitations being made at all in burghs of less note is worthy of being recorded as showing the interest taken even by small burghs in the proper government of their schools. We found that the grammar school of Perth was visited in 1630 for improving the discipline of the school, but from the next entry in the records on this subject, it would appear that the inspection was not again repeated till 1684, when the council, for the encouragement of the grammar school, revived the ancient custom of visiting it, and it is gratifying to know, found the scholars giving greater satisfaction than was expected.² For redressing the disorders in the common school of Stirling, the council in 1694 appoint it to be visited at the beginning of every quarter; the ministers to be advertised of the visitation, so that they may 'concur and go along' with the council.³ On 21st June 1704, the council of Montrose, considering how much the public schools of the burgh are decayed, appoint the magistrates to visit them twice a year, viz., on first Tuesdays of January and July, and to take order for their regulation; the ministers, and such councillors, or others, as the magistrates shall call, may accompany them.⁴ In 1706, for ascertaining the cause of the decay of the grammar school of Cupar, a visitation was ordered to be made.⁵ On 30th December 1707, a committee of the town council of Dundee visited the English school;⁶ and on 11th September 1749, another committee and the rector of the grammar school visited the same school, and found it better than they had expected; it is determined,

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Stirling.

³ Burgh Records of Cupar.

⁴ Burgh Records of Perth.

⁵ Burgh Records of Montrose.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dundee.

however, to try again the proficiency of the boys at Lanmas next.¹ On 23d August 1718, the council of Banff and the minister visited the grammar school, and found the master able to teach the literature requisite, and the scholars in a fair way of becoming proficient in humanity.² In 1728 the whole council of Stirling, and ministers of the Gospel, visited the grammar school, to 'inquire how the boys profit under their several teachers, and how they are taught.'³ In November 1735, the council of Ayr apply to the presbytery for a visitation of the school, which is accordingly made by a committee of that body, accompanied by the magistrates;⁴ in June 1766 the council order 'that the schools be visited and publickly examined annually on the second Thursday of June, and that the magistrates and dean of guild inspect on that day the publick library and mathematical instruments.'⁵ The town council of Kinghorn, in 1763, ordain that the grammar school 'shall be publickly examined by the master and doctor in August on the day before the vacation.'⁶ On 22d February 1777, the council of Banff, for advancing learning, appoint yearly visitations to be made of the grammar school, on first Tuesday of April, in order to test the proficiency of the scholars and the method of teaching, by two ministers named by the presbytery, along with the magistrates and minister of the place.⁷ On 26th February 1781, the council of Inverurie propose to visit the public school, and give orders to purchase premiums for encouraging the best scholars;⁸ on 3d April 1782, the magistrates petition the presbytery to visit the school; and the visitation took place on 24th April, an edict having been served on the proper parties on the 14th.⁹ In

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee.

² Burgh Records of Banff.

³ Burgh Records of Stirling. The office-bearers of Stirling were ordered, in 1763, to visit the public schools within the burgh.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁷ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁸ Burgh Records of Inverurie. This entry occurs in the burgh accounts: 27th February, spent in John Sangster's house in visiting the public and very flourishing school under Mr Lessel, 7s. 6d.

⁹ Ibid.

1776 the bailies of Greenock agreed to postpone the public examination of the grammar school, on account of the bad health of the master, until after the vacation;¹ in 1777 the council desire the magistrates to arrange with the ministers and masters of the schools for a quarterly examination;² and in 1784 the council attended the examination of the mathematical school, along with a number of the inhabitants, and were perfectly satisfied with the progress.³

We have now reached the advertising period—a period when the authorities wish to make the result of the examinations patent to the world. Thus, in the *Glasgow Mercury*, of 20th September 1782, there is a flattering account of the examination of the Paisley grammar school, under Mr Henry, ‘a well qualified and assiduous preceptor;’⁴ and an equally flattering account of the examination of the grammar school appears in the *Glasgow Courier* of 20th September 1793. On 8th September 1783, the council of Crail, considering that on 29th August the grammar school was examined, and that the scholars have made great progress in the different branches, agree to approve of the same publicly by inserting it in the *Courant*, the magistrates signing the advertisement;⁵ the council resolved also to publish the gratifying result of the examination held 18th September 1786.⁶ In June 1784, the magistrates of Ayr attended the examination of the public schools, and had great reason to applaud the proficiency of the scholars, and ability and attention of the masters; they observed, however, with much regret, that there were few scholars at the mathematical school, who, upon examination seemed to have made little progress, owing to the want of authority in the master.⁷ In 1791 it was agreed that the Fortrose academy should be publicly examined twice a year by the presbytery in March or April, and by the whole visitors at a subsequent time;⁸ and a committee was appointed for visiting the school *weekly*, and

¹ Burgh Records of Greenock.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Glasgow Mercury*.

⁵ Burgh Records of Crail.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁸ Records of Fortrose academy.

to give in reports to the general meetings of visitors held quarterly.¹ The town council of Kilmarnock having applied to the presbytery in 1795 to examine the schools of the burgh, the grammar school and the English school were tried in presence of the magistrates and council, and it was found that the scholars 'gave the highest satisfaction.'² On 4th January 1814, a committee of the town council of Dumbarton was appointed to visit the grammar school when the children are convened, and to inquire into the progress of their education.³ The records of Aberdeen give the following account of the annual visitation of the grammar school in 1824: The rector dictated an English theme to be translated into Latin by the third, fourth, and fifth classes; the visitors then attended, for nearly two hours, the examination of the first and second classes, in both of which the scholars acquitted themselves with great ease and correctness, in translating Latin into English, and English sentences into Latin, as well as in answering questions connected with the syntax and grammar of the latter language. In the afternoon, the visitors again met to examine the Latin versions written by the three higher classes, and determine their order of merit. The performance of the versions was exceedingly creditable, not a few of them being free from errors, and many of them evincing a skill in the choice of words, and an acquaintance with the Latin idiom, which could not have been acquired without care and diligence on the part of the teachers.⁴

We gather from these extracts that the public schools in many of the burghs of Scotland were subjected to periodical examinations, more or less searching, from the middle of the sixteenth century downwards. The importance of these visitations and examinations cannot be over-estimated in stimulating the teachers, creating rivalry among the scholars,

¹ Records of Fortrose academy.

² Records of Presbytery of Kilmarnock. ³ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. From October 1765 there is a record in the minutes of the council of the annual visitation, without intermission, until 1856, when it stops.

rousing indifferent pupils, certifying the progress of children, establishing public confidence in the school, suggesting improvements in the management, method of teaching, and organisation of the school, giving to the pupils an assurance or a confidence in themselves calculated to be of service to them in after-life, and, generally, in diffusing education—the higher education.¹ At present there is an annual exhibition or public examination of all our burgh schools, which usually takes place at the close of the session, when the work of the past year is gone over and reported on, the examination being conducted by the teachers, patrons, and others invited for the purpose. Schools in receipt of Government grants are professionally examined and reported on by her majesty's inspectors, and a few of the most important schools are occasionally examined at the request of the managers by persons unconnected with the institution—including professors of Scotch universities, scholars of English universities, members of the Scotch bar, distinguished teachers and clergymen, and other gentlemen connected with education. The advantage to the burgh schools of annual examinations, by *independent* examiners, has recently been admitted by all the best teachers in Scotland, and strongly recommended by so eminent authorities as the assistant commissioners appointed in 1867 to inquire into the state of the burgh schools. They recommended that the secondary schools should be examined annually, and

¹ These visitations invariably originated at the instance of the patrons; but there are instances of the reforms beginning from within—at the instance of the masters. Thus it was at the desire of the schoolmaster of Cupar, that the town council, in 1626, requested the presbytery to visit the grammar school: Burgh Records of Cupar. In September 1656, there is the first mention of a formal visitation of the burgh schools of Ayr, when the council, on the representation of the masters, appoint two councillors to visit at the end of every two months the grammar school, and to report its condition so as to prevent abuse: Burgh Records of Ayr; in 1784, William Neill, master of the English school, petitions to have his school examined once a quarter; the magistrates agree to quarterly examinations—the grammar school of Glasgow having adopted a similar system: Ibid.

publicly reported on—an arrangement which they believe would do as much to improve the quality of middle-class education as Government inspection has done to improve the elementary education in schools connected with the Privy Council.¹ Accordingly, the Education Act provides that every higher class school shall, with reference to the higher branches of knowledge, be annually examined, by persons appointed for that purpose by the school board; in fixing the periods of examination, regard shall be had to the reasonable wishes of the teachers. The expenses incident to these examinations may be paid out of the school fund.²

We conclude this part of our subject, by referring to the litigation, of a somewhat singular description, which the Education Act has given rise to, in connection with visitations. The school board of Kelso resolved—we think with more zeal than wisdom—to visit the schools under their charge, at irregular intervals, without giving previous intimation of their intention. The teacher of the public school of Kelso objected, however, to such visitations being made to his school, and, on 13th March 1874, refused to admit two members of the board deputed to that effect. In these circumstances, the school board prayed for an interdict against him, for refusing to admit them into the schoolroom, so often as they deem necessary, in the discharge of their duties; but it was refused, by a majority of the First Division of the Court of Session, on the ground that the right claimed was not clear on the face of the Education Act, which did not authorise a school board to make visits of surprise, or to interfere with a school-master appointed to a public school, before the passing of that Act, otherwise than directed by that Act. On the other hand, one of the judges was of opinion that the school board, having the duty committed to them of keeping efficient the school, are in the discharge of their duty in visiting it, and that the excluding of the members by the teacher was illegal.³ Though, in the

¹ Education Report (1868), i., pp. xviii. and 138.

² 35 and 36 Vict., c. 62, § 62 (sub-sect. 6).

³ Session Cases (fourth series), ii., 228.

opinion of a majority of the judges, the school boards are not entitled to send any of their members at any time, and without notice, for the purpose of inspecting the school, that power is lodged in her majesty's inspectors by the Education Act, which provides that every public school, and every school in receipt of parliamentary grant, must be open at all times to any of them; and it will be no longer necessary to give notice of the time of the inspector's visit, unless it is otherwise provided in the code.¹

¹ 35 and 36 Vict., c. 62, §§ 60, 66.

CHAPTER V.—ECONOMY OF THE SCHOOLS.

§ 1. SCHOOL LAWS.—§ 2. PRAYERS.—§ 3. SPEAKING LATIN.—§ 4. HOURS OF ATTENDANCE.—§ 5. HALF AND OCCASIONAL HOLIDAYS.—§ 6. SUPERINTENDENCE DURING PLAY-HOURS.—§ 7. GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS.—§ 8. CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY.—§ 9. AUTUMN HOLIDAY.—§ 10. SCHOOL DISCIPLINE.—§ 11. PRIZES.

§ 1. EVERY school of importance had its *leges scolæ*, or code of laws for governing the interesting little company assembled within its walls—a code so comprehensive as to embrace, if possible, the whole duties of masters and pupils. As soon as the law was passed, the authorities not only promulgated it generally, but took great pains that the little subjects who were required to obey it should be perfectly acquainted with its tenor. Three or four extracts from the records of different burghs will show how common it was to publish the school laws: In 1604, and again in 1627, the town council of Aberdeen ordered the school regulations to be written in ‘gryt leteris on a brod,’ lest the master, doctor, or scholars should pretend ignorance of them;¹ the master of the school of Peebles was requested on 30th January 1649, and again on 29th October 1655, to have the school laws orderly set down on a large board hung in the school for the scholars’ information;² in 1674 the town council of Dundee ordained the regulations for the government of the grammar school to be translated into Latin, and hung up in the school ‘on ane broad,’ that none pretend ignorance;³ the regulations of the grammar school of Kinghorn were ordered, in 1763, to be ‘posted on a board constantly hung in the most public part of the school.’⁴ To a person who has no practical knowledge of the teaching profession, like the present writer, the custom of writing out the laws, which was common down to our own day, appears not

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Peebles.

³ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

altogether unobjectionable, because however minute or prolix they might be—and they were always of that character, it is difficult to see how they could be made comprehensive enough to meet every case arising, or how it was possible to carry them out literally in practice without frequent exceptions.

§ 2. The daily work of the school was inaugurated and generally concluded from an early period with the ceremony of engaging publicly in prayer:

‘Holy beginning of a holy cause,
When heroes, girt for freedom’s combat, pause
Before high Heaven, and, humble in their might,
Call down its blessing on that coming fight.’

And the following extracts indicate the character of the acts passed by different burghs for regulating this devotional exercise: Before the end of the sixteenth century it was ordained that, in addition to the ordinary morning and evening prayers to be used daily in the grammar school of Glasgow, the scholars should each be further taught certain forms of prayer—‘formulas precandi,’ for use in private, one when they rise in the morning, the other at night, before going to bed;¹ in 1654 certain persons are licensed to keep Scots schools in Glasgow ‘on the special conditions that they keep morning and evening prayers in their respective schools;’² in 1655 the master of the grammar school of Peebles is directed not to dissolve the school without offering a prayer, reading a chapter from the Bible, and singing a psalm;³ in 1674 the council of Dundee enjoin the master of the grammar school and his successors, or the eldest doctor in the master’s absence, to make public prayer in the English tongue every morning and evening on week-days and after sermon on the Lord’s day;⁴ five years later, the masters of the grammar school of Dunbar were ordained to recommend the children to God by prayer in the morning, and, as they began, let them close the day with prayer;⁵ in 1700 each ‘decurio’ in the

¹ Original in the archives of Glasgow.

² Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

grammar school of Aberdeen was required to take notice how the scholars prayed, and in time of prayer to attend on the section under his charge;¹ in 1755 the master of the English school of Ayr was ordered to pray to God publicly at opening and dismissing the scholars on week-days and Sundays;² in 1763 the master of the grammar school of Kinghorn was ordained to begin and conclude the school with prayer and singing a portion of a psalm in the new method;³ in 1793 we find it laid down that the master of the grammar school of Elgin shall regularly at every meeting of the school in the morning and evening say audible and public prayers in the school.⁴ That the duty was falling at a later time into some disfavour is indicated by the fact that, in April 1826, it was decided that saying prayers in the morning in turn with the other masters should form no part of the duty of the rector of the grammar school of Aberdeen.⁵

The practice of opening the school, or some department of it, with prayer is still generally observed, *e.g.*, in New Aberdeen grammar school,⁶ Annan academy,⁷ Arbroath high school,⁸ Banff grammar school,⁹ Bathgate academy,¹⁰ Closeburn school,¹¹ Cupar Madras academy,¹² Dumbarton burgh academy,¹³ Edinburgh high school,¹⁴ Elgin academy,¹⁵ Forres academy,¹⁶ Glasgow high school,¹⁷ Hamilton academy,¹⁸ Inverness academy,¹⁹ Kirkcudbright academy,²⁰ Lanark burgh school,²¹ Leith high school,²² Linlithgow grammar school,²³ Moffat grammar school,²⁴ Paisley grammar school,²⁵ Peebles grammar school,²⁶ Madras college of St Andrews,²⁷ Stirling high school,²⁸ Tain academy.²⁹ There are indeed indications that the practice is becoming less

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Ayr.

³ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁴ Session Papers (No. 541).

⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁶ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 340.

⁷ Ibid., 345.

⁸ Ibid., 350.

⁹ Ibid., 361.

¹⁰ Ibid., 364.

¹¹ Ibid., 377.

¹² Ibid., 399.

¹³ Ibid., 420.

¹⁴ Ibid., 448.

¹⁵ Ibid., 451.

¹⁶ Ibid., 467.

¹⁷ Ibid., 474.

¹⁸ Ibid., 494.

¹⁹ Ibid., 499.

²⁰ Ibid., 506.

²¹ Ibid., 515.

²² Ibid., 519.

²³ Ibid., 525.

²⁴ Ibid., 527.

²⁵ Ibid., 549.

²⁶ Ibid., 560.

²⁷ Ibid., 585.

²⁸ Ibid., 598.

²⁹ Ibid., 602.

common; thus in the Ayr academy only some of the masters open their morning classes with prayer;¹ while no prayers are said in the Dumfries academy,² Forfar academy,³ Greenock academy,⁴ and Montrose grammar school.⁵

§ 3. From an early period down to a comparatively recent time, Latin was not only the language taught, but universally spoken in schools and colleges, and many of the *School Laws* contain regulations ordaining the scholars to speak that clerkly language only. The scholars of the grammar school of Aberdeen were indulged before the Reformation to speak Latin, and other languages, including Gaelic, but never the vernacular tongue.⁶ At a later period, we find in the laws of the grammar school of Glasgow, passed before the end of the sixteenth century, a rule to the effect that the scholars shall accustom themselves to speak Latin; and they are strictly commanded not to use any expression except from classical authors or from the mouth of their teachers, who must take care that their pupils hear nothing from them but classical Latin.⁷ In 1649 the scholars of the grammar school of Elgin found guilty of speaking English were liable to be punished.⁸ In 1674 the council of Dundee ordain that none of the Latin scholars in the grammar school shall speak English within or without the school *sub pena ferulæ* for the first fault; and if they transgress again they shall be publicly whipped by the master, who shall appoint 'private clandestine captors' for this effect.⁹ The ordinance requiring the pupils of the grammar school of Glasgow to speak Latin only, was, it would appear, not faithfully observed, for on 12th October 1685, they are again strictly forbidden to speak to their masters, or among themselves, but in Latin.¹⁰ In 1700 speaking English at the grammar school of Aberdeen was a punishable offence;¹¹ and so late as 1724 the Latin scholars of

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 358.

² Ibid., 423.

³ Ibid., 463.

⁴ Ibid., 488.

⁵ Ibid., 529.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 61.

⁷ The Original in the archives of Glasgow.

⁸ Report on Burgh Schools, 16.

⁹ Burgh Records of Dundee.

¹⁰ Original in the archives of Glasgow.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

Dumfries were required to speak Latin to each other in or out of school.¹ The custom of speaking Latin continued in England longer than with us. 'It is only within the last generation or two that the rule of speaking Latin exclusively, both by masters and pupils, during school-hours has fallen into abeyance at Westminster school.'² The custom of speaking Latin in school and during play-hours made the practice universally observed prior to the last century, of teaching the Latin tongue wholly by a Latin grammar, not so senseless as might at first sight be imagined, and it may be observed that, while the admirable custom of speaking Latin prevailed, there were more learned scholars and masters than have existed since our knowledge of that language has been derived from books only.³

§ 4. The length of the hours of attendance in school proves that our forefathers followed after learning with much earnestness, and the scholars appear to have been worked to a degree injurious to their health and studies, unless indeed all the preparation of, as well as saying of the lessons was made in school; even then an application of ten hours a day must have been too much work for young children. In 1595, we read that the grammar school of Glasgow met at five o'clock in the morning—an hour proving that our ancestors had a strong practical faith in early rising.⁴ A few years later we learn the hours of attendance at the grammar school of Stirling from a contract between the town and one of its teachers who, on 24th October 1613, was taken bound to attend the school from six to nine A.M., from ten to twelve, and from one till six P.M.—instructing the bairns for ten hours a day.⁵ And in 1616 a doctor of the school of Peebles

¹ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, p. 504.

² The Public Schools of England, p. 171.

³ See *infra*, *ars grammatica*, under Studies in the Schools.

⁴ Cleland's Annals of Glasgow, ii., 156.

⁵ Burgh Records of Stirling. As early, but not as long, hours were observed at the public schools of England. From the statutes of the grammar school of Bury St Edmunds, enacted in 1550, we learn that the usher—'hypodidascalus'—was required to come to the school at six

finds caution to teach during the same number of hours, and to behave himself honestly.¹ In 1630 the master of the high school of Edinburgh is required to attend on the scholars from six A.M. to nine A.M., from ten to twelve, and from 1.30 P.M. to six P.M.²—that is nine hours and a half *per diem*. From an act of the town of Aberdeen, passed in 1639, for keeping the hours of meeting more timeously in all the schools of the burgh, it appears that these corresponded with those in use at Stirling and Peebles: the council ordain, on 23d October, that the bell of Gilbert Leslie's school shall be rung precisely at the hours following for convening the scholars: at six A.M., and again a little before seven o'clock, till the hour strikes; at ten A.M., and at two P.M.; also for dissolving the school at nine A.M., twelve noon, and six P.M.³—making altogether ten hours. In the grammar school of Elgin, in 1649, the classes met at six A.M., and broke up at six P.M., with an intermission of two hours; on Saturdays the hours were from seven to nine, ten to twelve,

A.M., the master—'ludimagister'—at seven A.M., and not to depart till half-past ten; both of them shall return at one o'clock P.M., and the head-master may depart at a quarter-past four, the usher staying till five; on Saturdays—'diebus sabbati'—and half-holidays—'semifastis'—both shall remain at work till three o'clock. The pupils shall assemble at six A.M., and after dinner at one o'clock; at eleven they shall depart to dinner, at five to supper: *Archæological Journal*, xxvi., 390. At Shrewsbury school, in 1571, the hour fixed for beginning work was six in summer and seven in winter. The scholars were to work till dinner time—eleven o'clock; to come to school again at a quarter before one, and be dismissed at half-past four in winter, and an hour later in summer: *The Public Schools*, p. 203. At Westminster, the scholars, about 1600, were called up at a quarter-past five A.M. by one of the monitors with a 'surgite,' having to be in school by six at 'furthest': *The Public Schools*, p. 93.

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles. From the regulation of the university of Edinburgh, published in 1628, we learn that the hours of convening are six o'clock in the morning in winter, and five in the summer, beginning with May till the vacation; at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and at half-past two in the afternoon: Dalzel's *History of the University of Edinburgh*, ii., 384.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

one to two.¹ The teaching hours at the grammar school of Peebles, which were ten hours in 1616, were shortened by half-an-hour in 1649, corresponding with those of Edinburgh in 1630; in 1649 and 1655, the schoolmasters agree to enter the school at six A.M., and after prayer and psalms, to teach until nine A.M.; he and the doctor shall convene the scholars at ten A.M. and teach them till twelve noon; work shall be resumed at half-past one o'clock, and continued till a quarter off six; during the next quarter of an hour the master shall pray, read a chapter in the Bible, and sing a psalm.² In 1656, the schoolmaster of Jedburgh obliges himself in all time coming to teach each week-day during nine hours, from six A.M. till nine A.M., ten to twelve A.M., two to six P.M.³ In 1671 the town council of Aberdeen take measures to provide against a corruption which has lately crept into the grammar school, by the master or doctors not attending till seven or eight A.M.; to prevent such abuse, a doctor shall each day be in the school at six A.M., the master and other doctors arriving each day before seven A.M.⁴

The age, however, tends towards 'corruption' and effeminacy, notwithstanding acts of council. Three years later the early hour of six in the morning is abandoned at Dundee in winter: on 19th February 1674, the masters of the grammar school are required to convene the scholars at six A.M. in summer and seven in winter, and to keep punctual diets at ten after breakfast, and one after dinner.⁵ The hours of attendance at the burgh schools of Dunbar in 1679 corresponded with those observed at the grammar school of Dundee in 1674.⁶ Stirling appears to have been the first place which abandoned the admirable, if somewhat inconvenient, hour of six in the morning; we read in 1694 that the hours in the grammar school, from 1st March to 1st October, shall be seven to nine, the scholars meeting again at ten A.M., and attending from two to six; from 1st October to 1st March they shall continue

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, p. 16.

² Burgh Records of Peebles.

³ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

only until five P.M.¹ Edinburgh and other burghs soon followed the lead of Stirling. On 11th September 1696 the town council of Edinburgh, considering that the high school is 'situated in a corner at some distance,' and that many of the inhabitants are unwilling to expose their tender children to the cold winter mornings, ordain the masters to convene the school at nine A.M. from 1st November to 1st March, and to teach the scholars till twelve that which they were in use to teach in the mornings and forenoons.² Montrose soon followed in the wake, and, indeed, quotes the example of Edinburgh as if an apology were necessary. Thus on 1st September 1697, the town council taking into serious consideration that the youth now at the grammar school being . . . young and not capable of rising from their beds . . . at the time appointed by the masters of the school, whereby the children, by their untimely rising, are deprived of their learning³ . . . and seeing that by . . . of the good town of Edinburgh the magistrates has enacted in all time coming . . . therefore the magistrates and council ordain the masters of the grammar school to appoint the [children] to repair to the school . . . from the first day of . . . of February at the hours . . . continue to twelve a . . . and continue till six . . . which is their order.⁴ . . . Two years later the burgh of Haddington followed suit: on 14th December 1699 the council for the 'health and welfare of the scholars' ordain them to meet from Hallowmas to Candlemas at nine A.M., instead of six as formerly.⁵ The Granite City is not altogether proof against the degeneracy which is spreading everywhere: in 1700 the town council of Aberdeen ordain

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Probably by sleeping in the school before the work of the day was brought to a close.

⁴ Burgh Records of Montrose. Unfortunately the leaf in the volume of the Council Register from which the extract is taken is torn, but the tenor of the act may be gathered, and was no doubt the same as that of Edinburgh.

⁵ Burgh Records of Haddington.

the hebdomadar to be present in the school at seven A.M. summer and winter, but the hour of nine A.M. is fixed for the winter quarter from Hallowday to Candlemas.¹ On 20th October the town council of St Andrews enact that from Martinmas to Candlemas the boys at the grammar school shall convene at nine in the morning and continue till twelve, and in the afternoon as formerly.² We do not know the hours in the morning at which the scholars in the grammar school of Perth met; but it is evident that the hours in the afternoon were encroached upon in 1725, when the council, considering that, by the practice of convening the youth at half-past one P.M., the scholars are much prejudiced by being hurried at dinner, recommend the master to dismiss them at twelve o'clock, and not convene them again till two.³ There were, however, a few burghs which still continued faithful to the old tradition: thus, in Dumfries, it was ordained in 1724, that during the summer half-year, beginning on 1st April, the teacher, under-teacher, and children should enter the school at seven A.M. and continue till nine; the rest of the hours being from ten to twelve, and from two to six, forming altogether eight hours daily, except on Saturdays, when the school was closed at noon.⁴ The same hours were fixed in Dunbar for the Latin school in September 1727.⁵ Still later, we have the practice of early hours illustrated. In 1761 the magistrates and council of Ayr fix the following hours for the Latin school under Mr Ochterson, who taught the first five classes of the Latin school—from seven to nine, from ten to twelve, and from two to four during the summer half-year, viz., from 1st April to 1st October; and from nine to twelve, and two to four during the winter half-year: for the school under the rector—who taught mathematics and the highest class in Latin and Greek—from nine to twelve, and from two to four or five, during the whole year.⁶ In

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of St Andrews.

³ Burgh Records of Perth.

⁴ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, p. 503.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁶ Burgh Records of Ayr.

1763, the hours in Kinghorn were, from 1st April to 1st October, seven to nine A.M., and two to four P.M.; from 1st October to 1st April, nine to twelve A.M., and two to four P.M.¹ In 1779 the council of Greenock fix the hours for the English master from nine to twelve, and from two to four in winter; and from nine to twelve, and two to five² in summer; in 1786 he taught from ten to twelve and three to four, from 22d September to 22d March; and from nine to twelve and three to five, from 22d March to 22d September;³ three years later, the hours in the grammar school were, from 22d September to 22d March, ten to twelve and two to four, and in summer the same as in the English school.⁴ On 13th January 1780 the town council of Banff fixed the hours of attendance in the grammar school, from the middle of October to the middle of February, at nine to twelve forenoon, and from two to dark in the afternoon; and from the middle of February to the middle of October, three meetings daily from seven to nine in the morning, from ten to twelve before noon, and from three to five in the afternoon;⁵ in September 1781, they appoint the masters of the grammar school to keep the following hours, during which they shall attend themselves, as well as command the strict attendance of their scholars, under penalty of malversation—from 1st April to 15th October, seven to nine A.M., ten to twelve A.M., and from two to five P.M.; and from 15th October to 1st April, nine to twelve A.M., and two to five P.M.; Latin and Greek only shall be taught during these hours.⁶ In 1803 the hours of attendance in the Elgin academy were: in summer, from seven to nine A.M.—breakfast, nine to ten; work, ten to one—dinner, one to three; work, three to six; in winter, nine to twelve and one to three; in 1822, three to five in the afternoon were substituted for three to six.⁷

The number of hours during which the scholars are at present engaged in the following schools, are as follow:

¹ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

² Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁵ Burgh Records of Banff.

³ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁷ Elgin Case.

seven hours at the Forfar academy¹ and the Hamilton academy;² six hours and forty-five minutes at Renfrew grammar academy;³ six and a half hours at Lanark burgh school;⁴ six hours and a quarter at Hutton Hall academy;⁵ six hours at Annan academy,⁶ Arbroath high school, Ayr academy,⁷ Banff grammar school,⁸ Brechin grammar school,⁹ Burntisland grammar school,¹⁰ Cupar Madras academy,¹¹ Dollar institution,¹² Dumbarton burgh academy,¹³ Elgin academy,¹⁴ Inverness royal academy,¹⁵ Kirkcudbright academy,¹⁶ Paisley grammar school,¹⁷ Stirling high school,¹⁸ Tain academy,¹⁹ Greenock academy;²⁰ between five and six hours at the New Aberdeen grammar school,²¹ at Dundee high school,²² at Glasgow high school,²³ at Peterhead academy,²⁴ at Madras college of St Andrews;²⁵ between four and six hours at Perth academy,²⁶ and at Leith high school;²⁷ five hours and three-quarters at Forres academy;²⁸ five and a half hours at the Kirriemuir seminary,²⁹ and at Peebles grammar school;³⁰ five hours at Bathgate academy,³¹ at Moffat grammar school,³² and at Montrose grammar school;³³ four hours and forty-five minutes at Fraserburgh academy.³⁴ In addition to the hours spent at school, there is no burgh school for which a certain amount of home preparation is not necessary for the work of the next day—extending from one hour to three hours. One hour of home preparation is thought sufficient for the Forfar academy; one and a half for the Lanark burgh school, Brechin grammar school, Burntisland grammar school, Leith high school, and Montrose grammar school; from one to two for the Moffat grammar school; two for Hamilton academy, Hutton Hall academy, Arbroath high school, Banff grammar

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 463.² Ibid., 494.³ Ibid., 575.⁴ Ibid., 515.⁵ Ibid., 374.⁶ Ibid., 346.⁷ Ibid., 358.⁸ Ibid., 361.⁹ Ibid., 368.¹⁰ Ibid., 371.¹¹ Ibid., 399.¹² Ibid., 411.¹³ Ibid., 420.¹⁴ Ibid., 452.¹⁵ Ibid., 499.¹⁶ Ibid., 506.¹⁷ Ibid., 549.¹⁸ Ibid., 599.¹⁹ Ibid., 603.²⁰ Ibid., 448.²¹ Ibid., 340.²² Ibid., 426.²³ Ibid., 474.²⁴ Ibid., 571.²⁵ Ibid., 585.²⁶ Ibid., 568.²⁷ Ibid., 519.²⁸ Ibid., 467.²⁹ Ibid., 512.³⁰ Ibid., 561.³¹ Ibid., 364.³² Ibid., 527.³³ Ibid., 530.³⁴ Ibid., 470.

school, Dumbarton burgh academy, Paisley grammar school, Tain academy, Peterhead academy, Kirriemuir seminary, Peebles grammar school, Bathgate academy; from two to two and a half for Inverness academy; from two to three for the Dollar institution, New Aberdeen grammar school, Madras college of St Andrews, Forres academy; from one to three for Stirling high school; three hours for Annan academy and Elgin academy; nearly all the learning is done in the Greenock academy.¹

It is painful to contemplate the exhausted state, mentally and bodily, of poor children who had to attend school for ten hours a day—from six in the morning to six in the evening, with only two hours of intermission. We found, indeed, that the hours of attendance were being reduced in number as we approached our own times, but persons who are familiar with the work now done in our public schools, and entitled to give an opinion on the subject, assure us that the hours are still, as a rule, too long and the work too much. The commissioners appointed in 1867 to report on the burgh schools ascertained that in fifty-nine day-schools, public and private, the scholars worked on an average forty-four weeks in the year; the regular hours being from nine A.M. to three P.M., or from ten A.M. to four P.M., and in some schools from nine A.M. to four P.M. The pupils worked, therefore, on an average, 1320 hours in the year, that is in the schools, and it has also been calculated that three hours a day are devoted to learning at home the next day's lessons; so that, altogether, a boy spent something like 1980 hours on his lessons, being at the rate of nine hours per day for five days in the week—nearly double what they spend at the three principal English schools. The commissioners conclude that the hours are thus far too long, both for teachers and taught,² and let us hope that the school boards will direct their attention to this not unimportant subject, and provide for shortening them—say to six hours a day, which is generally believed to be a long enough stretch of intellectual work, especially for children.

¹ Report on Endowed Schools.

² Report on Burgh Schools, i., 86-88.

§ 5. But though the school hours have been so unreasonably long, especially in the olden times, it would seem that in the past the scholars were indulged much more than at present with short intervals of recreation, extending from half a day to a longer period. The records supply a good deal of interesting information on the pleasant subject of 'play' and 'vacancies.' We begin with intervals in the daily work, and with the short or occasional holiday. In 1649, the scholars of the grammar school of Elgin had play from two to four on Tuesdays and Thursdays,¹ and on Saturdays from two P.M. till five. A similar regulation was in force in Peebles at the same time: on 30th January 1649, the schoolmaster promises not to give the scholars play except on Tuesdays and Thursdays, between two and four P.M., and on Saturdays from two P.M. for the rest of that day.² It is laid down, on 15th October 1656, that the scholars of Jedburgh shall have play from four o'clock in the afternoons of Wednesdays and Thursdays, and from three o'clock on Saturdays till night.³ In 1679 the town council of Dunbar passed an act which, in its conception, was far in advance of the times, and to which there is no parallel in the records of any other burgh at this period: the act, which requires that there shall be a fair proportion between work and play, is calculated to impart to the school a healthy tone, and to the scholars an *esprit de corps*—any manifestation of which was liable to be stamped out, instead of being fostered, in other burghs. The master is ordained to give the accustomed liberty to the scholars, 'so that the children be not used as slaves but as freeborn;' and in order that the labour of the children 'may be sweetened unto them,' they shall be allowed to play on every Tuesday and Thursday—the days being fair—from half-past three till four afternoon. If these two days be unfit for recreation, the play may be delayed until the first fair season, with every Saturday afternoon, and the accustomed festival days—the scholars

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 16.

² Burgh Records of Peebles.

³ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

observing their ancient rites and oblations to their masters in testimony of their thankfulness; 'at which times the scholars may, with a kindly homeliness, plead for the play by the mouth of their victor;' also at the entry of a new scholar, if earnestly entreated, they may have it 'for all night;' the like may be granted to any of the masters, to the superiors, or for a compliment to strangers, or when any necessary occasion requires it—the masters thereby showing their clemency to their scholars, and gaining them by such demonstrations of their affection; but the masters shall nowise give them a whole day's play, unless permitted or recommended by their superiors.¹

As complaints have been made in our own day as to the frequency of holidays, so we find, in 1701, the kirk session of Dumbarton, considering the great loss caused to the scholars by reason of frequent plays, 'do lay it upon the schoolmaster' not to give a play at marriages, though it be sought by the parties; when a play happens to be granted on account of a stranger—to whom it cannot be denied—or of a new scholar's entry, it shall not be given again that week; and the session enjoin that it be given as seldom as possible.² The unwritten law with regard to plays was codified for the high school of Edinburgh in 1710, when the town council allowed the scholars to play one whole afternoon every fortnight, in place of all the other ordinary occasions of dismissing the schools when new scholars entered, or when the quarterly fees were paid, or on the desire of the boy who is victor at Candlemas, or of gentlemen or ladies walking in the yard.³ A similar act was passed in 1715 by the town council of St Andrews, when, for preventing the frequent getting of play, the council allow, in lieu of all former customs, the play to the boys on the first Monday of the month, saving the common vacations, the arrival of new scholars, and the common play days, on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday afternoon.⁴ On 10th July

¹ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

² Kirk Session Records of Dumbarton.

³ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁴ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

1733, the town council of Dundee appoint Mr Bruce to give the school-boys the 'play once in the fortnight, at his pleasure.'¹ In 1763 the play-days at the grammar school of Kinghorn were fixed as the afternoons of every Wednesday and Saturday, and two days in the month of February;² and the afternoons of Wednesdays and Saturdays were granted as holiday to the pupils of Fortrose academy.³ In 1779, the English teacher of Greenock was authorised to give weekly for a play-day either Saturday, or the afternoons of Tuesdays or Wednesdays and Saturdays;⁴ and in 1786 and 1789, the English and grammar masters were requested to give two play-days weekly, the afternoons of Wednesdays and Saturdays.⁵ In 1793, the master of the grammar school of Elgin obliged himself not to give the scholars any relaxation from their studies, except during the usual hours of refreshment, on the Saturday afternoon, and at the annual fairs in the burgh.⁶ In 1796, besides the general vacation allowed to the scholars in the grammar school of Aberdeen, the rector, it was ascertained, indulged the boys with the following plays: three weeks in July, ten days at Christmas, each Wednesday after twelve, each Saturday after eleven, on all public rejoicing days after twelve, a day or two at the beginning of each quarter, at the annual visitation, on the day the synod meets, sometimes at the graduation, and they are always allowed to see the races once.⁷

Besides the short and occasional holiday, there was an annual holiday in all schools on Candlemas, when free offerings were made by the scholars to the masters,⁸ and the scholars

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee. In 1738 the masters are forbidden to give play more than once a fortnight.

² Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

³ Records of Academy.

⁴ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Session Papers, 541, p. 35.

⁷ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁸ See *infra*, under Fees and Salaries, where there is a notice of Candlemas Dues. The following curious note may be given here: 'It has been customary from a very remote period, for one student from each of the four nations in the natural philosophy class in the college to repair to the grammar school towards the end of January, and to request

had also the liberty of two or three yearly holidays when they went for rushes or bent for the school. In the records of Dunbar there is a notice of this custom, on its discontinuance in 1679, when it was commuted into a tax levied upon the scholars; three or four times in the summer quarter, we are told, the children had liberty to go in quest of bent for the school; this custom, however, was accompanied, says the record, by the inconvenience that oftentimes the children, taking to wrestling with hooks in their hands, injured themselves and their neighbours. To prevent this evil, and that the scholars may have their former liberty, the town council enacted that each shall give at least twelve pennies Scots for bent silver to the master on the first Mondays of May, June, and July—with which money the masters shall buy bent, or other things needful for the schools.¹

§ 6. It appears that from an early period some superintendence has been exercised at many of the schools over the boys in the playground. The oldest instance of such a supervision is recorded in the directory of the grammar school of Aberdeen—which is older than the Reformation—where the scholars were forbidden to engage in play, except in the presence of the ushers.² Coming further down, we find that, in 1655, the

a play-day for each of the classes on the last Friday of that month. . . . In return for this compliment, four of the boys of the oldest class in the grammar school repair to the college in the last week in January, and having first pronounced a Latin oration to the principal, they boldly enter the several halls, and in the Latin language request a holiday from the professor on Candlemas-day for the students. These juvenile orators are politely received and their request granted:’ Cleland’s *Annals of Glasgow*, ii., 161, note.

¹ Burgh Records of Dunbar. In 1724 the under-teacher in the burgh school of Dumfries was enjoined to put fresh rushes on the schoolhouse once a month, for preventing the spoiling of the children’s clothes: M’Dowall’s *History of Dumfries*, p. 503. The practice of strewing the school with rushes was also common in England, *e.g.*, Rugby was duly strewed in the time of Mr Knail—who resigned his office in 1751—with rushes, in honour of the visit of the trustees, which took place at the beginning of the summer holidays: *The Public Schools*, p. 64.

² *Miscellany of Spalding Club*, v., 44; *et supra*, p. 61.

master of the grammar school of Jedburgh was requested to take care that good order shall be kept on play-days.¹ At Aberdeen, in 1671, the council being informed that, upon the ordinary play-days, and at other times when the scholars get play, they have not only disturbances and outbreaks among themselves, but also with the old scholars, enact that the master or one of the doctors shall, at such times, always attend on the scholars—causing them to keep the ordinary places of playing, and to use such recreations as may not be prejudicial to themselves or their fellows.² Three years later, the town council of Dundee, on 19th February 1674, enact that, on play-days, the master or one of the doctors shall go forth with the scholars to the 'Magdalen year,' and, after two hours' play, bring them back to school.³ It was enacted, on 23d October 1700, that, on every play-day, the hebdomadar of the grammar school of Aberdeen shall accompany the scholars to the hill when they get the play, to see that there be no desertion nor abuse among them, and bring them back to the school at the ringing of the bell.⁴ On 22d April 1756, the town council of Wick make provision that the scholars shall only 'play and divert themselves within view of the master.'⁵ Coming down to our own time, we find that, in several schools, the teachers still superintend the scholars in the playground, or mingle with them in playing. Thus, at the Caerlaverock Hutton Hall academy, the masters superintend and join the boys in their play-hours;⁶ at the Cupar Madras academy the masters exercise a general superintendence over the playground;⁷ at the Dumbarton burgh academy the masters take cognisance of the pupils during the play-hours;⁸ at the high school of Glasgow the masters mingle with the boys, to see that there is fair play;⁹ at the Paisley Neilson institution,¹⁰ and at the Madras college of St

¹ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.³ Burgh Records of Dundee.⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.⁵ Burgh Records of Wick.⁶ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 374.⁷ Ibid., 400.⁸ Ibid., 421.⁹ Ibid., 475.¹⁰ Ibid., 558.

Andrews, the teachers also superintend the scholars.¹ In some schools the janitor takes the place of the teacher, by looking after or attending on the boys during play-time, *e.g.*, at grammar school of New Aberdeen,² at the Brechin grammar school,³ at the Inverness royal academy,⁴ at the high school of Leith,⁵ at the high school of Stirling.⁶ But in the majority of cases there is no superintendence during play-hours—not, for example, at the following schools: Annan academy,⁷ Arbroath high school,⁸ Ayr academy,⁹ Banff grammar school,¹⁰ Dundee high school,¹¹ Elgin academy,¹² Forres academy,¹³ Greenock academy,¹⁴ Hamilton academy,¹⁵ Irvine academy,¹⁶ Lanark burgh school,¹⁷ Linlithgow grammar school,¹⁸ Montrose grammar school,¹⁹ King James's grammar school at Paisley,²⁰ Peebles grammar school,²¹ Perth academy and grammar school,²² Renfrew grammar school.²³ But if delinquencies be committed in the playground, they may be reported to the masters, who shall take cognisance of any rough or improper conduct.

§ 7. There is very little information to be gleaned from the records with regard to the means of recreation, or the games indulged in by, or forbidden to, the scholars. Some of the amusements with which James V. was entertained by his courtiers when he was a boy, were probably not unknown at the schools:

'Schir, ye mon leir to ryn ane speir,
And gyde you lyke ane man of weir; . . .
Sum gart hym raiffel at the rakkat,²⁴
Sum harld hym to the hurly hakkat;
And sum, to schaw thair courtlie corsis,
Wald ryid to Leith, and ryn thair horsis,
And wychtlie wallope ouer the sandis:

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 587.

² Ibid., 343.

³ Ibid., 368.

⁴ Ibid., 499.

⁵ Ibid., 520.

⁶ Ibid., 599.

⁷ Ibid., 346.

⁸ Ibid., 351.

⁹ Ibid., 359.

¹⁰ Ibid., 361.

¹¹ Ibid., 426.

¹² Ibid., 452.

¹³ Ibid., 468.

¹⁴ Ibid., 489.

¹⁵ Ibid., 494.

¹⁶ Ibid., 504.

¹⁷ Ibid., 515.

¹⁸ Ibid., 525.

¹⁹ Ibid., 531.

²⁰ Ibid., 550.

²¹ Ibid., 561.

²² Ibid., 568.

²³ Ibid., 575.

²⁴ Play at tennis.

Yea, nother spairit spurris nor wandis ;
 Castand galmoundis, with bendis and beckis,
 For wantones, sum brak thair neckis.
 Thare was no play bot cartis and dyce.'¹

Sir David Lindsay describes also the part played by himself in amusing his young master :

'Than playit I twenty spryngis, perqueir,
 Quhilk wes gret piete for to heir.
 Fra play thow leit me never rest,
 Bot gynkartoun thow lufit ay best ;
 And ay, quhen thow come from the scule,
 Than I behuffit to play the fule.'

One of the oldest pastimes in the schools of which we have record is archery, which was long practised as the national weapon of warfare. Archery did much to promote the martial glory of England, and her victories at Crescy and Agincourt are ascribed to her skill in the bow and arrow, called by Bishop Latimer 'God's instrument.' In ancient times every village had its 'butt,' at which was winged the cloth-yard shaft, with marvellous certainty, by many a skilful hand.² The oldest notice of archery at schools in Scotland is in James Melville's Diary, where he tells us, that the scholars at the school of Logie-Montrose were taught to 'handle the bow for archerie.'³ At a later time, archery is mentioned in the records of Glasgow as the pastime of the scholars of the grammar school: on 14th April 1610, the master is requested

¹ Complaynt to the King.

² Our own Sir Walter Scott has, with unrivalled pen, described a trial of skill at this most honourable pastime in his 'Ivanhoe,' where Locksley's skill called forth from the assembled crowd vociferous cheering.

³ Diary, p. 13. From the statutes of the grammar school of Bury St Edmunds, passed in 1550, we learn that each parent was required to 'allow his chylde at all times a bow, three shaftes, bow-strynges, and a braser, to exercise shootynge.' *Archæological Journal*, xxvi., 392. The recreations of the scholars at Shrewsbury school, in 1571, were ordered to be 'shooting in the long-bow, and chess-play, and no other games, unless running, wrestling, or leaping.' *The Public Schools*, 203.

to ordain his scholars to 'prepare their bows for archery;' ¹ a little later still, the council of Perth, in 1624, think meet that the scholars should go about the town with their bows and arrows one day weekly in May, 'according to use and wont,' making as merry as they please. ² The invention of gunpowder dealt a fatal blow to the science of archery, which has long ago declined into a mere accomplishment.

Another old game still practised at the schools is golf, which, so far back as the Reformation, was played at the school of Montrose, where the scholars were taught by their master to 'handle the glub for golf.' ³ This fine rural pastime is still practised at Trinity college, Glenalmond, ⁴ and we need hardly say at Madras college of St Andrews, the metropolis of the national game. ⁵

The scholars attending the grammar school of Glasgow were forbidden, in 1630, to resort to the yards where the 'alie-bowlis, French kylis, and glakis' are practised, under pain of £10. ⁶ The kinds of games which the scholars of the burgh schools of Dunbar were permitted to play in 1679 do not appear, but we know those which they were forbidden to practise: the council ordain the scholars to abstain in their games from cards and dice, and playing with or for money. ⁷

An old game practised in the schools was the hand-ball. In

¹ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

² Burgh Records of Perth.

³ Melville's Diary, p. 13.

⁴ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 480.

⁵ Ibid., 587.

⁶ We cannot explain what these pastimes were; perhaps the 'alie-bowlis' were what we now call *bowls*, a favourite game of our ancestors. It was while playing at bowls—'a sport she much delighted in'—that Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Charles I., caught the illness of which she died: *Out of Doors*, by Alfred Elliott, p. 72.

⁷ Burgh Records of Dunbar. A few years earlier we find a trace, at the grammar school of Paisley, of a vice even more pernicious than gambling—drinking! On 17th April 1673, the council of Paisley, 'moved by certain ongoinis in their midst, ordain that changers selling drink to scholars shall pay £10 of money, and be discharged in future from brewing:' Burgh Records of Paisley.

May 1774, the council of Ayr forbid 'hand-ball' to be played at the schools, as it damages their slates and windows, and frequently 'hurts' the children, by idle persons following that diversion.¹ In 1784 a 'great disturbance was caused to the English and grammar schools of Kilmarnock, by a number of idle persons playing at the hand-ball in the area of the schoolhouse.'² The game is still not forgotten; it is one of the amusements of the scholars at the Thurso institution,³ at George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, and at other schools.

There is no trace in the records of the glorious game of cricket, the 'birthright of British boys, old and young—as *habeas corpus* and trial by jury are of British men'⁴—nor of the

'Kicking, with many a flying bound,
The foot-ball o'er the frozen ground,'

of which a delightful account is furnished by our friend, 'Old Boy,' in his 'School Days.' But, undoubtedly, the most popular pastimes to-day in the Scottish, as well as in the English, schools are cricket in summer and football in winter.⁵ In the following schools, including all our best schools, they are the principal amusement: grammar school of New Aberdeen,⁶ Arbroath high school,⁷ Ayr academy,⁸ Bathgate academy,⁹ Caerlaverock Hutton Hall academy,¹⁰ Crieff academy,¹¹ Cupar Madras academy,¹² Dollar institution,¹³ Dumfries academy,¹⁴ Edinburgh high school, Bellie free school,¹⁵ Trinity

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

² Burgh Records of Kilmarnock.

³ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 606.

⁴ Tom Brown's School Days.

⁵ The games at most of the public schools of England are almost entirely confined to cricket, football, and fives: The Public Schools, p. 64. Boating is practised at Westminster (p. 172), hockey played at Harrow (p. 312), and hare-and-hounds at Harrow and Rugby (pp. 312, 404).

⁶ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 343.

⁷ Ibid., 350.

⁸ Ibid., 358.

⁹ Ibid., 365.

¹⁰ Ibid., 374.

¹¹ Ibid., 387.

¹² Ibid., 400.

¹³ Ibid., 412.

¹⁴ Ibid., 424.

¹⁵ Ibid., 459.

college, Glenalmond,¹ Greenock academy,² Hamilton academy,³ Inverness royal academy,⁴ Irvine royal academy,⁵ Kirkcudbright academy,⁶ Lanark burgh school,⁷ Leith high school,⁸ Moffat grammar school,⁹ Newton-Stewart institute,¹⁰ Paisley Neilson institution,¹¹ Perth academy,¹² Madras college of St Andrews.¹³ In some schools the two games are not coupled together or found side by side. Thus cricket, apparently without football, is played at Forfar academy,¹⁴ Forres academy,¹⁵ Kirriemuir seminary,¹⁶ and Thurso institution;¹⁷ and football, without its complement, at the Banff grammar school,¹⁸ and at Lerwick educational institute.¹⁹

In some schools 'balls' are popular, *e.g.*, Closeburn school,²⁰ Cupar Madras academy,²¹ Forfar academy.²² The simple game of leap-frog is a favourite, *e.g.*, at Banff grammar school,²³ Forfar academy,²⁴ Kirriemuir seminary,²⁵ Moffat grammar school,²⁶ and a still greater favourite is shooting a 'taw,' which requires no small dexterity and precision; games with marbles are played at Banff grammar school,²⁷ Closeburn school,²⁸ Forfar academy,²⁹ Forres academy,³⁰ Inverness academy,³¹ Kirriemuir seminary.³²

Our old friends the *tops*, which have long ago disappeared from the public schools of England, are, we fear, nearly defunct also in our higher schools; we only find them at the Forres academy,³³ and at Kirriemuir seminary.³⁴ In connection with the whip-top a pretty little story is told of the eldest son of our James VI., Prince Henry, who is said to have been a most promising boy: 'The first time that the prince went to the town of Stirling to meet his father, seeing a little without the

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 480.

² Ibid., 489.

³ Ibid., 494.

⁴ Ibid., 499.

⁵ Ibid., 504.

⁶ Ibid., 506.

⁷ Ibid., 515.

⁸ Ibid., 520.

⁹ Ibid., 528.

¹⁰ Ibid., 540.

¹¹ Ibid., 558.

¹² Ibid., 568.

¹³ Ibid., 587.

¹⁴ Ibid., 464.

¹⁵ Ibid., 468.

¹⁶ Ibid., 513.

¹⁷ Ibid., 606.

¹⁸ Ibid., 361.

¹⁹ Ibid., 523.

²⁰ Ibid., 378.

²¹ Ibid., 400.

²² Ibid., 464.

²³ Ibid., 361.

²⁴ Ibid., 464.

²⁵ Ibid., 513.

²⁶ Ibid., 528.

²⁷ Ibid., 361.

²⁸ Ibid., 378.

²⁹ Ibid., 464.

³⁰ Ibid., 468.

³¹ Ibid., 499.

³² Ibid., 513.

³³ Ibid., 468.

³⁴ Ibid., 513.

gate of the town a sack of corn, in proportion not unlike to a top wherewith he used to play, he said to some that were with him, 'Lo, there is a goodly top!' Whereupon one of them saying, 'Why do you not play with it, then?' he answered, 'Set you it up for me, and I will play with it.'¹

The rough but manly old game of 'shinty' has not yet quite fallen into desuetude: it is played at Forfar academy,² Inverness academy,³ Moffat grammar school.⁴ Our dear old friend 'hide-and-seek' has unfortunately fallen on evil days; among the endowed schools we find it only at the Kirriemuir seminary.⁵ The game of hockey, which does not appear to have yet made much progress in Scotland, may be seen at Trinity college, Glenalmond,⁶ and at Greenock academy.⁷

A game less known, though a most admirable one, is the 'prisoner's base,' which we find only mentioned in connection with the Forres academy.⁸ Games still less known are 'cross-tig,' and 'Scotch and English Jackson,' which are played at Arbroath high school,⁹ and 'smuggle-the-geg,' at the Kirriemuir seminary.¹⁰ Games like running and leaping have always prevailed in the schools; and so far back as the Reformation, we find at Montrose 'warselling to proue pratterks,' and what is more remarkable, the scholars were taught the 'batons for fencing'¹¹—that gentlemanly accomplishment so admirably fitted to give quickness to the eye, lightness to the hand, firmness to the foot, and pliancy to the body. Gymnastics have become one of the institutions of the country,¹² but it is to be regretted that the noble art of swimming is so much neglected in our schools; this neglect is the more remarkable, considering our supremacy on the sea, and the fact that we are no less a nation of boatsmen, yachts-

¹ Out of Doors, by Alfred Elliott, p. 68.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 464.

⁴ Ibid., 528.

⁷ Ibid., 489.

¹⁰ Ibid., 513.

¹² See *infra*, under Studies in the Schools.

³ Ibid., 499.

⁶ Ibid., 480.

⁹ Ibid., 350.

⁵ Ibid., 513.

⁸ Ibid., 468.

¹¹ Melville's Diary, p. 13.

men and sailors, than 'shopkeepers;' in the 'good old times,' it appears to have formed part of the curriculum at Montrose, shortly after the Reformation; for James Melville tells us that he and the other scholars were taught by the master to 'swoum.' At present swimming does not appear to be a common amusement or study at our public schools; it is only mentioned in the report on endowed schools as existing at Madras college of St Andrews¹ and the educational institute at Lerwick.²

We much regret that in connection with the schools there is so little of fishing, than which, says the immortal Izaak Walton, 'God never did make a more calm, quiet, and innocent recreation, if I might be judge.' The scholars attending the Trinity college, Glenalmond,³ and the Newton-Stewart institute,⁴ have the opportunity—an invaluable one—of indulging in this pastime during hours of recreation. Then there is the lively—the liveliest, we should say, the gayest, the most beautiful, the most inspiring pastime of all—skating, by which, says Klopstock, 'men, like the gods of Homer, stride with winged feet over the sea, transformed into solid gold.' Perhaps there is no time of history in which this was not a popular game among our 'forebears'—the Norsemen—and school boards and masters, if they value the highest kind of education, should give every possible opportunity to their pupils of learning this glorious 'art.' The scholars at the Cupar Madras academy,⁵ and Trinity college, Glenalmond,⁶ are mentioned as votaries of this surpassing recreation.

We must not omit to mention that in some schools, *e.g.*, the Newton-Stewart institute,⁷ there are picnics, excursions, etc., and we think that there might be a great deal more of this kind of amusement for cheering school days than exists at present. Alas! in several of the schools, the scholars cannot indulge in their favourite pastime on account of the inadequacy of the playground, *e.g.*, at the Annan academy,⁸

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 587.

² *Ibid.*, 523.

³ *Ibid.*, 480.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 540.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 400.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 480.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 540.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 346.

at the Brechin grammar school,¹ at the Glasgow high school.² There has been less reform with regard to the means provided for the recreation of the scholars and playgrounds, than in any other subject connected with the education of our youth. The commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of our burgh schools, report, in 1868, that there is great deficiency in both points in the Scottish schools. 'The playgrounds,' they say, 'of all the day schools put together would not form a place of recreation, of the same size, as the "playing fields" at Eton, or "the Close" at Rugby. If nothing were gained by the increase of the means of recreation in the Scottish schools, except some additional happiness in schoolboy life, the experiment of endeavouring to mix, to some extent, work and play would not be thrown away.'³

§ 8. Besides the half and occasional holiday, two annual 'plays,' or 'vacancies,' have of old been granted to the scholar—one in winter, generally called the Christmas, or Yule, holiday; the other in summer, often called the midsummer or autumn holiday, or vacation. In the ancient records Christmas is religiously coupled with cessation, for a certain time, from work in all the schools, great and small. The new opinions in religion, which became prevalent at the Reformation, told sadly against the Christmas holiday, which is associated with so much happiness in schoolboy life; and it would be matter of surprise, and even regret, if the scholars showed so little spirit as to abandon it without a protest, at the bidding of fanatical preachers. Accordingly, we find that a decided stand was made, in more places than one, for conserving the ancient holiday, to which the scholars believed they had acquired a prescriptive title from immemorial usage. The hardest contest in defence of the old 'privilege' was fought at Aberdeen, and the record of the gallant stand made during half-a-century, by the boys at the grammar school there, deserves to be quoted, as showing not only the high spirit of

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 368.

² Ibid., 475.

³ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 88, 89. For the sizes of playgrounds, see *infra*, Buildings and Playgrounds.

the youth, but that in number and organisation they were powerful enough to defy the authority of the masters and town council.¹

In 1568, eight years after the Reformation, on the petition of the boys to the town council of Aberdeen, praying for their customary holiday at Christmas, in an 'epistill in Latin,' they received a vacation from St Thomas Even till the morning after Epiphany day;² on 22d December 1575, however, the council, finding that 'inconveniences' resulted from the holiday granted from 20th December to 7th January, annulled the act.³ The next entry in the records shows that the scholars did not quietly submit to the loss of their ancient holiday: on 21st December 1580, because of the 'enormities' of the scholars, in rising against the masters and magistrates, before Yule, the council ordain that no scholar shall be admitted to the schools without being first presented to the magistrates and finding caution for good behaviour.⁴ An entry in the records on the day after Christmas in the following year, shows that the troubles of the council are not yet ended; but they were willing to let bygones be bygones, and even to grant some concession to the young rebels: on 26th December 1581, the council take order with the 'disordered bairns, who have taken the school, meaning to have the old privilege,' by remitting past offences, and granting, in lieu of the old privilege, a holiday of three days, at the beginning of each quarter.⁵ Still the scholars are not satisfied, but cling to the memory of their dear old Christmas holiday: on 12th December 1589, the council are obliged to take new measures to prevent the scholars from 'taking the school before the superstitious time of Yule;' and enact that no master shall

¹ All festival days, especially Christmas, were abolished at the Reformation, as far as Acts of Parliament could do so.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. The scholar's and the cautioner's name to be registered in the town's books.

⁵ Ibid. On 15th December 1641, this act was repealed.

admit a boy, without finding caution for good behaviour, under pain of £10, and being held liable for the damage done to the furniture of the school by the scholar.¹ The scholars became more lawless than ever; on 10th January 1604, it is recorded that, at the 'superstitious time of Yule,' they took the school, held it against the master—armed with swords, guns, pistols, and other weapons—and spuilzied poor folks of their gear—geese, fowls, peats, and other 'vivaris,' to their great hurt and 'sklander of the burgh and magistrattis;' for preventing such 'horrid disorders' again, the masters are once more forbidden to receive a scholar without caution that he shall not defy discipline or attack the school at Yule.² The council have not yet succeeded in breaking the spirit of the scholars, who conceive themselves to have been wronged with regard to their holiday: in 1609, the masters are again commanded to receive no scholars, until they find caution not to trouble 'man, woman, master, or servant,' so long as they remain at the school. But notwithstanding the stringent measures taken to establish discipline, the rebellion is actually gathering strength, now 'commencing long before the superstitious time of Yule:' on 1st December 1612, the scholars of the grammar school, sang school, and writing school, took possession of the sang school, and held it, with hagbuts, pistols, swords, and long weapons, until the afternoon of the 3d December, when the council, bishop, and ministry were compelled, by reason of the great 'insolencies, riots, and oppressions' of the scholars, to apprehend them by force, committing a number to ward,³ and ordaining the other

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Ibid.

³ The names of the ringleaders are preserved, and may be quoted as being the earliest list of scholars with which we are acquainted: Alexander Gordon son of Mr William Gordon of Tulligraig; Alexander Gordon son of James Gordon of Lesmore; John Innes son of Alexander Innes of Coltis; Hew Cummyng brother of the Laird of Culter; John Johnstone son of Robert Johnstone of Kayesmylne; William Fraser son of ——— Fraser of ———; Thomas and George Gordon brothers of the Laird of Cluny; William Chalmer son of Chalmer of Balnacraig; William Setton son of umquhile Mr Alexander Setton; John

rebellious scholars to find caution that the town shall be skaithless of them in future, and that they oppress not again the lieges in their persons or goods.¹ On 23d December, the town council ascribe the insubordination—'whereof there is no such within an other burgh'—to the slackness of the masters in chastising insolent scholars, and enact that the masters shall in future be answerable for all disorders committed at the superstitious time of Yule.²

The infringement on the 'ancient privilege' of the scholars produced tumults and riots in other places as well as Aberdeen: at Christmas 1580, eight scholars in the high school of Edinburgh were imprisoned for holding the school against the masters, and were released only after finding caution to pay the damage caused to the doors.³ It is not easy to abolish old customs; town councils and church courts found it difficult, if not impossible, to suppress the Christmas holiday: on 15th December 1641, we find the town council of Aberdeen re-enacting the ordinance of 26th December 1581, substituting three days' play at the beginning of each quarter, in lieu of the Yule vacation, which is now for ever discharged.⁴ Four years later, the General Assembly fulminated an act against scholars and teachers who observe superstitious Yule: on 13th February 1645, the Assembly, on the preamble that scholars are giving great scandal and offence at that season, enact that, if in future they be guilty of any such profanity, they shall be severely disciplined; and if the masters be accessory to the superstition of granting 'liberty of vacance,

Forbes son of the Prior of Monymusk; William Leslie son of umquhile George Leslie, burgess of Aberdeen; John Irvine son of umquhile Gilbert Irvine of Collairlie; James Ogilvy son to William Ogilvy of Baldewy; Alexander Cruickshank son of Patrick Cruickshank in Ardiffric; Alexander Norie son of umquhile William Norie of that ilk; Alexander Forbes son of Alexander Forbes of Feengzes; John Meldrum son of ——— Meldrum of ———; James Campbell son of the commissar of Inverness; Alexander Irvine son to William Irvine in the Hirne; Robert Farquharson son of John Farquharson of Inverchald.

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

or any compensation in lieu thereof,' they shall also be dealt with.¹ The authorities continued their hostility to the Christmas holiday until the beginning of last century; and in 1700 the masters and doctors of the grammar school of Aberdeen are requested to give attendance on Christmas at the usual hours every day, and not to allow their scholars to withdraw; any one absenting himself to be punished;² one of the last acts against the Christmas holiday appears to have been passed by the town of Dundee, where on 18th December 1716, the council discharge the Yule vacation, and appoint the first day of the year to be a holiday.³

Old privileges die hard. The Christmas holiday has survived the persecution with which its sacred character was long assailed after the Reformation, and it still gladdens the heart of many a schoolboy; but it was not long before the end of last century that it was legalised: thus in 1791 the Christmas holiday of the Fortrose academy was fixed to be eight days;⁴ and in 1805 the English master was ordered to give his month's vacation from 24th December to 6th January.⁵ The winter holiday now extends from a few days to even five weeks, if we reckon the schools established among us on English models as Scottish schools. From returns made to the commissioners on endowed schools in 1873, it appears that the length of this holiday in the following schools was as follows: 'a few days' at the Irvine

¹ Acts of General Assembly.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen. When episcopacy was established the Christmas holiday was restored: thus on 13th December 1676 the scholars of the grammar school of Aberdeen were ordained to have ten days' play at Christmas. In one burgh at least there does not appear to have been the same horror of 'superstitious Yule'; on the petition of the scholars of the grammar school of Banff for the 'Yule play according to use and wont,' the magistrates allow them from 21st December 1701 to 11th January following, and recommend them to behave themselves in the interval: Burgh Records of Banff; cf. also under 27th December 1723.

³ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁴ Records of Academy.

⁵ Ibid.

royal academy;¹ one week at Bathgate academy,² at Brechin grammar school,³ at Closeburn school,⁴ at Cupar Madras academy,⁵ and at Montrose grammar school;⁶ ten days at Arbroath high school,⁷ at Crieff academy,⁸ at Dollar institution,⁹ at Dumfries academy,¹⁰ at Fraserburgh academy,¹¹ and at Madras college of St Andrews;¹² two weeks at Banff grammar school,¹³ at Bellie free school,¹⁴ at Forres academy,¹⁵ at Hamilton academy,¹⁶ at Leith high school,¹⁷ at Newton-Stewart institute,¹⁸ and at Paisley Neilson institute;¹⁹ three weeks at Lerwick educational institute;²⁰ and five weeks, 'with margin,' at Trinity college, Glenalmond.²¹

§ 9. Enough of Christmas holiday which, by reason of the bigotry and intolerance of the authorities—ecclesiastical and municipal—has been productive of so much discord and anarchy in the schools, instead of peace and goodwill. We now pass to the last great holiday—the summer or autumn holiday. The patrons of the schools continued to find the subject of holiday the most difficult question which they had to settle in connection with the government of the school. A second riot broke out in the high school of Edinburgh in 1587; the cause is not recorded, but it too had its origin probably in connection with the autumn vacation. In August of that year we read that the scholars *barred* the school not only against the master (the distinguished Mr Rollock), but 'most proudly and contemptuously held it against my Lord Provost and the bailies, who were compellit to ding in peices' one of the

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 504.

² Ibid., 365.

³ Ibid., 368.

⁴ Ibid., 378.

⁵ Ibid., 400.

⁶ Ibid., 531.

⁷ Ibid., 351.

⁸ Ibid., 387.

⁹ Ibid., 412.

¹⁰ Ibid., 424.

¹¹ Ibid., 470, 'or six days.'

¹² Ibid., 587.

¹³ Ibid., 361.

¹⁴ Ibid., 459.

¹⁵ Ibid., 468.

¹⁶ Ibid., 494.

¹⁷ Ibid., 520.

¹⁸ Ibid., 540.

¹⁹ Ibid., 558.

²⁰ Ibid., 523.

²¹ Ibid., 480. Another holiday, besides Christmas, is gaining ground in Scotland, namely, Easter, while the communion is the occasion of a general holiday of four or five days, and in some places of four or five days twice a year. There is also an occasional holiday, such as the Queen's birthday, etc.

doors to get possession of the school, in which the scholars were found with 'pistols, swords, halberts, and other weapons, and armour, against all good order and laws, to the evil example of others.' The scholars are fined and punished 'at the sight of their fellow scholars,' and for their disobedience it is ordained that they shall receive no privilege in future, except from 15th to 22d May.¹

The magistrates had reason to be grateful for their providential escape in this riot. It required no little fortitude to attack the scholars armed, as they were, with dangerous weapons. Another barring out in the high school, also occasioned by the holiday question, ended more tragically. On 15th September 1595, the scholars marched in a body to the council chamber, and petitioned, according to custom, the magistrates for a holiday or 'privilege.' The petition having been refused, a number of them, 'gentilmen's bairns,' resolved to resent the refusal, and, after arming themselves with victuals and weapons, took possession of the school. The good and learned master, Mr Rollock, unable to obtain access to the school, applied to the town council for assistance; whereupon Mr John Macmoran, one of the magistrates of the city, with a reinforcement, appeared on the scene, but the scholars becoming excited, dared any one at his peril to attack the school, which was converted into a garrison. Poor Mr Macmoran, having bravely persisted in forcing the door, was 'slene be the schot of ane pistoll on the forehead out of the scholl.' The author of the foul act was William Sinclair, son of the chancellor of Caithness, who took a prominent part in the barring out. After two months' imprisonment, seven of the scholars, with William Sinclair, were tried by an assize, but no record is preserved of what took place at the trial. We know that the prisoners were soon set at liberty.²

It is proper to observe that, in the different acts of mutiny to which we have referred, the scholars were merely

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh. This rule was relaxed next year, the master being authorised to grant the same privilege in September.

² Steven's High School, 23-25.

resenting the encroachments made on their liberties—only contending for their ‘auncient privileges’—and on no occasion did they wantonly defy the authority of the masters and councils. The insubordination was occasioned by an unnecessary severity of discipline—a discipline which made them often desperate. Unfortunately, the scholars carried their resistance in one case at least to extremities, but it would be bold to say that there were not faults on either side.¹

We shall now quote cases illustrating the practice in the different burghs with regard to the summer or autumn vacation, which is referred to as an ‘auncient custom’ in the records of Stirling on 15th June 1663, when the scholars humbly supplicate in Latin the council to grant the ‘vacance;’ the provost and bailies are desired to ‘go to the school’ and grant a vacation of fourteen days, for the encouragement of the scholars.² In the same year, on the 14th of August, the ‘master of the grammar school of Edinburgh, with some of the doctors, and many of the scholars, presented a petition to the council of Edinburgh for a ‘vacancy after the usual form;’ the council comply with the prayer of the petitioners, granting a holiday till Friday the 15th of September; and a committee is appointed to repair to the high school and dismiss the boys.³ On 19th April 1678, the council of Irvine allow the schoolmaster to dismiss the scholars for a month or twenty days, ‘providing they keep the school during harvest.’⁴ On the petition of

¹ A modern writer says that the ‘barring out’ was a general custom, usually taking place at Christmas. ‘If the boys,’ he says, ‘kept out the master for three days, the pedagogue was obliged to sign articles of agreement relating to the number of holidays, hours of play, matters of discipline. But if the barring out was unsuccessful, the pupils were dictated to in these matters, and they had also to undergo an unlimited amount of flagellation:’ *History of the Rod*, p. 442.

² Burgh Records of Stirling.

³ *Steven’s High School*, 70. It was a common custom for the teachers and scholars to march in procession to the council chambers, and present to the patrons a request, generally written in Latin, for the autumnal holidays.

⁴ Burgh Records of Irvine.

the scholars of the grammar school of Cupar, on 6th August 1678, for a vacance, in order that they may 'recreate' themselves, and visit their friends, the council allow them a holiday till 23d September next.¹ The town council of Forfar unanimously agreed, on 24th August 1681, that the scholars shall have the play from this day until Wednesday the 7th September, but shall have only Christmas and St Stephen's days.² On 6th September 1686, on the petition of the master of the grammar school of Dumbarton, 'in Latin verses craving the vacancie as use is,' the council grant it for a fortnight.³ On 1st September 1697, the council of Montrose ordain the boys of the grammar school to have the 'vacance' from the 1st to the 10th of May;⁴ on 18th April 1705, the master of the school represents to the council that in his humble opinion the beginning of June would be more convenient for the 'vacance,' because the first of May is the beginning of a quarter, and for certain other reasons; the council accordingly alter the 'vacance' as follows: two days' play only during the Rood market, and the first week of June yearly, reckoning from the first Monday thereof, inclusive, in place of the first ten days of May formerly granted.⁵ On 2d August 1706, the scholars of the grammar school of Dunbar having presented to the council a bill for a 'vacance,' are ordained to meet again on 10th September next.⁶ The council of Perth, understanding, in 1709, that it is hurtful to the scholars at the grammar school to have the 'vacance' at the end of August and beginning of September—which is the period of 'grein fruit and peise,' and doe occasion diseases, and is destructive to

¹ Burgh Records of Cupar.

² Burgh Records of Forfar.

³ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁴ Burgh Records of Montrose.

⁶ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dunbar. From other entries in the minutes, this seems to have been the vacation usually given.

⁷ The proper period for the autumn holiday in the parish schools is, in some places, ascertained by the boys presenting to the master a ripe ear of corn.

their health,' authorise the master to give the holiday at any time he pleases, between 15th May and 15th June, the holiday lasting as long as the magistrates and master shall agree upon.¹ On 5th August 1725, the council of Dundee fix the 'play from the first fair in August till after the latter fair in September, and so yearly hereafter.'²

The following pleasant entry, indicating that a feast was held on 'breaking-up day,' occurs in the records of Kirkcaldy in 1736: 'The toun of Kirkcaldy is debtor to William Salisbury for 19s. 7d., the expence of an entertainment to the masters and scholars of the grammar school when getting the vacation on 26th August 1736;'³ and the next entry is interesting for the reasons it gives for fixing the play later in the year than formerly: in April 1748, Mr John Mair, rector of the grammar school of Ayr, presents a missive to the council, showing, that as the Justiciary Court interferes this year with the time proposed for the public examination of the school, and the ordinary time of keeping the vacation, it would much oblige him and the other masters if the magistrates and council would fix a day for the examination and for the vacancy. If the masters be allowed to judge, the month of June seems most proper for the vacation, for the following reasons: First, The month of May in this climate is generally cold, the fields wear a winterly face, and there is little abroad to entertain either the senses or imagination; secondly, This is the month in which birds build their nests, and boys often run great hazards by being at liberty to stroll abroad in quest of them; thirdly, Several of their scholars for a good many years past

¹ Burgh Records of Perth.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy. The items are:

11 lbs. of raisins, at 6d. per lb.,	£0	5	6
1 lb. of almonds,	0	1	2
5 bottles white wine, . . .	0	8	4
1 bottle claret, and 1 bottle, .	0	4	0
Rolls and biscuits,	0	0	7
	<hr/>		
	£0	19	7

have been in use to repair to Arran, or other distant places, for goat milk, and seldom return till the fair week, which happens on the last of June, and it would be more convenient for them that this time were taken from the vacation than from the usual time of attending school; fourthly, He had observed for a good many years past that any scholars they get from Carrick or Galloway do not come till some time after the June fair; and the parents usually speak with the masters to provide a place for lodging their children, whom they send down some days after; fifthly, Scotland in general seems to be so sensible of the force of one or other of the foregoing reasons, that no school has its vacancy sooner than June, and most of them later. The arguments were irresistible, and the magistrates and council resolved that the vacation shall commence from and after the last day of May.¹ On 16th August 1762, the town council of Forfar, understanding that the schoolmaster has only given two days of vacation about Christmas last, and five days at the two summer markets, agree to give a further vacation in the harvest time, as being the most proper season of the year; the vacation shall begin this year on 23d August, and continue for twenty days, the scholars convening again on 13th September next.² In 1763 it was ordered that a month of vacation, beginning in the middle of August, should be given to the grammar school of Kinghorn.³ On 3d September 1765, the holidays in the English school, Kirkcudbright, were ordered to be the same as in the grammar school, the vacance in harvest beginning at the discretion of the master, and not exceeding fourteen days.⁴ The town council of Banff, on 27th September 1781, enact that there shall be no harvest or Christmas vacation longer than shall be directed by the magistrates.⁵ In 1791 it was ordered that the holiday of the Fortrose academy shall

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr. Mr Mair, who indited this missive, was the author of the well-known 'Introduction,' and of mathematical works of authority.

² Burgh Records of Forfar.

³ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁵ Burgh Records of Banff.

extend from middle of August till 1st October; and after fourteen years' experience, the annual course was changed into two sessions: the spring session commencing on third Tuesday of January and rising on third Tuesday of June; autumn session from third Tuesday of July to third Tuesday of December. The third master, who teaches young scholars, shall give a vacation of a fortnight from third Tuesday of June—no other vacation besides the winter holiday allowed, save on fast days, the communion public fasts, the king's birthday, and the afternoon of the day of the Fortrose November market.¹ In 1797, the town council of Stirling enact that in future the vacations in all the public schools of the burgh shall commence at and continue for the same period, either in June, July, or August, as the council shall afterwards fix.² On 19th June 1800, the council of Greenock insist that the different schoolmasters in the burgh, including those who are not under the direction of the council, shall give the vacation at the same time, so that the scholars meet on the same day;³ on 29th June 1802, the teachers in the burgh are informed that the vacation shall begin on first Monday of July, and continue for five weeks only.⁴ In 1803 the annual recess of the Elgin academy extended from 1st July to 1st August.⁵

In 1868 it was calculated that fifty-nine of our higher schools work forty-four weeks in the year, leaving only two months for the vacation, and all other holidays.⁶ By 1873 the average length of the holiday does not appear to have varied, as may be gathered from the practice in the following schools, in which the vacation extends from one month to two months, beginning in some places in June, *e.g.*, Glasgow, but in other places not before the end of July, *e.g.*, Edinburgh. The number of burgh schools in which the summer holiday extends to one month is few; among them are Lanark burgh school,⁷ Irvine academy,⁸ and Renfrew grammar school.⁹ At

¹ Records of Fortrose Academy.

² Burgh Records of Stirling.

³ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶ Elgin Case.

⁶ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 86.

⁷ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 515.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 504.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 575.

the Annan academy it extends to five weeks.¹ But in the majority of the schools it is six weeks, *e.g.*, Arbroath high school,² Banff grammar school,³ Bathgate academy,⁴ Brechin grammar school,⁵ Caerlaverock Hutton Hall academy,⁶ Elgin academy,⁷ Bellie free school,⁸ Forres academy,⁹ Fraserburgh academy,¹⁰ Hamilton academy,¹¹ Moffat grammar school,¹² Montrose grammar school,¹³ Newton-Stewart institute,¹⁴ Paisley Neilson institution,¹⁵ Peebles grammar school,¹⁶ Tain royal academy,¹⁷ Thurso institution.¹⁸ The length of holidays at Kirkcudbright academy is six and a half weeks,¹⁹ and in a few of the schools it is seven weeks: as at Cupar Madras academy,²⁰ at Dollar institution,²¹ at Dumfries academy,²² at Lerwick educational institute,²³ at Peterhead academy.²⁴ At Closeburn school, Dumfries, it is seven weeks and three days,²⁵ and in nearly all the largest schools it is two months, *e.g.*, New Aberdeen grammar school,²⁶ Ayr academy,²⁷ Edinburgh high school, Glasgow high school,²⁸ Greenock academy,²⁹ Leith high school,³⁰ Perth academy and grammar school,³¹ Madras college of St Andrews.³² Trinity college, Glenalmond, is conspicuous for its liberality, where the scholars have ten days at spring (Easter), seven weeks in summer, with margin, five weeks in winter (Christmas), with margin.³³

§ 10. Discipline—'disciplina'—has come to mean the police of the school, and includes all the means necessary for governing it, and promoting the end for which it was established, viz., the education of pupils. In every school there are laws or duties, written or unwritten, which the scholar must observe and discharge, more or less strictly, for the common benefit of the school. Of the duties ordinarily

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 346.

² Ibid., 351.

³ Ibid., 361.

⁴ Ibid., 365.

⁵ Ibid., 368.

⁶ Ibid., 374.

⁷ Ibid., 452.

⁸ Ibid., 459.

⁹ Ibid., 468.

¹⁰ Ibid., 470.

¹¹ Ibid., 494.

¹² Ibid., 528.

¹³ Ibid., 531.

¹⁴ Ibid., 540.

¹⁵ Ibid., 558.

¹⁶ Ibid., 561.

¹⁷ Ibid., 603.

¹⁸ Ibid., 606.

¹⁹ Ibid., 506.

²⁰ Ibid., 400.

²¹ Ibid., 412.

²² Ibid., 424.

²³ Ibid., 523.

²⁴ Ibid., 571.

²⁵ Ibid., 378.

²⁶ Ibid., 343.

²⁷ Ibid., 351.

²⁸ Ibid., 475.

²⁹ Ibid., 489.

³⁰ Ibid., 520.

³¹ Ibid., 568.

³² Ibid., 587.

³³ Ibid., 480.

prescribed, the following may be taken as examples; they are extracted chiefly from three school directories—those of Elgin, Dunbar, and Aberdeen, dated respectively 1649, 1679, and 1700, which are substantially identical. The positive duties are few, but important, and consist of injunctions to the scholars to seek God in the morning before they come abroad; to come to school with washed hands, combed hair, and neat clothes; and to obey and respect the masters. The negative duties are numerous enough—forbidding them to come late, to be absent or truant, to speak English, to sport or bargain, to throw stones or snowballs, to carry hurtful weapons, to provoke to fighting, to tease or nickname, to entertain common discourse, to be perturbers, vaguers—wandering from place to place—to lie, to steal, to swear, to curse, to talk profanely, to break the Sabbath, to be indecent or immodest. These laws are applicable to every school, but in almost every school directory there are rules which have only local application: thus in 1674 the council of Dundee forbid the scholars to frequent the shore;¹ the scholars of the high school of Edinburgh are told not ‘to go on that precipitous part of the Calton Hill immediately behind the school, situated between the two lower walks.’² The catalogue of transgressions which subjected the offender to punishment frequently concluded with a tail so comprehensive that masters seemed to have been invested with absolute powers—powers which, in many cases, were cruelly exercised; thus a catalogue of offences drawn up for the grammar school of Elgin in 1649, concludes with the penalties to be inflicted on those who shall be guilty of ‘delinquencies within and insolences without the school.’³

Horace prayed for a settled standard of punishment, lest any one should be subjected to the horrible thong, who is only deserving of a slight whipping; for ‘I am not apprehensive,’ says the poet, ‘that you should correct with the rod one that deserves to suffer severer stripes.’

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee.

² Steven’s High School, 300.

³ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 16.

‘*Adsit*

*Regula, peccatis quæ pœnas irroget æquas ;
Ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello
Nam, ut ferula cædas meritum majora subire
Verbera, non vereor.*’¹

Nor was the punishment to be inflicted for the violation of a law generally defined with us, except in the case of flagrant offences, of which there is an instance in the burgh records of Dundee, in 1674, when the council ordain that, if any scholar swear, break the Sabbath, or rebel against his master, he shall be ‘publicly whipped’ for the first fault, ‘flogged’ for the second, and expelled for the third.² But the general rule was that the master punished at his discretion, inflicting punishment according to the nature of the fault, and as each case required. Thus we find that, in 1640, the schoolmaster of Dundonald was required to punish ‘according to the quality of the faults; striking some on the hand with a birch-wand or pair of taws, others on their hips, as their faults deserve.’³ In 1649 the master of the grammar school of Peebles was ordained to punish those transgressing the school laws only ‘according to the nature and quality of the law;’⁴ the ordinance was re-enacted in 1655.⁵ In 1679 the council of Dunbar ordain that if a scholar becomes fugitive, the master shall punish him as he thinks ‘fit;’⁶ in the same year it is enacted that if scholars throw stones or snowballs, they shall be punished according to their deserts, especially if thrown at one another, or in the streets, or at or about dwelling-houses;⁷ again, in the same year, the council enact that if the scholars use irritating words, or call nicknames, they shall be ‘punished with discretion;’⁸ they who are not ‘neat in their clothes, and have not their hands and face washen, and their heads combed,’ shall be ‘slightly punished.’⁹

In the records we find some early entries giving directions

¹ Sat. I., iii., 117.

² Chambers’s Domestic Annals.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁶ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁷ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁸ Ibid.

—important directions, to the masters regarding the infliction of punishment for breaches of discipline: The town council of Dunbar were of opinion, nearly two hundred years ago, that the less corporal punishment was inflicted the better—that as far as possible the discipline of the school should be maintained without flagellation—that the master who uses the rod least uses it best; but, on the other hand, when neither exhortation, admonition, warning, censure, nor threatening availed, the master is not ‘to spare the child for his much crying.’ The council, in 1679, instruct the teachers of the burgh that if the children can be ‘prevailed upon by words or threatenings, it is expected that the masters shall make use of their prudence in their actions, and spare the rod as long as it may consist with the children’s good; but if neither fair words nor threats will gain them, then they, the masters, shall show, both by their words and countenance, an aversion to passion and a dislike to the action, with suitable expressions to that effect, in which humour they may correct the defaulters.’¹

School punishments in the past were unquestionably more harsh, severe, and cruel than in our day; but it would be a great mistake to suppose that, in matters of discipline, the patrons left the masters to do as they liked. The little evidence preserved proves that the council exercised a careful supervision over masters in using the rod: thus in 1640 the schoolmaster of Dundonald is forbidden to strike ‘at any time, or in any case, any of the scholars on the head or cheeks;’² the masters of the burgh schools of Dunbar are told, in 1679, that, ‘for every trifle they are not to stupify the scholars with strokes,’ which should only be inflicted in cases of ‘necessity’—when the ‘welfare of the children’ requires it;³ in 1793, on the appointment of a master of the grammar school of Elgin, the magistrates take him bound to ‘correct with moderation.’⁴ We have found no case of severity or cruelty of discipline mentioned in the records

¹ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

² Chambers’s Domestic Annals.

³ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁴ Elgin Case.

which did not lead to the removal¹ of the teacher, or to his promising to behave better in future. Take, for instance, a case recorded in the burgh records of Cupar, which is curious not only for the defence set up by the disciplinarian, but as containing perhaps the earliest notice in the records of the national instrument of flagellation—the tawse: in 1639 the council threaten to remove from his office the master of the grammar school ‘for the cruel exercise of discipline in correction of the bairns, in girding of tham to the blood;’ the flagellator having been summoned before the council, declares that the fault was not his, ‘bot only be the new tawis our small maid, I had never useit thaim befoir,’ and promises never to do the like again.² Take another illustration of the superintendence exercised by a town council in a case of severity of discipline: in 1672, upon information being given to the town council of Paisley that Mr Alexander Park ‘does strek the bairnes severely, they, upon consideration,’ appoint a committee to take cognition in the matter.³ A more recent case may be quoted from the records of Crail: in 1795 the council sent for the master of the grammar school, who is charged with ‘severity of discipline;’ he compears, confesses, and apologises, whereupon the council ‘enjoin on him better behaviour for the future.’⁴ There is an important act, of date 1700, in the records of Aberdeen, from which it appears that if a parent complained of the master of the grammar school for exercising severe discipline on his child, it was customary for the council to call the master before the ‘latron,’ where public cognition was taken of the complaint. But in the past, there having been so many groundless complaints on this head, the council ordained that in future the master, on being accused of severely ‘correcting’ the scholars, shall first be examined privately by the quarterly visitors, who shall hear both

¹ For instances of deposition, see *infra*, Removal of Masters from Office.

² Burgh Records of Cupar.

³ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁴ Burgh Records of Crail.

parties, take information, and report, if need be. It is further enacted that if a parent complain without cause he shall be fined or censured, and the child chastised.¹

The records point to the conclusion that the unhappy teacher had sometimes to perform the duties of a flagellant-general—to punish not only for breaches of discipline committed in the school, but to flog for offences of which the scholar may have been guilty at home. Mr Andrew Duncan, master of the grammar school of Dundee, in a letter dated 1595, dedicating his grammar² to the community of the burgh, preaches the necessity of punishment, but protests against transferring to him and to his professional brethren the unpleasant duty of chastising scholars for offences committed at home. ‘Be diligent,’ says the stern disciplinarian to the parents of his scholars, ‘in correcting the youth. Do you spare the rod? indulgence leads to the gallows. Perhaps you would transfer this part of your duties to masters of schools! But on what principle? Parents! God has laid on *you* the charge of suppressing evil. The school is a place of intellectual exercise, not a place of execution. No wonder that so many, when they become their own masters, detest those studies that were rendered so bitter to their taste.’ Parents! you may do much to make your children like the school, and not regard it as a place of weeping and flagellation. Is it not to be desired that they should of themselves prefer to attend school than lurk at home? But how is this to be effected, if indulgence prevails at home, whilst terror and the rod prevail in school? Farewell! most Christian men.’ Another reference to the practice of flogging domestic vices out of scholars in the school, occurs in the burgh records of Dunbar, and is of a considerably later date. In 1679, the council desire the parents of scholars to signify to the schoolmasters of the burgh any acts of dis-

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² *Latinae Grammaticæ siue Etymologia Latina in usum rudiorum*, published at Edinburgh in 1595. The grammar contains an early Scottish glossary, lately contributed by Mr John Small, M.A., to a volume issued by the English Dialect Society.

obedience of which their children may be guilty at home; in such cases the masters shall first admonish the disobedient, and if they continue stubbornly obstinate, they shall then punish them.¹

Little is known as to the exact time at which the punishment was inflicted for breaches of discipline; the probability is that in the majority of schools the culprit was chastised as soon as it was possible, or convenient, after the act of transgression; but in the schools which had directories, the time was fixed—extending generally from a day to a week. In 1671, the council of Aberdeen passed an act requiring the master and doctors to exercise, once every twenty-four hours, discipline, which was formerly done only on the forenoon of Saturday.² In Dundee, on the other hand, an act of council, dated three years later, ordained that discipline shall be exercised only once a week: in 1674, the council ordain a roll of the scholars in the grammar school to be called once every Monday for chastising breakers of the laws of the school.³ Thus, in Dundee, the postponing of the time of punishment would, in all probability, lead to a batch of offenders being chastised at the same time—a practice calculated to deprive the penalty of its salutary effect.

On the highly important subject of the different methods adopted for establishing and maintaining school discipline, the records throw little light, though there are indications that the pupils were held responsible for the conduct in certain cases of their fellows. Thus, in 1679, the council of Dunbar enacted that if a scholar break a glass window, or desks, locks, or anything in the school, and cannot be found out, all the scholars shall be made to contribute towards repairing the damage.⁴ A more important act was passed by the council of Aberdeen at a later period, by which the principle of self-government was to some extent recognised, and introduced into the grammar school: in 1700 it was enacted, for the discipline of the school, that there should be chosen out

¹ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

of the high class, whom the masters judged most fit 'for their observance and faithfulness,' so many as may have inspection of the rest of the school under the masters, to be called 'decuriones,' each *decurio* having six scholars committed to his care. The duties of this functionary consisted in taking account of 'two questions of the Shorter Catechism each day,' and how the scholars pray and read the Scriptures; at prayer, each *decurio* was required to attend the faction under his inspection, and take notice that the hands of the scholars 'be washen, ther heads combed, and ther cloaths neat;' each *decurio* giving up daily to the master a list of the faulty, 'together with the absents of the morning and preceding day.'¹ There was also another class of inspectors appointed, who were called *censors*, whose duty it was to superintend the several factions, and take account of those who 'speak English, talk profanely, or swear;' they also giving in a list of offenders.²

We do not know the success with which this method of maintaining discipline was attended, or how long it continued, if indeed it ever took root in that famous seminary. The principle of it appears good: the masters delegated part of their authority to their advanced pupils, who were held responsible in the same way, though to a less extent than themselves, for the good order, moral character, and proper discipline of the school. The defect of the plan may seem, to some, to be that the *decuriones* and *censors*, though appointed for the government of the school, were not provided with means and appliances for correcting the pupils or checking bad conduct, except merely reporting to the masters. The inspectors were not invested with the same power and authority as the 'præpostors' of the system of school discipline, developed and organised, if not originated, by the distinguished Master of Rugby. To many it might seem, that of the two systems, the one introduced at Aberdeen was preferable; and, indeed, the power of chastising the younger boys at Rugby, entrusted to the præpostors, was vehemently

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Ibid.

condemned at the time, though the good Master stoutly maintained that it was essential for preserving order in the great school. Dr Arnold's system was this: For checking vices and elevating the tone of the school, he made use of the Sixth Form, that is, the thirty boys who composed the highest class, and of fagging, the 'power given to that Form, over the lower boys, for the sake of securing a regular government, and avoiding the evils of anarchy, in other words, of the lawless tyranny of physical strength.' He endeavoured to make the præpostors feel that they were 'fellow-workers' with himself, and had with him 'a moral responsibility, and a deep interest in the real welfare of the place.'¹ 'You should feel,' he said on one occasion to them, 'like officers in the army or navy, whose want of moral courage would, indeed, be thought cowardice. When I have confidence in the Sixth, there is no post in England which I would exchange for this; but if they do not support me, I must go.'²

We have borrowed not only the literature, but, with modifications, the instruments of discipline used by the Romans, who are believed to have carried the art of punishing to a high degree of perfection. Their instruments of punishment best known to us are the *scutica*, *ferula*, *flagellum*, and *virga*, which are mentioned by several classical writers. Juvenal, in his Satires, speaks of one who has 'ferulas' broken on his back, another as growing red under the 'flagello,' another under the 'scutica.'

'Hic frangit ferulas, rubet ille flagello, hic scutica.'³

The 'scutica' was a scourge or whip made of leathern thong:

'Scuticaque loris horridis Scythæ pellis, qua vapulavit Marsyas Celenæus.'

The 'ferula' was a rod or stick, the blows of which are, in some places, called *pandies*; another form of the ferula was a broad leather strap, of which the one end was rounded and

¹ Arnold's Life by Dean Stanley, i., 117-119 (3d ed.). ² Ibid., 121.

³ vi., 479.

the other tapered and fastened to a handle. Juvenal describes this instrument of offence :

'Ferulæque tristes, sceptræ pædagogorum ;'¹

and speaks of the schoolboy drawing back the hand from the 'ferula :

'Et nos ergo manum ferulæ subduximus.'²

The 'flagellum,' called by Horace 'horribile flagellum,'³ was a whip or lash of leathern thongs or twisted cords tied to a handle, and sharpened with knots, and sometimes with small bits of iron or lead.⁴ Of the 'virga' used by the Roman schoolmaster for correcting scholars, Martial says :

'Item de virga qua cæduntur pueri a magistro in ludo literario.'⁵

The 'virga' perhaps suggested to our dominies the use of the birch, which, according to Solomon, is 'for the fool's back ;'⁶ and Plautus, in his *Captivi*, agrees with that high authority :

'Væ illis virgis miseris,
Quæ hodie in tergo morientur meo.'⁷

¹ Sat. I., v., 15.

² Sat. I., iii., 120. Our own schoolboy still practises this dodge—sometimes stretching out as well as drawing back the hand, sometimes dropping his cuff over the hand, sometimes lubricating the hand, sometimes placing a hair on the palm, a device which is believed to have a magical effect on the tawse. Many more elaborate dodges have been invented, e.g., a pedagogue, who punished his scholars without removing their clothes, found that one of the boys placed within his trousers a skin with a view to diminish the pain of 'skelping.' The ingenious little fellow, on being discovered, was immediately dubbed by his schoolfellows 'leather doup,' a name which always stuck to him. The boys of the high school of Dundee not long ago protected the calves of their legs by their book-boards, which they placed within the legs of their trousers.

³ Sat. I., iii., 117. ⁴ History of the Rod, p. 479. ⁵ i., 14, Epigr. 80.

⁶ For the convenience of the flogger, the delinquent was sometimes placed on a block, or hoisted on the back of another boy—a custom which gave rise to the word *horsing*. An old-fashioned dominie punished his scholars by fastening them upon a desk at the door, and their clothes being removed, every one of the other scholars had to 'skelp' the culprit with the tawse.

⁷ iii., 4, 571.

The Scotch *ferula* is the 'tawse'—also used in the North of England—which consists of a strap made of soft, pliable leather, divided at the end into a number of thin stripes, and sometimes hardened in the fire.¹ Unlike the *virga*, it is generally applied to the hand—giving rise to the word 'palmy,' from *palmæ*—and produces, as we know from experience, a severe pain, which, however, is happily of short duration.

The tawse, the national instrument of punishment, is not unknown at the following schools: New Aberdeen grammar school,² Burntisland grammar school,³ Cupar Madras academy,⁴ Dollar institution,⁵ Forfar academy,⁶ Hamilton academy,⁷ Kirkcudbright academy,⁸ Paisley grammar school,⁹ Tain royal academy.¹⁰ The instrument of infliction is called a 'thong of leather' at the Dumbarton burgh school;¹¹ a 'strap' at the Annan academy,¹² at the Closeburn school,¹³ at the Forres academy,¹⁴ at the Greenock academy,¹⁵ a 'cane' at the Montrose grammar school,¹⁶ and at the Peterhead academy.¹⁷ Breaches of order and bad conduct at the Moffat grammar school are punished by 'flogging,'¹⁸ and at the Elgin academy by 'pandies.' The method of inflicting corporal punishment in the following schools is not specified: Arbroath high school,¹⁹ Brechin grammar school,²⁰ Caerlaverock Hutton Hall academy,²¹ Crieff academy,²² Bellie free school,²³ Glasgow high school,²⁴ Trinity college, Glenalmond,²⁵ Inverness academy,²⁶ Lanark burgh school,²⁷ Leith high school,²⁸ Lerwick educational institute,²⁹ Linlithgow grammar school,³⁰ Paisley Neil-

¹ The Edinburgh high school is said to rejoice in a pair of tawse furnished with a wooden handle.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 334.

³ Ibid., 372.

⁴ Ibid., 400.

⁵ Ibid., 412.

⁶ Ibid., 464.

⁷ Ibid., 494.

⁸ Ibid., 506.

⁹ Ibid., 550.

¹⁰ Ibid., 603.

¹¹ Ibid., 420.

¹² Ibid., 346.

¹³ Ibid., 378.

¹⁴ Ibid., 468.

¹⁵ Ibid., 489.

¹⁶ Ibid., 531.

¹⁷ Ibid., 470.

¹⁸ Ibid., 528.

¹⁹ Ibid., 350.

²⁰ Ibid., 368.

²¹ Ibid., 374.

²² Ibid., 387.

²³ Ibid., 459.

²⁴ Ibid., 475.

²⁵ Ibid., 480.

²⁶ Ibid., 499.

²⁷ Ibid., 514.

²⁸ Ibid., 519.

²⁹ Ibid., 523.

³⁰ Ibid., 525.

son institution,¹ Peebles grammar school,² Stirling high school.³ Corporal punishments are generally inflicted for moral offences, breaches of discipline, or when other modes fail.

A frequent punishment consists in depriving the defaulter of his personal liberty by detention in the school, or of a right or privilege, *e.g.*, loss of place in the class, reward ticket, holiday, etc. Punishments of deprivation are common at the following schools: Brechin grammar school,⁴ Caerlaverock Hutton Hall academy,⁵ Cupar Madras academy,⁶ Edinburgh high school,⁷ Fraserburgh academy,⁸ Glasgow high school,⁹ Hamilton academy,¹⁰ Inverness academy,¹¹ Lerwick educational institute,¹² Moffat grammar school,¹³ Montrose grammar school,¹⁴ Paisley Neilson institution,¹⁵ Peterhead academy,¹⁶ Stirling high school.¹⁷

Perhaps the most common punishment is the 'pœnas,' or 'impositions,' which, as well as punishments of deprivation, are generally inflicted for minor offences, and consist in prescribing additional lessons, or writing out at home tasks, such as a few lines of poetry, a chapter of the Bible, etc. Punishments of this description are common in the following schools: Arbroath high school,¹⁸ Caerlaverock Hutton Hall academy,¹⁹ Dollar institution,²⁰ Edinburgh high school,²¹ Forres academy,²² Greenock academy,²³ Inverness academy,²⁴ Lanark burgh school,²⁵ Moffat grammar school,²⁶ Montrose grammar school,²⁷ Peebles grammar school,²⁸ Perth academy,²⁹ Madras college of St Andrews,³⁰ Stirling high school,³¹ Tain royal academy.³² Very rarely is fining adopted, but we find it mentioned in connection with the Dollar institution.³³

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 558.

² Ibid., 561.

³ Ibid., 599.

⁴ Ibid., 368.

⁵ Ibid., 374.

⁶ Ibid., 400.

⁷ Ibid., 448.

⁸ Ibid., 470.

⁹ Ibid., 475.

¹⁰ Ibid., 494.

¹¹ Ibid., 499.

¹² Ibid., 523.

¹³ Ibid., 528.

¹⁴ Ibid., 531.

¹⁵ Ibid., 558.

¹⁶ Ibid., 571.

¹⁷ Ibid., 599.

¹⁸ Ibid., 350.

¹⁹ Ibid., 374.

²⁰ Ibid., 412.

²¹ Ibid., 448.

²² Ibid., 468.

²³ Ibid., 489.

²⁴ Ibid., 499.

²⁵ Ibid., 514.

²⁶ Ibid., 528.

²⁷ Ibid., 531.

²⁸ Ibid., 561.

²⁹ Ibid., 568.

³⁰ Ibid., 587.

³¹ Ibid., 599.

³² Ibid., 603.

³³ Ibid., 412. At Trinity college, Glenalmond, the punishments consist

The punishments are generally inflicted by the head-master in each department, *e.g.*, in the Annan academy,¹ in the Arbroath high school,² in the Ayr academy,³ in Crieff academy,⁴ in the Cupar Madras academy,⁵ in the Glasgow high school,⁶ in the Kirkcudbright academy,⁷ in the Perth academy,⁸ in the Madras college of St Andrews,⁹ in the Stirling high school,¹⁰ in the Tain academy.¹¹ In very few instances, the head-master alone administers the punishment, *e.g.*, in the Caerlaverock academy,¹² in the Leith high school,¹³ in the Forres academy,¹⁴ in the Fraserburgh academy,¹⁵ in the Moffat grammar school.¹⁶ In several schools the head-master punishes certain classes of offences, *e.g.*, the head-master of the grammar school of New Aberdeen punishes breaches of discipline outside the class-room;¹⁷ so does the head-master of the Hamilton academy;¹⁸ the rector of the Inverness academy punishes offences against general discipline of the school,¹⁹ and the head-master

of tasks written, or learnt by heart; refusal of indulgences; compulsory service at the least interesting part of games—for instance, ‘fagging out’ at cricket, without joining in the game; corporal punishment not inflicted, except for persistent misconduct, and when other modes fail: *Ibid.*, 480. At Ewart institute, Newton-Stewart, the punishments are: If for neglect of duty, that duty to be done in writing; for bad habits, a good and thoughtful essay on these bad habits, or a diary of the offences committed, to be kept and shown till improvement is effected; for bad but curable offences, dangerous as examples, corporal punishment by the head-master from once to four times *per annum*; for offences more dangerous to the school than curable in the individual, expulsion: *Ibid.*, 540.

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 346. ² *Ibid.*, 350; and assistants.

³ *Ibid.*, 358. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 387. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 400. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 475.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 506. ⁸ *Ibid.*, 568. ⁹ *Ibid.*, 587. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 599.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 603. ¹² *Ibid.*, 374. ¹³ *Ibid.*, 519. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 460.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 470. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 528.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 343. In 1700 the council ordained that, in absence of the principal master, any of the other masters present may exercise discipline upon any of the scholars offending: Burgh Records of Aberdeen. In 1710 the council of Edinburgh ordain that, ‘in great faults,’ the rector of the high school shall chastise the guilty: Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 495.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 499.

of Bellie free school punishes 'flagrant offences,'¹ while that of Lerwick educational institute alone inflicts corporal punishment.² The head-master of the Greenock academy punishes 'some cases ;'³ that of the Dollar institution may suspend, but not expel, a scholar ;⁴ and the rector of the Dumbarton burgh academy alone can expel a pupil.⁵

An attempt was recently made to regulate the difficult subject of school punishment by an Act of Parliament. In 1869, the Marquis of Townshend introduced a bill in the House of Lords, providing that the birch-rod should be the only instrument used in punishing persons under sixteen years of age ; that no schoolmaster should inflict corporal punishment on any pupil under that age for inattention to his studies ; and that no child under that age should be struck on the head or face by a teacher—a practice which sometimes led to fatal results—under a penalty not exceeding £5, or two calendar months' imprisonment. The Earl of Airlie objected to the application of the bill to Scotland, and pointed out that the birch-rod was unknown as an instrument of chastisement in that country ; that the bill would make the tawse—a safe and sufficient instrument of school discipline—illegal ; and that the youth of Scotland would probably object to the introduction of the birch-rod.⁶ The bill was again introduced in the following year, but withdrawn.⁷

The inflicting of corporal punishment on scholars has been of old condemned ; Plutarch, in his 'Treatise on Education,' is of opinion that youth should be impelled to the pursuit of liberal studies by exhortation, and not by blows and stripes, which he thinks can have no other effect than to induce torpor of mind, and disgust for exertion, from a recollection of the pain and insult endured. Quintilian denounces the practice of flogging, on account of its degrading tendency ; but there are worse punishments than flogging ; smart castigation is, in our opinion, much preferable to fool's-cap, imprisonment, and

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 459.

² Ibid., 489.

³ Ibid., 412.

⁴ Hansard's Debates, cxvii., 1864.

⁵ Ibid., 523.

⁶ Ibid., 420.

⁷ Ibid., ccii., 1594.

mental degradation caused by being made the subject of ridicule and satire. Boys are no longer flogged as they once were, for no other reason than that they ought to be flogged;¹ and the tendency of pedagogy, or the science of teaching, is to banish personal chastisement from the higher schools, and make it as rare as possible in the elementary schools. Already it is seldom resorted to in the following schools—only in extreme cases: Greenock academy,² Lerwick educational institute,³ Paisley grammar school,⁴ Paisley Neilson institution,⁵ Perth academy and grammar school,⁶ Madras college of St Andrews,⁷ Stirling high school,⁸ high school of Edinburgh,⁹ Thurso institution.¹⁰

¹ We suspect that in the following case the master punished on this abstract theory: A Swabian schoolmaster, who conducted a large school for fifty years, inflicted, it is said, 911,500 canings, 121,000 floggings, 209,000 custodes, 136,000 tips with the ruler, 10,200 boxes on the ear, and 22,700 tasks by heart; calculated further that he had made 700 boys stand on peas, 6000 kneel on a sharp edge of wood, 5000 wear the fool's-cap, and 1700 hold the rod: *History of the Rod*, 425. Most of the great schools of England have also their stories of flogging. Dr Busby of Westminster's name has passed into a proverb—'Busby's awful reign.' Vincent's rule nearly equalled that of Busby. Butler of Shrewsbury was also a famous flogger, and Dr Parr was quite as distinguished a flogger as a scholar; his rod-maker was a man who had been sentenced to be hanged, but had been cut down and resuscitated. Flogging is yet an institution of Eton; the most distinguished flagellator in whose annals was the famous Dr Keate; and among the stories told of Keate, is one of a boy who called on him to take leave: 'You seem to know me very well,' said the great master; 'I have no remembrance of ever having seen you before.' 'You were better acquainted, sir, with my other end,' was the unblushing reply: *Ibid.*, 438.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 489.

³ *Ibid.*, 523.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 550.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 558.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 568.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 587.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 599.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 448. In the rector's class no punishment, beyond writing out the translation of a passage not well prepared, has been requisite for seven years.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 607. From the Reports of the Schools Inquiry Commission (England), it appears that in 73 per cent. of the schools of Surrey and Sussex, corporal punishment of some kind is in use, which is the correction for lying, indecent conduct, swearing, insolence, and moral offences;

Our best masters find that moral suasion, and an appeal to their pupils as Christians and gentlemen, are sufficiently powerful to maintain good discipline. The public opinion of the class, when properly developed, is also a potent corrective of offences, great and small; and judging from our own recollection, *kindness* is not the least effective instrument in establishing authority and preserving discipline. Indeed, that teacher governs the school best who loves the scholars most:

‘He [ruleth] best who loveth best.’

§ 11. Prize is the complement of punishment; faults are reprimanded or punished, and good works rewarded. Educationists have written for and against the system of giving school prizes, and not a few assert that the balance is *per contra*. Prizes, say the latter, stimulate the intellect only, but develop not the moral faculty; they cannot be given to all who deserve them, and are only won by scholars of abilities—those possessing cleverness, the power of remembering facts and figures. But on whatever side the balance lies, the practice has not only antiquity to recommend it, but is now become universal. The oldest notice of competition for school prizes found in our own records, dates from the

impositions, fines, and stoppages of pocket money are the other punishments. There is almost no corporal punishment in the schools of Flint, Denbigh, Montgomery, Glamorgan, and Hereford; in the girls’ schools of this quarter, sending the delinquent to bed is said to be an efficacious punishment—a less barbarous punishment than that which prevails in some of our own boarding schools, where naughty girls are made to drink dozes of castor-oil! In Northumberland, tasks, impositions, and corporal punishment are the means of enforcing discipline, the last being inflicted either with the tawse or cane; there is not a birch in the county. In Lancashire the cane is the last remedy for vice or insubordination, and there appears to be only one birch in regular use in the county. The French commissioners observe that a ‘foreigner can hardly conceive the perseverance with which English teachers cling to the old and degrading custom of the rod; one is astonished,’ they go on to say, ‘at seeing English masters remove a garment which the prudery of their language hesitates to name.’

latter part of the sixteenth century, and occurs in a programme of studies drawn up for the grammar school of Glasgow.¹

The old patrons of the schools regarded prize-giving as a solemn work; and the entries in the records indicate that they endeavoured to adjudge them with right honourable impartiality. The records of a single burgh sufficiently illustrate this point: In 1659 the visitors of the grammar school of Aberdeen are commanded by the town council to be careful not to give prizes in a partial way to a scholar as being of 'kenned freends or allyance,' because that would discourage the deserving and encourage the careless, thus bringing prizes into contempt, and frustrating their chief end;² in 1779 the council enacted that no boy who has been a student at college, or competed for a 'burse,' shall receive premium at the annual visitations of the grammar school;³ in 1793 a question having arisen as to whether boys entering any of the lower or higher classes during the currency of the year previous to the annual visitation should be allowed to compete for premiums along with the other boys of such classes, it was unanimously declared that no boy who had not been a year at the school previous to the visitation should be allowed to compete for premiums at the annual visitations;⁴ in 1798 it was unanimously resolved that the merits of the scholars should be determined by the number of the themes only, and that the premiums should be put down to the respective numbers of the versions before any of the scholars' names be shown.⁵

With the exception of a very few schools, including the grammar schools of Aberdeen,⁶ Glasgow, and Edinburgh, the distribution of prizes among the scholars did not come into

¹ The Original in the archives of Glasgow.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. On 23d October 1794, the visitors resolve that the restriction shall be extended only to the scholars of the fourth and fifth years.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ At the annual visitation in October 1773 prizes were awarded to the first six best scholars in the several classes; in the following year ten

use previous to the last century. It was only in 1699 that the council of Stirling ordered three Latin books, not exceeding £6 Scots in value, to be given *tanquam præmia* to the scholars who, after examination and dispute, should be thought best deserving.¹ In 1732 the town council of Banff invested £1, 17s. 6d. Scots, and 2s. 6d. sterling in penknives for premiums to the scholars of the grammar school;² and in 1781 the council of Inverurie gave orders to purchase paper and pens for encouraging the best scholars in the public school in the burgh.³ In 1785 the provost of Ayr produced a note of books proposed to be presented to the best scholars at the grammar school at the examination.⁴ In 1794 the council of Greenock being of opinion that the giving of a few prizes among the scholars would be a 'salutary measure,' resolve in future to do so, the expense not exceeding £3.⁵

In many schools prizes are given to pupils supposed to be the most moral—for what is called good conduct—a most difficult prize to decide; so difficult or impossible, that grave objections have been made to singling out in a whole school one or two boys who may be supposed to have most distinguished themselves after this manner. The practice of giving prizes for good conduct cannot boast of the same high antiquity as that for diligence or proficiency; indeed, the moral prize is so modern that the first notice of it found in the burgh records is not older than the end of last century: in 1795 the visitors of the grammar school of Aberdeen, considering that it is of importance to encourage good conduct, as well as emulation in learning, resolve that a book, stamped with the town's arms, shall be given to one boy of each of the five classes who shall be deemed by a majority of the scholars

prizes were distributed, and from that time forward about sixty books, stamped with the arms of the town, were distributed annually, ten prizes to each class: Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling.

² Burgh Records of Banff.

³ Burgh Records of Inverurie.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁵ Burgh Records of Greenock.

of his class to have been the best behaved for the preceding year.¹

School prizes are in our day granted sometimes by clubs consisting of old pupils, sometimes by persons specially interested in the school, but generally by the town councils—now, of course, the school boards—and, in a few instances, out of endowments made expressly for the purpose,² or for education generally.³ They are determined in one or other of the following methods: by written examinations—at which in certain schools a certain percentage must be scored throughout the year at the periodical competitions—by daily class marks, by the vote of the class, by a system of tickets for ‘perfectly-done lessons,’ by place-taking, by oral examinations, or by a combination of two or more of these methods.

In all our burgh schools⁴ prizes are now given at the annual examinations at the close of each session to the good,⁵ industrious, and successful, and consist generally of books, often of gold and silver medals, sometimes of silver pens, of certificates, etc. The prizes in the following schools are books principally: Annan academy,⁶ Ayr academy,⁷ Brechin grammar school,⁸ Burntisland grammar school,⁹ Cupar Madras academy,¹⁰ Dumbarton burgh academy,¹¹ Glasgow high school,¹² Greenock academy,¹³ Inverness academy,¹⁴ Moffat grammar school,¹⁵ Montrose grammar school,¹⁶ Madras college of St

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² At Brechin grammar school there is an endowment of £2 annually for a medal to the best Latin scholar: *Endowed Schools*, ii., 368.

³ In 1669 the council of Aberdeen find it reasonable that the premiums usually given by the visitors to the scholars of the grammar school should be furnished at the expense of Dr Dun's mortification: *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*.

⁴ No; in Linlithgow grammar school neither conduct, diligence, or proficiency appears to be rewarded: *Endowed Schools*, ii., 525.

⁵ No prizes are given at the Greenock academy for good conduct: *Ibid.*, 494.

⁶ *Report on Endowed Schools*, ii., 346. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 358. ⁸ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 372. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 400. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 421. ¹² *Ibid.*, 475.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 489. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 499. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 528. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 531.

Andrews,¹ Tain academy.² In the following schools the scholars most distinguished for scholarship receive gold and silver medals: New Aberdeen grammar school,³ Arbroath high school,⁴ Ayr academy,⁵ Brechin grammar school,⁶ Cupar Madras academy,⁷ Dumbarton burgh academy,⁸ Glasgow high school,⁹ Greenock academy,¹⁰ Inverness academy,¹¹ Moffat grammar school,¹² Montrose grammar school,¹³ Madras college of St Andrews,¹⁴ Tain academy.¹⁵ In the returns made to the commissioners on endowed schools, the kinds of prizes given in the following schools are not specified, though, no doubt, they are the ordinary ones: Banff grammar school,¹⁶ Dumfries academy,¹⁷ Elgin academy,¹⁸ Forfar academy,¹⁹ Forres academy,²⁰ Fraserburgh academy,²¹ Kirkcudbright academy,²² Lanark burgh school,²³ Leith high school,²⁴ Paisley grammar school,²⁵ Peebles grammar school,²⁶ Perth academy,²⁷ Peterhead academy,²⁸ Renfrew grammar school,²⁹ Stirling high school.³⁰

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 587.

² Ibid., 603.

³ Ibid., 343. A gold medal to the dux of the school, and a silver medal to the best general scholar in each of the four junior classes.

⁴ Ibid., 350.

⁵ Ibid., 358.

⁶ Ibid., 368.

⁷ Ibid., 400.

⁸ Ibid., 421. Three gold medals, of the value of £5 each; a record of the successful competitors is made in a memorial tablet.

⁹ Ibid., 475.

¹⁰ Ibid., 489.

¹¹ Ibid., 499.

¹² Ibid., 528.

¹³ Ibid., 531.

¹⁴ Ibid., 587.

¹⁵ Ibid., 603.

¹⁶ Ibid., 361.

¹⁷ Ibid., 424.

¹⁸ Ibid., 452.

¹⁹ Ibid., 464.

²⁰ Ibid., 468.

²¹ Ibid., 470.

²² Ibid., 506.

²³ Ibid., 515.

²⁴ Ibid., 519.

²⁵ Ibid., 550.

²⁶ Ibid., 561.

²⁷ Ibid., 568.

²⁸ Ibid., 571.

²⁹ Ibid., 575.

³⁰ Ibid., 599. Cf. also under Chapter IV., Visitations and Examinations of Schools.

CHAPTER VI.—APPOINTMENT OF MASTERS.

§ 1. VACANT OFFICES ADVERTISED.—§ 2. MASTERS ELECTED ON EXAMINATION.—§ 3. APPOINTED ON RECOMMENDATION.—§ 4. ADMITTED AFTER PROBATION.—§ 5. VOTING BY THE ELECTORS.—§ 6. MISCELLANEOUS: DEPUTATIONS; CORRESPONDENCE; TRAVELLING EXPENSES; INDUCTION.

§ 1. THE town councils, patrons of the schools and guardians of the educational interests of the youth, exercised, as far as we can judge—and there is no lack of materials for enabling us to form an opinion in the matter—their responsible trust with solicitude and intelligence. Before we proceed to show how the patrons appointed masters to vacant offices in the schools during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is important to direct attention for a little to the precaution taken from an early period, to invite candidates to apply for the situation, by advertising it as publicly as the times allowed. An early instance of advertising occurs in 1636, when the council of Aberdeen ordain a public edict to be served at both the kirk doors, and at the college gate, ‘inviting all young scholars who are fit to teach grammar, and desirous to be admitted one of the doctors of the grammar school, to compear within the session to underly trial of their learning, good life, and conversation, to the effect the best and most qualified may be admitted to the vacant office;’¹ in 1706, the council of Kirkcaldy, considering how advantageous it would be to have a fit person to supply the vacant office of schoolmaster, make public the vacancy by putting it in the newspapers;² in 1727, the town of Ayr being resolved to have a ‘doctor of superior qualifications for instructing the youth,’ advertise for one, after taking counsel of the

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

minister and chief burgesses;¹ in 1762, the council of Banff having resolved to establish three new schools in the burgh, advertise for teachers in the Edinburgh and Aberdeen papers, 'in order that proper qualified candidates may appear for the office';² in 1776, the council of Dumbarton being 'determined to have a proper schoolmaster'—one qualified to teach classics, English, and mathematics—advertise to this effect in the *Edinburgh Courant* and the *Glasgow Journal* on three different times;³ on 16th November 1778, the town council and kirk session of Crail, for supplying the vacant rectorship in the grammar school, resolve to advertise in the *Courant* and *Advertiser* every week until the middle of January next;⁴ in 1797, the council of Rothesay, considering that 'providing properly for the instruction of the rising generation is one of the most necessary and patriotic acts to which those entrusted with the administration of public affairs can apply themselves,' order repeated advertisements to be made in the newspapers, holding out encouragements to a teacher adequately qualified.⁵ The practice of advertising scholastic situations has, it need hardly be added, become now very general.

The town councils, after giving public intimation of the vacant office, proceeded to fill it in one or other of three ways: 1st, By subjecting the candidate to a test examination, or to competition by examination; 2d, By determining the merits of candidates by testimonials, or on recommendations usually made by officers of academical standing, or other trustworthy persons; 3d, By appointing the candidate after a period of probation, during which he taught in the school. The early system of advertising the vacancy, combined with competitive examinations, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, secured, let us not doubt, a high class of teachers for the burgh schools. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

² Burgh Records of Banff.

³ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁴ Burgh Records of Crail.

⁵ Burgh Records of Rothesay. The burgh records abound with such entries.

classics and some knowledge of *belles-lettres* were the necessary qualifications for teachers of burgh schools of note, but early in the eighteenth century other important studies were added to the curriculum of the school, including mathematics, natural philosophy, geography, and civil history.

§ 2. The following extracts throw light on the subjects on which the teachers were examined, who the examiners were, and how the examination was conducted: An early example of the test examination of a teacher occurs in 1594, when Andrew Dishington was not admitted schoolmaster of Dunbar until it was ascertained 'whether he was able to teach a grammar school or not,' which was done by requiring him to teach a 'piece of the first book of the Georgics of Virgil.'¹ Some years later, there was a searching examination by competition between two scholars, not unworthy of one another, who were candidates for the office of rector of the grammar school of Aberdeen—an examination which resulted in a 'tie:' on 6th February 1602, we read that the old and new councils of the burgh of Aberdeen, after trial and examination—conducted in audience of the bailies, council, and learned men of Old and New Aberdeen, for the space of four days—of Mr David Wedderburne and Mr Thomas Reid, in public teaching, oratory, poesy, and composition in prose and verse, find them 'co-equal,' and accordingly admit them 'conjunct' masters of the grammar school for the instruction of the youth in the art of grammar, good letters, and manners.² Take another description of a later date of a competitive examination between two candidates of high scholarship for the office of master of the high school of Edinburgh in 1626: the examiners ordained, we are told, that the 'tryal' should consist chiefly of examination in Latin and Greek authors *ad aperturam libri*; on Monday, 27th March 1626, the day fixed by the programme, Mr John Armour and Mr Thomas Crawford compeared at two o'clock in the high hall of the college, before the six judges, the primar and regents, with a 'frequent

¹ Presbytery Records of Haddington.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

number of learned men.' The lot to speak first fell to Mr Thomas Crawford, the other in the meantime being removed; the author's cast up being Plautus, some parts of Ovid, Horace, Lucian, Juvenal, Virgil, Hesiod, and Orphei Thymiata; both being heard (so long as the judges thought fit), election was made of Mr Thomas, who was appointed to make an inaugural lesson upon the fourteenth Ode of the second book of Horace, *Ad Postumum*, to-morrow, at two o'clock, it being eight o'clock before it was prescribed.¹

When several persons applied for the same office, an 'open competition' became absolutely necessary, unless indeed the situation was given by influence or by testimonials, neither of which appeared satisfactory to the patrons of the grammar schools of Aberdeen in 1602, of Edinburgh in 1626, or of Leith in 1684. There being, says the record, a great desire in the town of Leith in 1684, that the grammar school should be planted with a qualified person for the education of children, and several having been recommended for the office—as Mr Whyte, schoolmaster in Douglas, who is backed by my Lord Chancellor (Earl of Perth), Mr William Rowe, and Mr William Blair, doctor of the grammar school of Edinburgh—the session order a dispute to be held on a certain day, and appoint for examination the third Satire of the first book of Horace, of which the candidates shall be required to give a grammatical analysis.²

The test examination, or limited competition for an office, does not always work quite satisfactorily: an illustration of this point is furnished by an entry in the records of Dunfermline from which we learn that the council of that burgh rejected as unqualified the person nominated for the office of master of the grammar school by my Lord Yester, to whom belonged the patronage of the school; on 8th March 1705, we read that Mr James Bayne, schoolmaster of Musselburgh, Mr John M'Dougall, brother of the laird of Logan, and Charles Stewart, having, in presence of the town council, examined Mr Ker, presented to the office of schoolmaster by

¹ Steven's High School, pp. 49, 50.

² Session Records of Leith.

the patron, report that the presentee having been tried in the fundamentals of grammar, gave no proof of his abilities to convey a clear notion of them to boys, and having also been examined in the most common places of Terence, Juvenal, Cicero's Orations, Livy, and the Odes of Horace, he was found considerably defective in the reading, construction, and exposition of the Latin; and withal he acknowledged his ignorance in mythology, Roman antiquity, Roman calendar, geography, chronology, and scanning of verse; and having been 'put' to making a theme and a version, he acquitted himself indifferently in the former, and made nothing in the latter.¹ The justice of the decision having been called into question—no doubt by the rejected candidate and his friends—the council request the examiners to present a report on the matter; accordingly, on 23d June the committee present a report, in which one of the examiners declares before God and a good conscience that the candidate is qualified, and the other two examiners declare before God and a good conscience that he is not qualified; in these circumstances the council resolve that the candidate shall in the meantime teach the school by way of trial till Whitsunday next, when, for the satisfaction of all parties, he must undergo a second impartial trial, and either be continued in the school or not, according to his carriage at his second examination.²

The aid sought for by the town councils to determine the respective merits of candidates was not always graciously given by the persons to whom they applied: thus in 1707, several candidates having appeared for the situation of master of the grammar school of Kirkcaldy, the council resolve that there shall be a public dispute for the office; but the board, not being 'altogether skilful of the Latin and Greek languages,' they apply to the presbytery to appoint a committee of their number to witness the dispute; it is, however, reported that the presbytery refused to attend the disputation, whereupon the council depart from the kind of trial proposed to be held, in respect it would take up some

¹ Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

² Ibid.

time and bring the candidates to unnecessary expenses.¹ Other conditions, such as character, etc., were taken into consideration by the town councils in filling situations, as well as scholastic attainments: thus, in March 1708, the master of the grammar school of Dundee having, on request of the council, prepared a theme for the candidates who were to 'dispute' for the office of doctor of the grammar school, the three candidates are appointed to make their themes in the council house; the master of the grammar school, after dictating the same, is ordered to leave them 'dictionars and other books necessar,' and, as soon as their themes are ready, they shall deliver them to the master, who shall examine them in the old church at two o'clock, before such of the council and ministers as choose to attend. The judges—Mr Robert Whyte, Mr George Peirce, and Mr John Hodge—on 4th March unanimously preferred Mr Harry Dewar, who is admitted to the 'hail fees and emoluments,' on producing a sufficient testimonial of character.²

Provision is from this time made for examining teachers in other subjects than classical literature; thus, on 21st March 1709, the council of Peebles, finding that the 'most knowing' part of the inhabitants desire a 'scient' master of arts as school doctor, recommend the provost to write to their agent in Edinburgh to try for one;³ on 28th April following, William Simpson, schoolmaster in Potterrow, having been tried as to his knowledge of writing, arithmetic, and Latin, in presence of the magistrates, and found qualified, the council appoint him.⁴ In the same way, on 4th November 1721, a candidate for the office of English master of the burgh of Selkirk, after having been examined by the council, is found qualified to teach English, 'accompting,' and writing.⁵ A more comprehensive and important trial was held at Ayr six years later, when the candidates were examined in commercial subjects and natural science, as well as in classics. In June

¹ Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

³ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁵ Burgh Records of Selkirk.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁴ Ibid.

1727, two young men, viz., Mr John Mair, student at St Andrews, and Mr John Hall, student at Edinburgh, came to Ayr — offering their services as doctor in the school; the provost, bailies, dean of guild, and the treasurer, the two ministers, and the master of the grammar school, and one of the schoolmasters of Irvine, or any five of them, were appointed examiners, who took trial of the students on the 16th, 17th, and 19th June, between whom in writing, there was, it appears, no competition, Mr Hall being preferable. The two seemed to be equal in their skill in Greek and Latin, but Mr Hall's English version was the easiest; in bookkeeping and arithmetic they were equal; but in navigation, Mr Mair was more fully confirmed, and understood the principles better. It was decided by five to four, that Mr Mair was best qualified for the office, but Mr Hall was elected by the casting vote of the provost. Mr Hall, however, declined the appointment; and Mr Mair, having improved in his writing, in which he was thought deficient, was appointed.¹

It is important to know that in a place so far north, and of so little note, as the poor little town of Dingwall, the teacher was not appointed in the way of influence—not selected to gratify some one or other—but that he had to undergo a test examination. On 14th November 1730, the master of the grammar school having demitted his office, the council 'recommend the several members present to think of a proper person for the office;'² three days later they recommend to the minister to write to Mr William M'Bean, Kiltearn, to attend the next diet of council, that they 'may converse with him;'³ on 30th November, Mr M'Bean having compeared, the council, after discoursing with him, recommend the minister to examine him as to his knowledge in Latin, 'by converting some passages of the classic authors into English, in presence

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr. Mr Mair was the author of the well-known Latin 'Introduction,' and of books on mathematics. In 1760 he was appointed rector of the Perth academy.

² Burgh Records of Dingwall.

³ Ibid.

of the council;' the candidate having been examined and removed, the minister of the parish, and the last schoolmaster of the burgh, now student in divinity, with the members of the council, having 'considered the particular passages upon which he was examined, together with the translation of the same, find him sufficiently qualified to officiate as schoolmaster of this burgh.'¹

The town council of Dunfermline, on 8th August 1748, appointed a heterogeneous body, consisting of a minister, preacher, beadle, and tobacconist, to examine in English, Latin, and writing, a candidate for the office of doctor in the grammar school of the burgh;² on 19th September, the candidate presented 'four testimonials of his moral character,' which, with the report of the examiners, was approved by the council, who accordingly admitted him as usher.³ In the same year the council of Ayr having advertised for a 'person well skilled in the Greek and Roman languages,' to fill the vacancy in the grammar school, appointed, after trial, Alexander Paterson of Tranent.⁴

The test examination at Kirkcudbright for an usher was not very high in 1760, when a candidate for the office of assistant-schoolmaster 'having read the Bible and some other books,' to the satisfaction of the council, was appointed.⁵ In June 1761, the town council of St Andrews resolved that the appointment of an English master of the burgh should be by comparative trial; they nominate Lord Cardross, Principals Tullideph and Morrison, and the two ministers, any three to be a quorum, as judges of the trial, and further resolve that an advertisement be inserted in both the Scots newspapers, acquainting the public of the comparative trial, which shall take place fourteen days from the last advertisement.⁶

¹ Burgh Records of Dingwall. The councillors do not seem to have been so distrustful of their own qualifications as those of Kirkcaldy.

² Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁵ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁶ Burgh Records of St Andrews. Cf. also minutes of 16th June 1766, 2d June 1770, and 31st July 1770.

From Ayr we obtain a valuable insight into the nature and extent of those examinations. In February 1771, the master of the grammar school there having resigned, a committee was appointed to examine candidates, according to the following regulations: One person to be chosen as examiner, who shall hear each of the candidates translate, literally, certain passages in Cæsar, Virgil, Sallust, and Horace—asking them, at the same time, an accurate account of the parts of speech, allusions to ancient customs, etc.; the council have pitched on the following passages: In Cæsar, cap. 1, lib. 2, De bello Gallico; cap. 32, lib. 2, De bello civili, et ab initio belli Alexandrini; in Virgil, Georg., lib. 2, O fortunatos nimium, etc., Æneid, lib. 7, Talibus Ilionei dictis; in Sallust, cap. 51; in Horace, lib. 3d. O. e. [*sic*] 3, lib. Sat. 3d.; in Greek: Act. Apost., ab initio; lib. 11, Iliad, ab initio, et ab initio Tal. Cib [*sic*]; if any of the candidates be of equal merit in the books above mentioned, they shall be examined in Liv., cap. 3, lib. 2; and the one who best acquits himself in this last book, shall have the preference; they shall make a version of a piece of English into Latin; the examination shall be concluded by the candidates giving a free translation of the above passages to show their knowledge of the English language.¹ The committee report in favour of Mr John Inglis as having given the most satisfactory specimens of his knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages.²

The year 1790 affords the following interesting description of an examination conducted in presence and by members of the town council of Kirkcaldy. There being a vacancy in the grammar school, several candidates appear before the council: Mr William Millar, from Kincardine, produced a letter and sundry certificates, which were read to the meeting; and, in the hearing of the meeting, read a page of English from Milton. Mr John Paterson, from Ayr, also produced sundry certificates, read a passage from Milton and the *Spectator*, and sang a tune of music. A letter was also read from Mr Malcolm Bowden, schoolmaster of the united parishes of

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

² Ibid.

Fossoway and Tullibole, in whose favour several letters were read, one from Dr Blacklock, in Edinburgh; one from Mr Graham, minister of Fossoway; and one from Sir Harry Moncreiff Wellwood, Bart., all recommending him amply. Mr Bowden then read in the hearing of the meeting a passage from Milton and the *Spectator*, and sang a tune of music. The meeting, after considering the different letters and the exhibitions made by the respective applicants, unanimously prefer Mr Bowden as second teacher in the grammar school.¹

The incompetency of the candidates who applied for the office of master in the grammar school of Forfar in 1793 argues that the inducement held out was not high. In that year the magistrates and council advertise twice in the three Edinburgh newspapers, for a master of the grammar school, to be preferred after a comparative trial; none need apply, it is added, but those who have a college education, and who can produce satisfactory evidence of their good character, diligence, and other necessary qualifications;² the council having considered the report of the ministers, whom they invited to examine candidates, find that none of the four are qualified to teach Latin grammar, and accordingly do not think it proper to admit any one of the candidates; but on account of their trouble and expense in attending the competition, they allow each of them a guinea for defraying his expenses.³

Take one other illustration of a more recent case as to the subjects on which a teacher was examined: On 15th July 1815, the council of Elgin advertise for a teacher to instruct the youth in Latin, Greek, and French languages; and being resolved to prefer merit, have fixed Tuesday, 1st August, next for a competition,⁴ the council agreeing to appoint the candidate certified by the presbytery to be the best qualified. The ministers resolve that the specimens of trial shall consist in translating passages of a prose and verse Latin classic, of the Greek New Testament, or of the Aberdeen

¹ Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

² Burgh Records of Forfar.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Session Papers, No. 541, p. 70.

Greek Delectus, of Hallard's Extracts from French Authors, —analysing any word of the same; his skill in grammar shall be tried by turning English into Latin; and the candidate shall also be required to condescend on his plan or course in teaching Latin from the rudiments to the end of the course.¹

The burgh registers do not always indicate the subjects on which candidates were examined, or how the examination was conducted—only recording the fact of examination; but as it is of importance to the educationist to know that teachers, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were not admitted in the way of influence, it may not be out of place to refer to other instances of entrance examinations or competitions by examinations. In 1595 a master of the grammar school of Ayr was appointed after giving 'proof of his literature to the presbytery of Ayr.'² On 9th January 1632, the town council of Perth nominate a 'leet' of five for the office of master of the grammar school, and on 14th May one of the number is chosen;³ in 1653 another master was appointed under similar circumstances,⁴ and in the neighbouring burgh of Stirling, we also read that, in 1673, the council have chosen from a 'leet' a master of their grammar school.⁵ In 1663 the master of the grammar school of Stirling having 'tryed out a Latin doctor for the school and found him both able and willing to embrace the charge,' the council appoint him to the office.⁶ In 1666, there being a candidate for the office of doctor of the grammar school of Aberdeen, the council remitted him to a professor of divinity and to a minister of the burgh to be 'tried;' the examiners after the trial declare before God, in presence of the council, that they have found him qualified.⁷ Four years later, a master of the grammar school is admitted upon report of his qualification by the principal and regents of Marischal college, and one or two of the ministers.⁸ In 1668, two young

¹ Session Papers, No. 541, pp. 67, 68.

² Burgh Records of Ayr.

³ Burgh Records of Perth.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁸ Ibid.

men having applied for the office of Latin doctor of Stirling, the council order the master of the grammar school to take 'tryall of the qualifications of both, that soe the ablest be admitted.'¹ In 1674 the council of Dundee ordain that, from henceforth, no doctor or janitor shall be installed in their schools until their qualifications and conversations be first tried.² In 1689 the council of Peebles apply for the assistance of five ministers to 'take trial of the qualifications and literature of the candidates for teaching the grammar school, and declare that the best qualified shall be preferred, without fear or favour;'³ in 1693, a candidate having been tried by the presbytery of Peebles and found qualified for teaching any grammar school, is admitted to the charge of the grammar school.⁴ In June 1698, the provost of Ayr speaks to Mr James Ferguson, with the view of fixing his 'trial' for being doctor of the grammar school.⁵ On 11th August 1702, the council of Dundee appoint 15th September next for trying the qualifications of candidates for the office of doctor of the grammar school, so that the office may be given to the best deserving, they bringing with them 'testimonials from whom they came;'⁶ in 1715 a vacancy in the office of doctor of the grammar school of Dundee is ordered to be intimated in the *Courant*; candidates shall be tried on 21st March at two P.M., in the Old Church, where the ministers are invited to attend.⁷ The council of Forfar, in May 1717, being anxious to have

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Ayr. In September 1708, the council, considering that Mr Ferguson has served the town for twelve years—to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants—and had been found well qualified after examination at his entry, appoint him head-master.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dundee. On 19th September the master of the grammar school reports to the council that the 'dispute' for the office is gained by Mr James Brown, schoolmaster at Dunbar.

⁷ Burgh Records of Dundee. On 1st May 1716, the office again fell vacant, and the council wrote to a certain person 'to come to be tried before the magistrates, by any they shall appoint.' Cf. also the minute dated 27th July 1727, when two candidates were examined.

the office of schoolmaster of the burgh planted with all diligence, appoint an advertisement to be put in the public prints 'in most ample form, and the same is to be carried by way of dispute.'¹ In 1719 the council of Fortrose resolve to accept no schoolmaster who shall not, at the sight of the presbytery, satisfy as to his capacity of teaching humanity.²

A teacher was admitted to the grammar school of Kinghorn, in 1725, after having been examined before a committee of the town council and kirk session;³ in 1736 four ministers were appointed to examine candidates for the office.⁴ In 1726, the council of Dunbar resolve that an advertisement shall invite candidates for the vacant offices in their school to repair to Dunbar, where they shall be tested 'by a public dispute or other trial,' before the magistrates, or such persons as they shall appoint; the offices shall be given to those who give the best specimen of their qualifications.⁵ In December 1728, the town council of St Andrews resolve that the schoolmasters of the burgh shall be chosen by comparative trial of the candidates, reserving power to elect otherwise if the council think proper: the provost, dean of guild, four bailies, convener and treasurer of the city, the rector, professors of Greek and humanity, and the two ministers of the parish, to be judges.⁶

In 1733, a schoolmaster of Kirkcudbright being 'amply recommended,' and his 'conversation having pleased,' is appointed.⁷ Three years later, three candidates for the office of master of the grammar school having been found, on examination, equally qualified for the office, the council, after voting, elect one of their number.⁸ In 1741, an advertisement was ordered to be inserted in the *Courant* for a writing-master

¹ Burgh Records of Forfar. The advertisement was inserted, but only one candidate appeared, whom the council, knowing his fitness, appoint.

² Burgh Records of Fortrose.

³ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁶ Burgh Records of St Andrews. The 'major part' of them might elect, but the two professors were always to be of the number.

⁷ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁸ Ibid.

of Stirling; the council appoint John Burn, after 'having had a trial of several persons;' ¹ in 1752, the council having taken trial of several candidates for the office of music-master, prefer William Gordon; ² on the report of Mr Callendar of Craighforth, and other examiners of candidates for office of rector of the grammar school in 1755, John Livie is preferred. ³

In 1746, two candidates having applied for the doctorship of the grammar school of Dunfermline, the patrons allow them from 17th March to the second Tuesday of April, in order to produce their credentials, and to prepare for a comparative trial. ⁴ In the following year, the council of Irvine appoint an English teacher, of whose ability and qualifications they 'took trial by a skilful person.' ⁵ In 1746, the patrons of the school of Pittenweem, being anxious that the vacant office of schoolmaster should be supplied in 'an agreeable way,' fix on two schoolmasters, who shall have to 'undergo a comparative trial, before proper and competent judges.' ⁶

In 1758, the schoolmaster of Renfrew having been asked by the council of Dumbarton, whether he would stand a 'tryall single, or comparatively with others, before the presbytery,' for the office of rector of the grammar school of Dumbarton, refuses to compete. ⁷ On 25th April 1761, the council of Dundee advertise for a doctor in the grammar school; but on 8th June, it was found, after trial of several applicants, that none of them was qualified for the place. ⁸ On 3d February 1762, the applicants for the vacant offices in the schools of Banff are requested to appear at the burgh with proper recommendations of their moral character, on Thursday 15th April, in order to a 'trial of their qualification for supplying

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling. The schoolmasters of Stirling were hitherto appointed on recommendation.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

⁵ Burgh Records of Irvine.

⁶ Burgh Records of Pittenweem. The competition did not take place—the candidates having refused to accept the situation.

⁷ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁸ Burgh Records of Dundee. Cf. under 23d August 1763, when a similar advertisement was ordered.

the situations they claim'—certifying that they will be preferred according to their merit.¹ A comparative 'tryale' of the different candidates who may apply for the office of teacher of Lochmaben, according to an advertisement in the newspapers, was fixed to take place on 1st May 1766; some of the heritors of the parish and three ministers of the presbytery are appointed judges for the heritors, and the council of the burgh, sensible that their minister is the most proper person to represent them 'in that tryale,' nominate him—exclusive of his other right in law.²

In 1772, the council of Greenock having advertised for a teacher of English, elect one of the applicants, after examination of his abilities, method of teaching, and of the certificates of his moral character;³ seven years later (19th October 1779), the council advertise again for an English teacher,⁴ and on 9th November, there were laid before the council several letters from candidates, who are informed that the person found best qualified should be preferred; the council recommend the magistrates to ask the ministers, and any other of the inhabitants thought proper, to attend the examination, and to procure, if necessary, some person from Glasgow, who understands the method of teaching the English language; accordingly, Mr Burns was summoned to examine fifteen candidates, who are called in and examined, one after another, in presence of the council, the ministers, and many of the principal inhabitants of the town; five of the candidates are found equal, but a Mr Mitchell, preacher, having a better 'utterance,' is preferred.⁵

The town council of Dumbarton advertise that, on the second Tuesday of April 1776, a comparative trial shall take place, before the presbytery and other learned gentlemen, for the office of rector of the grammar school.⁶ On 21st December 1778, in answer to letters from several candidates asking

¹ Burgh Records of Banff.

² Burgh Records of Lochmaben. The school was burgh and parochial.

³ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

for particulars of the vacancy in the grammar school of Crail, the council acquaint them, that they who 'intend to stand trial are expected to meet at St Andrews, on 20th January next, in Bailie Glass's house, at eleven forenoon.'¹ In 1780, on the report of 'learned examiners,' two schoolmasters are appointed for the burgh of Wigtown.² The council of St Andrews, on 16th August 1782, remitted to a committee to take trial with regard to the qualifications and moral character of certain candidates for the office of English master of the burgh.³ In 1822, four candidates having applied for the office of the grammar school of Dunbar, they were examined by Professor Pillans, who recommended Mr David Lyon.⁴ In 1825, the town council of St Andrews advertise for an English schoolmaster, and appoint a committee to examine candidates.⁵ In 1835, the commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of the Scottish burghs reported, that the teachers in certain burghs—Banff, Linlithgow, Stirling, etc.—were generally appointed after a comparative trial of the candidates, usually conducted in presence of the council.⁶

The teachers no longer compete by examination for vacant offices, which are now invariably given, after a comparison of the different certificates—confidential and public—to the candidates most favourably recommended. We conclude our notice of the examination of masters by referring to the important provision made by the Education Act for protecting the public against incompetent teachers, by ordaining that the principal teacher⁷ in every public school must be the

¹ Burgh Records of Crail.

² Burgh Records of Wigtown.

³ Burgh Records of St Andrews. James Smith was preferred.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁵ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁶ Municipal Corporations Report, i., 109, ii., 228, 408.

⁷ 34 & 35 Vict., c. 62, §§ 56, 59. But any one who, at the passing of the Act, is principal teacher of a parish school, side, parliamentary, or heritors' girl school, or the principal teacher of a burgh school, or subordinate teacher of a burgh school, if member of council of a Scotch university, or holder of a certificate from, or registered as a certificated teacher by, the Committee of Council of Education, shall be deemed a holder of a certificate of competency: § 56 (sub. 1, 2, 3).

holder of a certificate of competency, to be obtained by passing an examination.¹

§ 3. A common way of appointing teachers was on recommendation, or by testimonials. From the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, a number of entries in the records show that corporations, who adopted not 'contestation' for determining the merits of candidates, did not depend on their own judgment in the selection of masters for the schools. References were sometimes made to the universities, or to distinguished scholars, or to trustworthy persons, to recommend fit men for the office; and generally, recommendations obtained from those sources decided as between the claims of rival candidates. We quote minutes of town councils with the view of showing the manner of procedure in selecting candidates recommended to the patrons. In 1635 Mr John Irvine was appointed schoolmaster of Burntisland, 'at the earnest recommendation of the chancellor, archbishop of St Andrews.'² In 1684 the council of St Andrews, 'being fully informed of the qualifications and ability' of Mr Patrick Lindesay, schoolmaster at Pitmenweem, nominate him to the office of master of the grammar school of the city.³ In 1709 the magistrates of Montrose entreat the professors of philosophy in Marischal college and King's college, Aberdeen, 'to inform the council of persons qualified to be master and doctors of their gram-

¹ If a candidate has taken a degree in arts or science in any university of England, Scotland, or Ireland, the examiners may dispense with his examination in any subject comprised in his degree examination; but he must satisfy them of his skill in the theory and practice of music: § 59. Act 24 & 25 Vict., c. 107, passed in 1861, provided that the persons entitled to elect a teacher might, instead of electing one person to the vacant office, nominate two or three persons to be tried by the examiners appointed to take the place of the presbytery, the certificate by the examiners and the minute of nomination completing the right of the candidate. If the magistrates remitted any candidate for examination, they were required to pay to each of the examiners a fee of £1, 1s. should there be only one, and a fee of 10s. for each additional candidate: 24 & 25 Vict., c. 107.

² Burgh Records of Burntisland. ³ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

mar school.'¹ In 1713 the council of Crail 'being informed of the fitness and qualifications of Mr Robert Graham' for the office of master of the grammar school, ordain the magistrates to contract with him.² In 1716 the council of Kirkcudbright, considering a 'certificate by the presbytery as to the fitness of a son of the late Bailie Campbell for being master of the grammar school, and being inclined to encourage any of their own inhabitants capable for the trust before any extraneous person, though equally fit,' nominate Mr Campbell to the office.³ In 1720 Mr Scott having given sufficient proof of his fitness to be master of the music school of Dundee by the certificates he has produced, the council appoint him to the office.⁴ In 1722 the council of Forres, considering that the ministers of Inverness recommend a qualified young man for teaching the grammar school of the burgh, unanimously accept him to be their schoolmaster.⁵ In 1728, Mr Alexander M'Queen being specially recommended to the council of Kirkcudbright as a fit person for the office of schoolmaster, and having produced before the council several certificates of his capacity and behaviour, the council having the 'universall consent of the parents present, and of the minister,' appoint him to the office.⁶ The council of Fortrose, two years later, being 'sufficiently informed of the literature and good character' of Mr George M'Culloch for teaching English and Latin, appoint him schoolmaster of the burgh.⁷ In 1742 the provost of Banff laid before the council many recommendations in behalf of several candidates for the office of master of the grammar school, and particularly one by Mr Thomas Ruddiman at Edinburgh in favour of George Robertson; the council having particular regard to the recommendation of Mr Ruddiman as being in every way a competent judge of the qualifications of any person fit to serve as school-

¹ Burgh Records of Montrose.

² Burgh Records of Crail.

³ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁵ Burgh Records of Forres.

⁶ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁷ Burgh Records of Fortrose.

master of this burgh, appoint Mr Robertson schoolmaster.¹ In 1746 the council of Irvine appoint a teacher of English, he having got a 'sufficient certificate from a skilled person, that he is qualified to teach English after the modern way.'² In 1747 the professor of humanity in Edinburgh having given a 'very ample character with regard to the ability and knowledge in the languages,' of a candidate for the office of master of the grammar school of Dumbarton, and likewise 'a fair character as to his morals,' the council accordingly appoint him to the office.³ In the following year the council of Rothesay being informed of, and fully satisfied with, the learning and abilities of Mr Thomas Smith, preacher of the Gospel, appoint him master of the grammar school;⁴ in 1750 his successor was appointed, the council being well informed of his learning, and other good qualifications. In 1754 the council of St Andrews 'being informed of the qualifications, fitness, and capacity of the master of the grammar school at Falkland for the office of first doctor of the grammar school of the city, appoint him to that office.'⁵ The council of Dumbarton, 'having nothing more at heart than appointing a properly qualified schoolmaster,' order, in 1758, an inquiry to be made as to the 'character and skill in the Latin and Greek languages, in writing and arithmetic,' of Mr M'Farlane at Callander.⁶ In 1764 the council of Stirling having read the recommendations in favour of seven candidates for the office of English teacher, prefer Andrew Dow.⁷ The council of Greenock advertised in the Glasgow papers in 1767 for a master of the grammar school; three candidates having presented themselves with testimonials of their moral character and abilities as teachers, the council, after examining their credentials, select one of them.⁸ In 1773 the council

¹ Burgh Records of Banff. Mr Ruddiman was a native of the parish of Boyndie, which is within three miles of Banff.

² Burgh Records of Irvine.

³ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁴ Burgh Records of Rothesay.

⁵ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁷ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁸ Burgh Records of Greenock.

of Banff appoint a master of the grammar school, who is recommended by 'several letters as a person well qualified for the situation, and being of a moral good character;'¹ in 1782 the council, considering that Mr James Morris, Portsoy, has been recommended in the 'strongest terms as a proper person for being master of the grammar school,' appoint him to that office.² In 1786 the council of St Andrews take 'steps for procuring characters and recommendations in favour of persons fitted for the important office of master of their grammar school.'³ In 1789 several candidates having applied for two vacant offices in the grammar school of Dumbarton, a committee selected two out of a great many applicants as the most preferable, and the council being entirely satisfied with the choice, elect them as masters.⁴ In 1831 the council of Campbeltown, 'after inquiry made as to the qualifications and character of a candidate for the office of rector of the grammar school,' unanimously appoint him to that office, remitting him to the presbytery of Kintyre for examination.⁵ The general practice at present is to appoint the candidate who has qualified himself for the office and is the most highly recommended by competent persons—gentlemen connected with education.

§ 4. Sometimes appointments were only made after the candidates had served a short period of probation; a few cases from the records of four burghs will illustrate this point: In February 1712, Alexander M'Colme of Maybole is allowed to enter as teacher of the English school of Ayr, in order to a trial of his qualifications.⁶ Two years later, Mr John Muir, chaplain to Glenlee, is admitted to 'trial as English school-master of Cupar, in presence of the magistrates, and appointed to give a specimen of his skill in music, by precenting publicly in the church of Ayr, on the 11th instant.'⁷ On 3d August 1717, Mr George Reid having taught the grammar school of

¹ Burgh Records of Banff.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁵ Burgh Records of Campbeltown. The grammar school was a parochial school, though managed by the town council.

⁶ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁷ Ibid.

Banff for some time, and given sufficient proof of his integrity, ability, and qualifications, as ascertained by an examination of the school, the council appoint him master thereof;¹ again, in 1742, the council 'assure' a candidate for the office of master that if, 'after a trial of his conduct and behaviour for a few months,' both parties shall be satisfied with one another, he shall receive the appointment.² In 1725 a schoolmaster in St Monance 'being most willing to serve as doctor of the grammar school of Crail, the council—*nemine contradicente*—are content that he should enter the school for ane tryall;³ in the following year the council, 'all in one voice, statute that a schoolmaster be taken in trial for half a year;⁴ in 1736 the council, after having considered a letter by the professor of Greek in St Leonard's college, St Andrews, recommending a doctor for the grammar school, 'condescend that he shall enter for ane tryall;⁵ in 1756 an usher was not appointed till a 'trial be made of his care, diligence, and qualifications for discharging that duty.'⁶

§ 5. When the town council agreed to appoint the master on recommendation, the merits of candidates—when more than one applied for the same situation—were usually disposed of by 'plurality of votes;' and there are instances of some warm differences of opinion among the electors as to the candidate who was best qualified for the office. In 1634 the council of Jedburgh being convened in the Tolbooth for electing a schoolmaster, 'be moniest voitts electit and choysit Mr Harie Elliot.'⁷ On the occasion of a subsequent appointment the power of election was delegated to the minister of the parish, in order to avoid disputes: in 1662 the council, seriously remembering the 'great divisions, quarrelling, controversies, and debates formerly among the inhabitants of the burgh, anent the placing and displacing' of the late schoolmaster—a division tending to the burgh's great prejudice—and being now anxious that the vacant office in the grammar school

¹ Burgh Records of Banff.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of Crail.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

shall be supplied with an able schoolmaster, and that 'all controversy and debate may be fully extinguished and taken away, all, in one voice—*nemine contradicente*—nominate Mr Peter Blair, minister of the burgh, to give a call to a qualified schoolmaster, for whom he shall be answerable.' The minister accepted the power conferred on him, but the provost, for his exoneration, protests that this temporary arrangement shall not be prejudicial to him and the burgh, either by law or otherwise, concerning the appointment of a schoolmaster.¹ In 1704, it being put to the vote of the council of Montrose, convened for appointing a master of the grammar school, 'who should be master,' it was carried in favour of Mr Robert Strachan.² On 18th July 1710, there being three applicants for the office of master of the grammar school of Dundee, the provost is informed 'of one Mr Rudieman, who is of a very good character, and promised to write (by the post) his mind in that affair;' on a vote, the council elected Mr Patrick Lyon.³ In 1749, there being two candidates for the office of master of the grammar school of Crail, both recommended by several persons, the council, after voting, elect Mr William Don, usher of the grammar school of Perth, 'an able and sufficient teacher of youth, under whose hands the scholars prosper well, and of a good, blameless, and modest character, well affected to the present government.'⁴ The merits of candidates are in our own day usually disposed of by the votes of the electors, on whom are brought to bear in favour of the applicants all kinds of pressure, especially for important offices—a pressure which, in political elections, might go far to invalidate the nomination.

§ 6. Appointments were sometimes made by a committee deputed to wait on the master recommended; and we find

¹ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

² Burgh Records of Montrose.

³ Burgh Records of Dundee. The grammarian was at this time assistant librarian to the Faculty of Advocates, who, on 15th July, considering his extraordinary care of the library, settled on him £363, 6s. 8d. Scots (£30, 6s. 8d. stg.), in lieu of all fees: Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman, 52.

⁴ Burgh Records of Crail.

entries in the treasurers' accounts for payments of the expenses of these deputations—not unlike bills paid to deputations in our own day, perhaps less heavy, but more justifiable. Take the following extracts as specimens of deputations in quest of schoolmasters: In 1600 the town of Dysart sends two commissioners to St Andrews to employ a qualified master for the grammar school;¹ in 1642 the council of Glasgow ordain John Anderson to 'ryd to Stirling to try the quality and present condition of the schoolmaster' there, and whether he be willing to 'transport' himself;² in 1649 the council of Stirling ordain John Short, the old provost, and Christopher Russel, deacon, to 'ryd' to Glasgow for choosing a schoolmaster;³ in 1664 the council of Forfar authorised the minister, who is 'going south,' to get a qualified man to be master of the grammar school—either at Edinburgh, St Andrews, or at any other place;⁴ the minister having not succeeded in his mission, the council, on 7th January, determine that Bailie Guthrie shall go to Dundee with the minister 'for trying' for a schoolmaster;⁵ and on 16th January 1665, the doctor of the grammar school of Dundee having accepted the situation,⁶ he was on 20th January admitted to his office, and made a burgess;⁷ in 1666 the provost and a bailie of Peebles were authorised to go to Edinburgh to 'spear out' a schoolmaster;⁸ in 1673 the council of Stirling having nominated the teacher of Culross as master of their school, ordain a committee to wait on him and communicate the appointment;⁹ in 1683 the council of Paisley ordain their clerk to 'goe to Glasgow to use his endeavour for a scholar to be doctor' of the grammar school;¹⁰ in 1690 the council of Irvine ordain the provost and minister to go to

¹ Burgh Records of Dysart.

² Burgh Records of Glasgow. This entry occurs in the 'Comptaris Descharge : 'Item, To John Anderson, for his charges in going to Stirling for the grammar school master, £15, 18s.'

³ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁴ Burgh Records of Forfar.

⁶ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁹ Burgh Records of Stirling.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Paisley.

Glasgow and 'deal for a transportation of Mathew Couper, schoolmaster at Ocheltree,' to be master at Irvine;¹ the council of Stirling, in 1727, appoint two bailies and the dean of guild to go to Greenock, and, in a prudent manner, inform themselves of the moral character of Mr Erskine, who is recommended for the office of master of the grammar school of Stirling;² in 1738 the provost of Dundee reports to the council that he and others had waited on Mr Young, schoolmaster at Haddington, and proposed to him to be master of the Latin school in Dundee.³

Rarely was a master appointed, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, like the schoolmasters of Paisley and Stirling, through correspondence: in 1648 the council of Paisley conclude that Mr Alexander Dunlop⁴ and Bailie Alexander 'sall wryt to Dowglas to Mr Alexander Park, now pedagogue to the Marquis of Douglas' bairns, to see if he will come pedagogue here;⁵ in 1665 the council of Stirling 'write to Mr William Papley that he may come here and be settled with' as Latin doctor of the grammar school.⁶

There are innumerable entries in the records showing that the town councils paid the travelling expenses of the master when he 'transported himself;' thus, on 8th December 1702, the town council of Dundee pay to a doctor of the grammar school £40 Scots for 'transporting him and his family from Dunbar to this place;'⁷ on 1st August 1713, they appoint a 'gratification for his transportation' to be paid to a master come from Aberdeen to set up a music school;⁸ and on 16th September 1773, they grant to Mr Watson, rector of the grammar school, ten guineas for 'transporting his furniture' from Campbeltown to this place.⁹

The schoolmaster, after presentation, and before admis-

¹ Burgh Records of Irvine.

² Burgh Records of Stirling.

³ Burgh Records of Dundee. 20th September, declines the offer.

⁴ One of the Abbey ministers.

⁵ Ibid. Mr Park agreed to become schoolmaster of Paisley.

⁶ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁷ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

sion to his office, took invariably, like the Officers of State, his oath *de fidei administratione* 'as vse is' in presence of the patrons.¹ The master having run all the gantlets—satisfied the patrons as to his abilities and character, the church and state as to his orthodoxy and loyalty,² he was introduced into his office with some formality: thus, in 1606, the grammarian Mr Alexander Home having been presented master of the school of the Pans, the whole parishioners, on 8th July, being asked how they approved of him as schoolmaster, they, in token of their approbation, took him by the hand, faithfully promising to concur for the furtherance of the work yet to be done, and keep the schoolmaster and scholars skaithless; finally, it was thought meet that the whole visitors and parishioners present should enter him into the school, and there hear him teach—which also was done.³ On 28th September 1727, new masters of the schools of Dunbar having been appointed, the magistrates order the schools to be opened with the usual solemnities for their installation, and that intimation thereof be made through the town by a drummer.⁴ The patrons generally invested the newly-appointed schoolmaster with a symbol of his possession and authority; thus, in 1602 the provost and bailies, and divers of the council, of Aberdeen passed to the grammar school, and gave to the masters whom they had appointed institution of the office by delivering to them a grammar.⁵ In 1658 a schoolmaster of Perth having been appointed, he takes his patrons by the hand, who thereafter went with him to the school, and delivered to him a grammar, the key of the school door, and a pair of 'tawes.'⁶ In 1670 the town council of Cupar put their master in possession of the school by giving him the key of the door and tawse.⁷

¹ Burgh Records, *passim*.

² See *infra*, under Removal of Masters from Office.

³ Presbytery Records of Haddington.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁶ Burgh Records of Perth. The same formality was repeated in 1704.

⁷ Burgh Records of Cupar.

CHAPTER VII.—TENURE OF OFFICE OF MASTERS.

§ 1. APPOINTMENTS 'AT PLEASURE.'—§ 2. APPOINTMENTS FOR A DEFINITE PERIOD.—§ 3. APPOINTMENTS DURING 'GOOD BEHAVIOUR.'—§ 4. APPOINTMENTS DURING 'GOOD BEHAVIOUR AND AT THE WILL' OF THE ELECTORS.—§ 5. APPOINTMENTS 'AD VITAM AUT CULPAM.'—§ 6. SUMMARY OF DIFFERENT TENURES.—§ 7. TENURE OF OFFICE CHANGED.

PREVIOUS to the Reformation the schoolmaster was appointed sometimes for life, and sometimes during the pleasure of his patrons.¹ In the period subsequent to that event, the master continued to be appointed (1.) *durante bene placito*; (2.) for a definite period; (3.) *ad vitam aut culpam*. For the sake of clearness we shall classify, as well as we can, the appointments according to the nature of the tenure of office—arranging them chronologically under the respective burghs in which they were made.

§ 1. We shall begin with appointments during pleasure. In 1572, the council of Haddington grant 'ane gyft of thair comone schole' to the master, 'during thair willis allendarlie.'² In 1580, a schoolmaster of Brechin is appointed during the 'council's pleasure.'³ In the same year, the bailies and council of the Canongate grant the office of master of the grammar school of the burgh to a teacher 'induring the bailies' and council's will alenerly.'⁴ In 1593, the first writing-master in the high school of Edinburgh was appointed, 'induring the town's will';⁵ in the following year, a successor during the 'town's pleasure allanerlie';⁶ and in 1654, a doctor 'dureing the counsell's pleasure';⁷ on 28th August

¹ *Supra*, § 17, p. 41.

² Burgh Records of Haddington.

³ Black's History of Brechin, p. 45 (2d ed.).

⁴ Burgh Register of the Canongate.

⁵ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

1719, the town council resolved that in future all the teachers should be appointed 'during the pleasure of the council,' and that a clause to that effect be inserted in every deed of presentation.¹ In 1620 the master of the grammar school of Burntisland was requested to deliver up the keys of the schoolhouse, and of his dwelling-house, to the council, in acknowledgment that he held his office during the pleasure of the council.² In 1628 the council of Aberdeen appoint a doctor of the grammar school 'during the will and plesour of the counckill allanerly;'³ in 1641 a doctor during the council's 'pleasure;'⁴ and, in 1642, another 'ad bene placitum concilii tantum.'⁵ In 1632 the council of Perth appoint a master of the grammar school 'during their goodwill and pleasure;'⁶ in 1641 two doctors are chosen during the 'councillis will allanerlie.'⁷ On 3d November 1662 the council of Paisley agree with Mr Alexander Park, and he with them, to be their schoolmaster 'aye, and till he either be called away or not permitted to stay; he shall have 100 merks for the first half-year, whether or not he shall have liberty to stay the whole time or, more or less, part of it;'⁸ in 1751 a master of the grammar school appointed during the 'pleasure' of the council;⁹ in 1758 his successor chosen on the same condition.¹⁰ In 1682 a master of the Scots school of Ayr admitted during the 'pleasure' of the council;¹¹ in 1727 a doctor of the grammar school, 'during the council's pleasure alanerly;'¹² in May 1755 an English master, 'during the pleasure of the magistrates and council.'¹³

It was agreed, in 1690, that the English master of Dunbar

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Burntisland. This custom long continued.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Perth.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Presbytery Records of Paisley.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid. In 1835, the royal commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of Scottish burghs, report that the teachers of the Ayr academy may be discharged at six months' notice: Municipal Corporations Report, i., 86.

and the council, if not satisfied with each other, may mutually part, on giving notice of forty days preceding Whitsunday or Lammas;¹ in 1727 it is agreed that a master of the English and grammar schools shall continue in office so long as he and the council are satisfied with one another.² In 1685 it was ordained that a doctor of the grammar school of Stirling may continue in office during the 'pleasure' of the council;³ in 1698 a doctor admitted 'during pleasure';⁴ in 1728, 1730, 1732, 1735, 1736, 1737, and 1744, respectively, doctors appointed during 'pleasure';⁵ in 1753 a rector, during the council's 'pleasure allenary';⁶ in the same year, a music-master, writing-master, and teacher of arithmetic, during 'pleasure';⁷ and in 1764 and 1765 teachers of the English school, during 'pleasure.'⁸ In 1692 the council of Wigtown declare that they and the schoolmaster may always part with one another, on giving two months' advertisement, 'if they are not amind to keep longer together.'⁹

In 1707 a schoolmaster of Kirkcaldy was admitted 'during the pleasure.'¹⁰ In 1710 the doctor of the grammar school of Crail was appointed 'during the council their pleasure allenary';¹¹ the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the Scottish burghs in 1833 report that in the burgh school of Crail (not the united burgh and parochial school), the master holds office at the pleasure of the council.¹² On 18th July 1710, the council of Dundee, after voting, statute that whoever be presented to be master of the grammar school of the burgh shall only hold office during the council's pleasure only;¹³ on

¹ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

² Ibid. All the early appointments were insecure; latterly, however, it would seem that the 'ad vitam aut culpam' has been tacitly acknowledged, as shown by retiring allowances granted to masters. See minutes, 19th December 1818, 17th February 1819, 1st March 1822, 10th September 1852.

³ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Crail.

¹² Municipal Corporations Report, i., 158.

¹³ Burgh Records of Dundee.

31st October a master chosen 'during the council's pleasure alenarly;' ¹ in 1711, doctor, on the same terms; ² in the following year, master of English, 'during the council's pleasure;' ³ on 31st March 1715, doctor of the grammar school, 'during the council's pleasure;' ⁴ others on 14th November 1717, ⁵ on 26th June 1718, ⁶ 20th August 1718, ⁷ 29th July 1727 on the same terms; ⁸ in 1763, doctor of the grammar school and master of the English school, during the 'council's pleasure;' ⁹ in 1764, rector of the English school, 'during council's pleasure;' ¹⁰ in 1771, under doctor of the grammar school, 'during the council's pleasure.' ¹¹ In 1716, and again in 1720, masters of the grammar school of Kirkcudbright were appointed 'during the pleasure of the council alenarly.' ¹² In 1717 a schoolmaster of Forfar was appointed 'during pleasure and no longer.' ¹³ In 1721 the council of Selkirk grant to the English schoolmaster of the burgh a certain salary 'during pleasure.' ¹⁴ In 1723 the schoolmaster of Irvine was appointed 'during pleasure.' ¹⁵ In 1730 the council of Fortrose appoint a schoolmaster of the burgh during 'their pleasure;' ¹⁶ in 1807, master of the grammar school, 'during the pleasure of the council.' ¹⁷ In 1748 a doctor of the grammar school of Dunfermline was appointed 'during the pleasure of the town council and kirk session, or major part of them, only, and no longer;' ¹⁸ in 1767 an usher was chosen on the same terms. ¹⁹ In 1748 the magistrates and council of Rothesay appoint a master of the grammar school of the burgh 'during their pleasure;' ²⁰ his successor was appointed in 1750 on similar terms; ²¹ the next master of the school was also appointed during the 'pleasure of the council allanerly.' ²² There were appointed, during the pleasure of the council of

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid.

¹² Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

¹⁴ Burgh Records of Selkirk.

¹⁶ Burgh Records of Fortrose.

¹⁸ Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

²⁰ Burgh Records of Rothesay.

² Ibid. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰ Ibid. ¹¹ Ibid.

¹³ Burgh Records of Forfar.

¹⁵ Burgh Records of Irvine.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

St Andrews in 1747, an usher of the grammar school;¹ in 1750 and 1752, other ushers;² in 1750 an English master;³ in 1764 an usher of the grammar school;⁴ and in 1767 it was ordered that the master of the English school shall possess the schoolhouse during the 'pleasure of the council alanerly.'⁵ In 1776 the council of Dumbarton continue the usher of the grammar school 'during pleasure';⁶ the burgh commissioners report in 1835 that the teacher of writing and arithmetic in the burgh school is removable on six months' notice; the other teacher, who, it is said, may be considered as parish schoolmaster, holds his situation for an indefinite period.⁷ In 1781 the council of Greenock admitted a master of the mathematical school 'during pleasure.'⁸ In 1791 the council of Campbeltown declared that it is competent for them always to remove the master of the grammar school 'at any time they may think proper, on giving him six months' notice of their intention to remove him.'⁹ The burgh commissioners report, in 1835, that the masters of the grammar school of Banff hold their office during the pleasure of the council.¹⁰

§ 2. A great number of appointments were made for a limited or definite period, extending from a few months to eleven years. We shall give instances of such appointments, arranging them also in a chronological order, under the respective burghs in which they were made. In 1571 a schoolmaster of Crail is chosen for one year.¹¹ In 1573 a doctor of the grammar school of Haddington is engaged 'during the space of ane yeir';¹² in 1577, another doctor for a year;¹³ in 1582, a master for five years;¹⁴ and in 1591, another for fifteen months.¹⁵ On 24th April 1582, the township of Kirkcudbright 'conducit a schoolmaster until

¹ Burgh Records of St Andrews. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁷ Municipal Corporations Report, i., 206.

⁸ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁹ Burgh Records of Campbeltown.

¹⁰ Municipal Corporations Report, i., 109.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Crail.

¹² Burgh Records of Haddington.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.



Martinmas next;¹ on 6th January 1582, a master engaged till Martinmas next;² in 1584, he is continued for another year;³ in 1586, James Dickson is 'feid for ane yeir';⁴ on 23d July 1588, he is 'feed fra Beltane last till Alhallowmas next';⁵ on 13th October 1591, another schoolmaster engaged from Hallowmas next till Beltane;⁶ on 9th February 1592, Mr Herbert Gledstanes 'conducit' schoolmaster till Lammas next;⁷ in 1593, Mr John Callendar 'feit' for a year;⁸ in 1607, Mr James Glen appointed for a year;⁹ in 1620, Mr Thomas Lamb, for three years;¹⁰ in 1696, a schoolmaster appointed for half-a-year; he shall be continued longer if found 'well qualified';¹¹ in 1699, a schoolmaster appointed for half-a-year; his further continuation being at the determination and pleasure of the council.¹² In 1595, a master of the grammar school of Ayr is elected for 'five years';¹³ in 1596, a doctor, 'for one year';¹⁴ in the following year, William Wallace, son of William Wallace of Barnwell, for the same period;¹⁵ in 1601, a master of the music school, for one year;¹⁶ in 1605, a master of the grammar school, for five years;¹⁷ in 1612, another master, for the same period;¹⁸ in the following year a master of the music school appointed for one year;¹⁹ in 1675, a teacher agrees to serve the town, as master of the grammar school, for one year;²⁰ in 1676, a doctor of the grammar school is admitted for half-a-year, or longer, during the pleasure of the council;²¹ in the following year, another doctor of the grammar school admitted for one year.²² On 6th February 1602, two masters of the grammar school of Aberdeen appointed until the feast of Candlemas next, 'on their good service and diligence, and during the will of the council only.'²³

On 14th November 1602, Mr James Ireland is appointed

¹ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Burgh Records of Ayr.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

to 'travail in the office of doctor of the grammar school of Stirling till Whitsunday next;' ¹ on 27th June, in the following year, two doctors chosen for one year; ² on 18th November, in the same year, two doctors appointed for one year; ³ on 30th December 1604, a doctor admitted till the 'feast and term of Whitsunday next;' ⁴ on 26th July 1613, a doctor 'conduces himself of new,' from 1st August to 1st February, and longer, 'induring the will of the council, of the master, and of himself;' ⁵ on 24th October, in the same year, a doctor appointed for one year; ⁶ on 22d May 1620, another for the same period; ⁷ on 6th December 1620, a doctor admitted for three years and a half, the town reserving to itself the liberty to demit him at any time within that period, if not pleased with his service; ⁸ in 1625, a master of the grammar school engaged 'for the space of five years;' ⁹ in 1631, a doctor, 'for one year;' ¹⁰ in 1641, another, for the same period; ¹¹ in 1642, a master, for five years; ¹² in 1649, master, for eleven years; ¹³ in 1661, a Latin doctor, 'for one year and further, during the pleasure of the council, or doctor;' ¹⁴ in 1662, a principal master elected for nine years; ¹⁵ on 7th June 1671, the council, considering that the agreement between them and the master expires at Whitsunday next, agree to continue him for one year after Whitsunday next, providing he 'be always at the council's disposal to depose him at their pleasure, if he malevers in his charge;' ¹⁶ in 1665, a Latin doctor chosen for 'ane yeare;' ¹⁷ on 19th June 1665, an 'English doctor for half an yeare and farder, dureing the counsell's plesour;' ¹⁸ on 18th April 1668, a Latin doctor chosen for a year from Whitsunday next; ¹⁹ on 28th April 1673, a Latin doctor and English doctor of the grammar school elected till Martinmas next, and 'farther, during the pleasure of the council;' ²⁰ in the same year, a master ap-

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

pointed 'for ane year,' and longer, during the pleasure of the council;¹ in 1698, master appointed for nine years;² in 1722, an English teacher in the grammar school for a year.³

In 1604, the council of Paisley bind a master to teach the grammar school for the 'space of five yeiris at the lest;'⁴ in February 1648, a schoolmaster engaged for four years from Whitsunday coming—'the fyift yeir being refered in the master's will;'⁵ on 4th November 1653, a master engaged from Martinmas 1653 till Martinmas 1654;⁶ on 26th March, a doctor appointed for a year from Whitsunday next;⁷ on 6th October 1653, a master, for four years;⁸ on 12th October 1654, a master for a year;⁹ on 8th May 1654, a doctor for a quarter of a year;¹⁰ on 25th May 1680, a master and doctor for one year;¹¹ on 22d March 1683, a master for a year;¹² the schoolmasters of Paisley were generally appointed for a term of years—frequently from year to year; down even to the present time—till the school board took over the school—the rector was appointed annually.¹³ On 23d October 1607, the town of Inverurie engages a schoolmaster for a year;¹⁴ on 24th December 1608, another teacher, 'for ane yeir;'¹⁵ on 10th October 1612, Alexander Mitchell, for a year;¹⁶ on 3d February 1650, two candidates apply for the vacant office of schoolmaster—Mr Alexander Mitchell and Mr Walter Torie; the former is elected 'for ane quarter of a year, and that to try how the youngers profited with him, assuring him if the youngers did not mak proficiency he should be changit att the quarter's end.'¹⁷ In 1627, a school doctor appointed for Peebles from Whitsunday to Martinmas;¹⁸ on 21st July 1654, a master undertakes the charge of the grammar school for one year; if he fails to submit to the admonition and censure of his patrons in anything, he shall be removed *ipso facto*;¹⁹ on 30th April 1655, he is called before the council, and demits his

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁴ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴ Burgh Records of Inverurie.

¹⁸ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

office, which of new is granted to him for another year;¹ on 29th October of the same year, a schoolmaster is engaged from 1st November 1655 to 1st May 1656, and agrees to remove on the latter date, if it please the council, on a premonition of forty days, previously made to him; if he transgress any of the school regulations, he shall, *ipso facto*, be removed, without 'any appellation or again calling,' within twenty days after the council try the offence;² on 15th May 1656, Mr Robert Speir, son of William Speir, writer to the signet, is admitted schoolmaster for the year ending 15th May 1657;³ on 25th November 1689, the council elect a master for half a year—till Beltane next;⁴ on 28th April 1693, a master elected from 1st May next to 1st May 1694;⁵ on 28th April 1709, a school doctor appointed 'for a year or longer as the council please.'⁶

In 1620, a schoolmaster is chosen for the town of Jedburgh, from 16th November of that year to 3d May 1621, for trial; if after the trial he shall not be found qualified, the school shall, *ipso facto*, 'vaik';⁷ Andro Kirkton—that was his name—having given satisfaction, was admitted on 16th May 1621 *de novo* for four years;⁸ the next schoolmaster was appointed on 20th April 1624, exactly on the same terms;⁹ on 27th October 1627, Mr William Stephen is accepted as schoolmaster for half-a-year 'as ane assay';¹⁰ on 15th May 1628, he is appointed for five years; the deed of appointment concludes—'And in cace within that time a better place is offered to him, some of the five years may be dispensed with, according to reason and discretion,' on condition that he, with consent of his patrons, plant another master in the school, so that the place shall not 'vaik in his default';¹¹ his successor was appointed for one year 'as ane assay'; if found suitable at the year's end, for the space of five years;¹² on 27th August 1649, a master is appointed for seven years.¹³ In 1638 the council of Cupar

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.² Ibid.³ Ibid.⁴ Ibid.⁵ Ibid.⁶ Ibid.⁷ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.⁸ Ibid.⁹ Ibid.¹⁰ Ibid.¹¹ Ibid.¹² Ibid.¹³ Ibid.

appoint a master of the grammar school 'for ane yeir to come and swa long thereafter as the town pleasis to continew him;' if found negligent or unable to discharge his duty, the council may always remove him.¹ In 1645 a doctor of the grammar school of Montrose obliges himself to remain 'in the charge, God willing, thrie zearis.'² On 11th June 1660, a schoolmaster of Forfar is admitted for three years from Lammas next;³ on 20th January 1665, another schoolmaster is appointed for three years.⁴ On 13th April 1663, a schoolmaster elected for the burgh of Pittenweem from Candlemas 1663 to Candlemas 1664;⁵ on 2d May 1677, a schoolmaster elected for 'ane yeir';⁶ on 27th February 1692, a master of the grammar school nominated for 'ane yeir after his entrie, and longer during the pleasure of the council';⁷ on 19th January 1697, a master of the grammar school elected 'from 23d January instant to 23d January 1698, and longer if the patrons be satisfied with him';⁸ on 21st April 1699, a schoolmaster admitted from 1st May next to 1st May 1700;⁹ on 17th June 1704, a schoolmaster appointed for a year, and longer as shall be hereafter agreed upon;¹⁰ on 24th October 1712, he is elected for a quarter of a year only.¹¹

In 1686 the council of Irvine engage a schoolmaster for 'ane yeir';¹² on 16th December 1692, one is appointed for five months;¹³ on 26th May 1746, an English teacher appointed 'for one year';¹⁴ on 26th May 1747, another for the same period.¹⁵ On 28th November 1684, the council of Stranraer continue Alexander Bruce in the office of 'scoolmaister from Witsunday nix to cum, 1685, to Witsunday nixt thereafter.'¹⁶ Schoolmasters of Wigtown appointed from 1st October 1692 to 1st April 1693, from 1720 to 1721, from 1730 to 1731; the council and they may always part from one another on giving two months' advertisement, 'if they are not amind to

¹ Burgh Records of Cupar.

³ Burgh Records of Forfar.

⁶ Burgh Records of Pittenweem.

⁹ Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

² Burgh Records of Montrose.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

¹² Burgh Records of Irvine.

¹⁶ Burgh Records of Stranraer.

keep longer together.'¹ On 1st May 1697, the council of Banff appoint a master of the grammar school 'until Lammas, and longer, according to his behaviour and peaceable demeanour, and as the youths are instructed in learning;'² on 21st December 1780, the council resolve to continue the masters of the grammar and English schools on their present establishment 'from year to year, at the council's pleasure;'³ on 27th September 1781, it is re-enacted that the masters continue 'for one year after Whitsunday next;'⁴ on 7th May 1782, a master of the grammar school is appointed from Whitsunday 1782 to Whitsunday 1783, and is to have a certain salary 'so long as the council shall keep him in employment.'⁵ In 1702 a schoolmaster of Musselburgh is appointed for three years.⁶ In 1743 a school doctor appointed for Kinghorn for a year.⁷ On 15th May 1776, a master of the grammar school of Dumbarton appointed for the 'year ensuing, and thereafter during pleasure;'⁸ on 14th November 1785, two joint teachers appointed 'for the year to Martinmas next;'⁹ on 11th November of the following year they are continued for another year, 'that is, till Martinmas;'¹⁰ on 25th October 1787, they are elected 'for two years only after Martinmas 1787;'¹¹ on 15th July 1789, the council are of opinion 'that it is much to be desired that a short agreement should be made with the masters of the grammar school, in order that the council shall be fully satisfied with their diligence in teaching and prudent behaviour in the place;' accordingly, on 22d instant, two masters are appointed for two years.¹² When the Dundee academy was established, some of the masters were appointed in May 1786 for three, and others for two, years.¹³ In 1793 the magistratés of Elgin appointed a master of their grammar

¹ Burgh Records of Wigtown. The schoolmaster of this burgh appears to have been always appointed from year to year: Burgh Records, *passim*.

² Burgh Records of Banff.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 130.

⁷ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁸ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Burgh Records of Dundee.

school for three years; and his successors were appointed for the same period.

§ 3. Appointments were frequently made during the diligence and good behaviour of the incumbent: thus in 1577 the council of Haddington stipulated that 'in caiss the town funds ony faill or falt in the schoolmaster, he shall remove at the quarter end.'¹ In 1623 the council of Perth appoint a master of the grammar school, 'during his good and diligent service';² in 1633, and again in 1679, masters were appointed during the 'hail time of their diligent attendance—*ad culpam* worthie of deprivation.'³ In 1643, schoolmaster of Montrose is admitted *ad culpam*, he obliging himself to remain for seven years;⁴ on 15th November 1643, another schoolmaster admitted *ad culpam*, and obliges himself to remain for ten years, and so long afterwards as the council please;⁵ in 1656 a master chosen *ad culpam*, and is required to remain five years.⁶ In 1698 a master appointed to teach the grammar school of Banff, 'during his good behaviour and peaceable demeanour';⁷ in 1718 a master of the grammar school chosen during his 'good deportment and behaviour';⁸ in 1742 a master appointed 'during his good behaviour.'⁹ In 1703 Mr Robert Chisholm 'is heartily invited to be schoolmaster of Selkirk, during his behaving himself faithfully and honestly as he ought to do in the function of his office.'¹⁰ In 1752 a schoolmaster of Fortrose appointed 'during his good behaviour';¹¹ in 1791 it was declared that no master shall be settled for life in the academy, but only during his diligence and good behaviour, so as to give satisfaction to the visitors and public.¹² In 1755 the council of Stirling appoint a rector who shall be continued 'during his good behaviour and application in the office, to the satisfaction of the council, for

¹ Burgh Records of Haddington.

² Burgh Records of Perth.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Montrose.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Selkirk.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Fortrose.

¹² Records of Fortrose Academy.

the time allenarly, who are declared to be sole and ultimate judges thereof.'¹ On 15th May 1761, the council of Paisley declare that 'in case they shall, from faults alleged and proven respecting the office of master of the grammar school, find cause to remove him, the power of which is hereby reserved to them in that event, they shall give him three months' warning.'² In 1779 the council of Greenock appoint an English teacher, 'during his good behaviour and attention to the school,' of which they shall be the only judges; if they find him defective they may always dismiss him, on giving him six months' notice.³

§ 4. Again, we find appointments made in the same terms as the last group, with the addition of 'at the will of the council:' thus in 1603 a master of the grammar school of Aberdeen is admitted 'during his good service, and the will of the council;'⁴ in 1620 the magistrates declare that if any defect be found in the master, they shall have 'absolute power to deprive him of his benefit, in respect he has the same only during his good conduct and the pleasure of the town;'⁵ in 1661 the council permit two persons to teach children, 'during their good service and the council's pleasure;'⁶ in the same year, licence is granted to Mr William Aidy to teach Greek, on similar terms;⁷ a doctor of the music school is appointed in 1664, during his good service and the council's pleasure.⁸ In 1648 a doctor of the grammar school of Ayr appointed, so long as the magistrates 'think good, and according to his deserving.'⁹ In 1722 a schoolmaster of Forfar nominated 'during his good behaviour, and the pleasure of the council.'¹⁰ The last two classes of appointments—those made during 'good behaviour,' and during 'good

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling. In 1757 the music-master, who also taught writing, arithmetic, and bookkeeping, was, on his own supplication, installed on the same footing.

² Burgh Records of Paisley. It has been supposed that in this entry there is the germ of a life appointment.

³ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Forfar.

behaviour and at the will' of the patrons—probably approached to, if they did not correspond with, life appointments, of which we shall now proceed to give examples from the records of different burghs.

§ 5. The first instance which we have found of an office being granted *ad vitam aut culpam* after the Reformation occurs in the records of Haddington, where, on 17th February 1563, the town council, in name of the whole community, elect Mr Thomas Cumyng schoolmaster of the burgh 'during all the dayis of his lyfytyme.'¹ A few years later (1568), a principal master of the grammar school of Edinburgh was elected 'for all the dayis of his lyfe';² in 1584 Mr Hercules Rollock was appointed principal master of the grammar school 'all the dayis, termes, or zeris of his lyfetime: at the leist, ay and quhill he is dischairgeit thair of be ressoun of sum just occasioun or fawlt in him fund be tryell of the provest, bailzeis, counsall, and deykins.'³ A life appointment appears to have been granted on 18th February 1580 to Mr John Buthill, master of the grammar school of Crail, who is allowed to continue in his office 'in time coming after the expiry of his former gift';⁴ at a long interval we find a person appointed doctor of the same grammar school for life: on 8th May 1726, a doctor is chosen 'for ane tryall for half ane year'; if he give satisfaction during that time, he 'shall be settled wholly to the haill emoluments as other schoolmasters were in use formerly to bruik';⁵ on 12th December of the same year, the council, finding no complaint against him since his entry, appoint him schoolmaster '*ad vitam*, he exercising the office faithfully and truly *sine culpa*;⁶ in 1749

¹ Burgh Records of Haddington. The burgh commissioners report, in 1835, that the two schoolmasters of Haddington are appointed *ad vitam aut culpam*: Municipal Corporations Report, ii., 68.

² Registrum Secreti Sigilli, xxxviii., 34.

³ The original deed in the archives of Edinburgh.

⁴ Burgh Records of Crail.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. Ten years later a doctor is appointed 'for ane tryall' from Martinmas till Whitsunday; if he give satisfaction, he shall be appointed '*ad vitam aut culpam*:' Ibid.

a schoolmaster appointed '*ad vitam*, he exercising his office faithfully and dutifully *sine culpa*;' ¹ in 1779, the rector having dismissed his usher, who was admitted *ad vitam aut culpam*, the council censure the rector, and repon the usher. ² The appointment of Mr John Blackburn to the mastership of the grammar school of Glasgow on 13th November 1582 appears to be practically *ad vitam aut culpam*: the council chose him master 'in time coming.' ³ The inference appears to be that the master of the grammar school of Aberdeen, who, in 1620, binds himself not to 'leave his charge during his lifetime,' was appointed to the charge for his lifetime; ⁴ in 1636 a master of the music school of Aberdeen is admitted '*ad vitam vel ad culpam*, the fault, if deserving of deprivation, to be tried by the council as the only judges;' ⁵ in 1640 a master of the grammar school is appointed '*ad vitam vel ad culpam*.' ⁶ In 1640 Mr James Ainslie, 'be moniest votes,' is admitted schoolmaster of Jedburgh '*ad vitam vel ad culpam*.' ⁷ In 1664 a master of the grammar school of Ayr is admitted *ad vitam aut culpam*. ⁸ In 1693 the council of Perth nominate a doctor of the grammar school '*ad vitam aut culpam*, in which this house ar to be only judges;' ⁹ in 1704 a master is appointed, 'during his lifetime, and diligent attendance and waiting on the school, or *ad culpam* worthy of deprivation.' ¹⁰

No record is preserved of the acts appointing the masters of the grammar school of Cupar who resigned in 1706, but it appears from the terms on which they demitted office that they regarded their appointments to be *ad vitam aut culpam*: in 1706 the council, considering the 'great decay of the school,' request the master and doctor to resign their office, which they decline to do, without receiving a yearly gratuity during life, their act of admission being, they allege, *ad vitam*; the

¹ Burgh Records of Crail. ² Ibid. ³ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Burgh Records of Jedburgh. This is the only appointment made for life in Jedburgh from 1618 to, at least, 1668, the reason for the change of tenure, perhaps, being that he was the son of a bailie of the burgh.

⁸ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁹ Burgh Records of Perth.

¹⁰ Ibid.

council, judging that unless they voluntarily demitted, the town might be brought to trouble and expense, grant them a retiring allowance.¹ In 1710 a doctor of the grammar school of Montrose is appointed 'during all the days of his lifetime,' but it is provided that for all 'faults, misdemeanour, or neglects, he shall be subject to the trial, judgment, sentence, and determination of the town council;' any sentence pronounced by them shall be final, and no appeal shall be competent; at his entry he shall be obliged to grant bond, binding him to acquiesce in case of any difference in the deliverance of the council, that he shall never appeal from the town council, nor raise advocacy of any process pursued before the town council against him.² In 1718 the council of Selkirk appoint a master of the grammar school of the burgh 'during all the dayes of his lifetime, he behaving himself suitably as effeiring to one of that station.'³

The earliest entry in the minutes of the town council of St Andrews throwing light on the subject of tenure of office, occurs on 16th November 1723, on which day the council considering that the present master is old and infirm, supersede him, but grant him a retiring allowance equal to his full salary; the old master, dissatisfied with the decision of the council, disclaims and 'protests for remedy in law.'⁴ The minute books contain no more information regarding the subject, but the protest is of importance as showing that he regarded his office as one *ad vitam aut culpam*; but the next entry regarding the school establishes the nature of tenure at the grammar school: on 27th November of the same year, the council admit a successor to the pensioned master, '*ad vitam aut culpam*;' ⁵ in 1775 a master of the English school is appointed '*ad vitam aut culpam*, he being obliged not to leave

¹ Burgh Records of Cupar.

² Burgh Records of Montrose. This contract was made after the decision of the Court of Session in the case of Strauchan: *infra*, p. 259.

³ Burgh Records of Selkirk. This appointment was set aside, having not been granted with consent of the heritors, as well as town council.

⁴ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁵ *Ibid.*

the office,' at least for the space of five years, on any pretence whatever;¹ in 1761 a master is appointed of the English school, *ad vitam aut culpam*;² and in 1762, a master of the grammar school, *ad vitam aut culpam*;³ in 1786, a rector of the grammar school appointed, *ad vitam aut culpam*, in room of Mr Hackett, who, on 5th April 1787, was awarded 100 merks Scots annually, for having resigned;⁴ in 1814 a grammar schoolmaster was appointed *ad vitam aut culpam*.⁵

The earliest life appointment in Stirling occurs in 1727, when the council elect a master of the grammar school '*ad vitam aut culpam*;' ⁶ the only other instance of such a tenure of office at Stirling, before the beginning of this century at least, occurs in 1791, when the council instal a teacher of writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, and mathematics *ad vitam aut culpam*.⁷ The appointment of the schoolmaster of Forres, though, in the first place, for a limited period, appears practically to have been one for life: the town council, in 1736, appoint a schoolmaster for 'three years after this date, and during his life, and his teaching and instructing the youth and children at the grammar school of this burgh, and ay and while he behaves himself suitably in that station.'⁸ In 1739, the council of Kinghorn elect a schoolmaster of the burgh *ad vitam aut culpam*.⁹ A life appointment appears substantially to have been made in Banff in 1742, though the act is not so expressed: on 26th February, on the recommendation of Mr Thomas Ruddiman, the famous grammarian, the council invite Mr George Robertson to officiate as schoolmaster, assuring him that, after trial of his conduct for a few months, if it be satisfying to them both, he will be settled in the office;¹⁰ on 19th August it is declared

¹ Burgh Records of St Andrews. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Burgh Records of Stirling. ⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Burgh Records of Forres. The limitation of the appointment to three years, and the condition of the teacher giving satisfaction to the council, were continued or repeated in the minutes of subsequent appointments: Ibid.

⁹ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Banff.

that Mr Robertson having taught the school since 1st April last, and given 'full satisfaction to the community in general,' the council appoint him master of the grammar school;¹ on 3d February 1762, the council resolve that the masters and mistresses of the burgh schools shall be settled 'during their lives and good behaviour';² in 1766 a teacher of writing, arithmetic, and mathematics appointed 'during life and his good behaviour.'³ In 1749 a rector of the grammar school of Dundee appointed *ad vitam aut culpam*;⁴ in 1761 a teacher of the English school is ordered to have the 'hail salary and profits, and that *ad vitam aut culpam*;' ⁵ on 27th December 1764, a master of the public English school is nominated *ad vitam aut culpam*;⁶ on 22d December 1773, a teacher of writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, and church music appointed *ad vitam aut culpam*;⁷ and on 15th June 1773, a rector of the grammar school, *ad vitam aut culpam*,⁸ on 18th December 1794, a doctor of the grammar school, *ad vitam aut culpam*;⁹ and on 24th March 1798, a public teacher of the English school, on the same terms.¹⁰ In 1766 a teacher of English and mathematics in Kirkcudbright is appointed *ad vitam aut culpam*, the magistrates being the sole judges of the latter.¹¹ In 1772 the town council of Greenock appoint Mr John Irvine English teacher of the burgh, 'during his natural life or good behaviour,' of which they shall be the only competent and final judges; in case of there being anything immoral in his behaviour, or negligence, or incapacity in his attending on the school, they may dismiss him, on giving six months' notice;¹² in

¹ Burgh Records of Banff.

² Ibid. But on 28th April 1763, Mrs Innes, from Dalkeith, was appointed 'for a year after Whitsunday next, and during her good behaviour and the pleasure of the magistrates and council:' Ibid.

³ Ibid. ⁴ Burgh Records of Dundee. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

¹² Burgh Records of Greenock. A teacher of writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, geography, and mathematics was appointed in the same year, on similar terms. In 1779, the council considering the decay of the English school, caused by the negligence of Mr Irvine, request him to

1789 the council appoint a master of the grammar school, of whose good behaviour they shall be the only judges; if they find him defective, they may dismiss him on giving him three months' previous notice in writing;¹ in 1823 a master of the grammar school is appointed 'in the usual terms (*ad vitam aut culpam*).'² In 1789 the council of Lanark appoint a doctor of the grammar school *ad vitam aut culpam*.³ In 1794 a schoolmaster of Forfar is appointed 'during all the days of his life;' but the council may 'elect another in his place in case of neglect in the instruction of youth or immoral conduct';⁴ a successor was appointed, on the same terms, in 1802, but the council add that, if after trial they shall be dissatisfied with his conduct, or the success of the school, they may withdraw one-third of his yearly salary.⁵

§ 6. Briefly, we have recorded from the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries sixty-nine appointments, distributed over twenty-six different burghs, made during the pleasure of the town councils; one hundred and nine appointments, distributed over twenty-three different burghs, made for a definite period, extending from a few months to several years; and forty-nine life appointments, over twenty-one burghs; again, there are fifteen 'good behaviour' appointments, distributed over nine burghs, and seven 'good behaviour and at will' appointments, over three burghs. From this short abstract, it appears that the class of appointments by far the most common from the Reformation to the beginning of this century, were those made for a definite period; the next most prevalent were those made during pleasure; and the less frequent were those made *ad vitam aut culpam*. To which of the two last groups the appointments made 'during good behaviour' and 'good behaviour and at will' of the patrons belong, we shall not undertake to

resign on condition of receiving a 'compliment;' if he refuse, they must make a judicial inquiry into the cause of the decay of the school: *Ibid.* Mr Irvine resigns, and receives £100 sterling, in full of every claim.

¹ Burgh Records of Greenock. ² *Ibid.* ³ Burgh Records of Lanark.

⁴ Burgh Records of Forfar.

⁵ *Ibid.*

determine, but perhaps we shall not err much by including them among those made for life.

The nature of the tenure was not more different in the different burghs than even in the same burghs: thus, in Aberdeen, three appointments were made for life, two during pleasure, two for a limited period, and five during good behaviour and at the will of the council; in Ayr, one for life, three during pleasure, ten for a period, and one during good behaviour and at the will of the council; in Banff, three for life, four for a period, and one during good behaviour; in Crail, six for life, four during pleasure, and one for a period; in Cupar, two for life, and one for a period; in Dumbarton, one during pleasure, and six for a period; in Dundee, seven for life, twelve during pleasure, and the period-appointment was introduced when the academy was established in 1786; in Edinburgh, two for life, and three during pleasure; in Forfar, two for life, two for a period, one during pleasure, and one during good behaviour and at will; in Fortrose, two during pleasure, and two during good behaviour; in Greenock, one during good behaviour, one during pleasure, and three for life; in Haddington, one during life, one during pleasure, one during good behaviour, and four for a definite period; in Irvine, one during pleasure, four for a period; in Jedburgh, one for life, and four for a period; in Kinghorn, one for life, and one for a period; in Kirkcudbright, one for life, one during pleasure, and twelve for a period; in Montrose, one for life, one for a period, and three during behaviour; in Paisley, three during pleasure, one during behaviour, and all the rest for a period (one year); in Perth, two during behaviour, two for life, and three during pleasure; in St Andrews, seven for life, and five during pleasure; in Selkirk, three kinds (behaviour, life, and pleasure); in Stirling, one during behaviour, two for life, twelve during pleasure, and twenty-three for a period. Appointments during pleasure only appear to have been made in Brechin, Burntisland, Campbeltown, Canongate, Dunbar, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, and Rothesay; for a period, in Elgin, Inverurie, Musselburgh, Peebles, Pittenweem, Stran-

raer, and Wigtown; and for life, in Forres, Glasgow, and Lanark.

It may safely be asserted that, even so late as the beginning of this century, neither town councils nor masters regarded the office of teacher as a *munus publicum*; the councils appointed the master, paid his salary out of the common good, removed him for reasons assigned,¹ or without condescending on any reasons²—deeming him, in every sense, as an ordinary servant, to be treated and disposed of according to the convenience of the burgh, always, of course, observing the terms of any contract made with him, when admitted to office. The question of tenure of office was first raised in connection with the school of Montrose on 10th August 1709, when the council, seriously considering the ‘much decayed and daily decaying condition of the grammar school,’ resolve that the master, Robert Strauchan, shall be removed at Martinmas next—a resolution, says the record, intimated to him in face of council.³ The schoolmaster having resisted the resolution, the council, on 9th November, pass a further act, ordering him to deliver up the keys of the school-door, on pain of imprisonment;⁴ on 30th November, Mr Strauchan presented, before the Court of Session, a bill of suspension,⁵ in which he contends that being admitted without mentioning either *ad vitam aut culpam*, or *durante bene placito*, the inference is that he was appointed *quamdiu se bene gesserit*; he is ready, he says, to subject himself to any censure for malversation or insufficiency; further, all his predecessors had, he pleads, enjoyed the place for life, and it would be a great discouragement to competent men to be removed summarily; the council answered that though

¹ See *infra*, under Removal of Masters from Office.

² Thus, on 19th October 1683, the council of Forfar ordain the schoolmaster to ‘provide for himself:’ Burgh Records of Forfar. On 9th September 1689, the council of Peebles order the schoolmaster to ‘provide for himself by Hallowmas next, as they are resolved to provide for themselves by that time:’ Burgh Records of Peebles, *et passim*.

³ Burgh Records of Montrose.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

they are not bound to give any reason, more than a master needs when he dismisses his servant at the term, here they have sufficient cause in removing him from the fact that the school which used to be flourishing is now decayed; the office, they contend, wholly depends, as to salary and admission, on the town, and there being neither a separate patron nor mortifier, they are not obliged to give any reason for discharging him; it would have a very bad consequence, they continue, if it were found that he held not his office at their pleasure, because it might happen, as in this particular case, that the school might be ruined if there were an absolute necessity to prove a malversation, which is a matter of great difficulty, if at all possible. The Lords thought it a matter of vast importance to the kingdom that grammar schools should be furnished with men of learning and prudence, and that persons entrusted with such responsibility should not be turned out at the caprice of every new set of magistrates who come into office; they ordained, therefore, the town to condescend on some 'rational grounds of their dissatisfaction, either from immoralities, insufficiency, malversation, or unsuccessfulness in his way of teaching or discipline,' in order that they might consider whether Mr Strauchan should be deprived or not.¹ Unfortunately, no more notice of the dispute is found in our law books, but an entry in the minutes of the council of the burgh proves that the town did not altogether succeed in their contention: on 31st May 1710, the schoolmaster 'demits his office, and the town, in respect thereof, grants him £50 sterling, for helping him and his family to a way of living.'²

The next case bearing on the question of tenure of office is that of John Hastie, rector of the grammar school of Campbeltown, to which office he was called from Watson's Hospital, Edinburgh, by the town council of Campbeltown on 28th January 1760, and admitted, after examination by the presbytery, on 4th June. No complaint was preferred against Mr Hastie until 18th August 1767, when a memorial, at the instance of Patrick Campbell of Knap and others, was pre-

¹ Dictionary of Decisions, 13,118. ² Burgh Records of Montrose.

sent to the council, in which he was charged with disregarding school hours, neglecting his office, engaging in trade incompatible with his duties, and 'obstinately persevering in severe and improper methods of correcting the scholars, notwithstanding repeated injunctions to the contrary.' Mr Hastie's answers, with the depositions of witnesses, and the whole steps of procedure having been considered by the council, they, finding all the articles of the indictment proved, remove him from his office.¹ Mr Hastie, having raised an action against the council for his illegal removal, was successful in the Court of Session, but the House of Lords, to which the case was appealed, reversed, in 1770, the judgment of the lower court, and held that neglect of duty, acts of cruel chastisement, and engaging in business incompatible with his duty, justified the council in dismissing him.² A more recent case, in which the question of tenure of office of the burgh teacher was discussed, occurred in 1815, when Lord Meadowbank observed: 'It has always been a matter of regret that the ultimate reward of schoolmasters is so small in this country. They have no scale as they have in England, where they rise to the first situations in the State. The bench of bishops in the House of Lords is filled with them. We have but a very scanty opportunity of giving them any reward, but we have at least the common law of Scotland, giving them independence and protection from the caprice of any set of men. It is *contra bonos mores* to appoint a man to a school during the pleasure of any set of gentlemen. It is using him like a shoeblack, whose situation depends upon the will of a gentleman; and worse than a shoeblack, for it leaves him to the disposal of a numerous open body, who always, to a proverb, have no conscience.' 'The common law is,' says Lord Bannatyne, 'that schoolmasters hold their situation *ad vitam aut culpam*. They cannot make a bargain under it, that will deprive them of their right.'³ Mr Bell,

¹ Burgh Records of Campbeltown.

² Dictionary of Decisions, 13,322; Patton's Appeals, 277.

³ Shaw's Cases, xiv., 715 (note).

one of our institutional writers, says that the schoolmasters of public schools established in burghs by the magistrates are public officers who hold a *munus publicum*, their offices being *ad vitam aut culpam*.¹ In 1868 counsel gave it as their opinion that any stipulation making the tenure of office of the burgh teacher other than *ad vitam aut culpam*, would be illegal;² and the masters of the following schools, for example, claim life appointments subject to the provisions of sections 55 and 60 of the Education Act: Aberdeen grammar school,³ Annan academy,⁴ Banff grammar school,⁵ Brechin Preceptory,⁶ Burntisland grammar school,⁷ Edinburgh high school,⁸ Elgin academy,⁹ Forfar academy,¹⁰ Forres academy,¹¹ Irvine academy,¹² Kirkcudbright academy,¹³ Lanark burgh school,¹⁴ Linlithgow grammar school,¹⁵ Montrose grammar school,¹⁶ Paisley grammar school,¹⁷ Renfrew grammar school,¹⁸ Perth academy.¹⁹ It thus appears that for some time past the office of a burgh teacher has come to be regarded by lawyers, teachers, and probably by the patrons, as one *ad vitam aut culpam*; but it cannot be said that the point has been expressly decided, though raised again and again, in the law courts.

In academies and high schools which are under the superintendence of the council and subscribers, the patrons have more liberty in disposing of their teachers. If the charter contains special powers, such as the making of by-laws, the masters, says Mr Bell, are more in the discretionary power of the directors, provided they do not remove them under a by-law inconsistent with their constitution, or the law of the land.²⁰ Thus the directors of the Inverness academy had, by their charter, power to dismiss their masters on 'proper grounds,' but it was found that they had

¹ Bell's Principles of the Law of Scotland, § 2189 (5th ed.).

² Report on Burgh Schools, i., 229.

³ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 337.

⁴ Ibid., 344.

⁵ Ibid., 360.

⁶ Ibid., 366.

⁷ Ibid., 369.

⁸ Ibid., 437.

⁹ Ibid., 449.

¹⁰ Ibid., 460.

¹¹ Ibid., 465.

¹² Ibid., 503.

¹³ Ibid., 505.

¹⁴ Ibid., 514.

¹⁵ Ibid., 524.

¹⁶ Ibid., 529.

¹⁷ Ibid., 546.

¹⁸ Ibid., 574.

¹⁹ Ibid., 564.

²⁰ Bell's Principles of the Law of Scotland, § 2189 (5th ed.).

no power to make a by-law whereby they could dismiss them at pleasure.¹ The question of tenure of office was also raised in connection with the Ayr academy, whose chartered constitution provides that the situation of masters shall be held during the pleasure of the directors, who may dismiss them on giving six months' notice: in 1824, the rector having become insolvent, and his character having been affected, he was dismissed, whereupon he presented a bill of suspension, and contended that, being unimpeachable as a teacher, the directors had no right to inquire into his moral character; the court held it to be essential that he should be possessed of a moral character, and that the directors were justifiable in dismissing him.² The master was therefore here dismissed for immoral principles; and the decision did not touch the merits of the question, the tenure of office. In 1837 the same question was raised in connection with the Tain academy, when Adam Gibson was dismissed for intemperate habits; the rector having raised an action against the directors for his dismissal, it was held that they had power to dismiss a teacher, when they considered it necessary, under a by-law not inconsistent with the terms of their charter.³ In this case there was no settlement of the question either, but undoubtedly the tendency of the decision is to establish the presumption of law that tenure of office of an academy teacher is also, in the absence of an express contract, one *ad vitam aut culpam*.

§ 7. The Education Act has put the tenure of office of the

¹ Shaw's Cases, xiv., 714. At present engagements at Inverness academy and Greenock academy terminate on three months' notice; at Arbroath high school they continue for six months only; at Cupar Madras academy, and Madras college, St Andrews, they are renewed yearly; at Stirling high school the masters are appointed for a number of years, varying from one to five, but the assistants hold their situations during pleasure only.

² Shaw's Cases, iv., 63. The masters appointed previous to the passing of the Education Act claim to be *ad vitam aut culpam*.

³ Shaw's Cases, xvi., 301. At the Tain academy engagements terminate on three months' notice.

public school teacher, including the burgh teacher—a teacher who is under the control of the school board—beyond question, by changing it, in the case of teachers elected after the passing of the Act, from *ad vitam aut culpam* to *durante bene placito*, the teacher being now appointed ‘during the pleasure of the school board’¹—the true meaning, if not the proper construction, of which appears to be that the school boards and the teachers may make any agreement as to the tenure of office that they please.² The school boards would not, accordingly, be acting *ultra vires* by appointing a teacher for one year, for three years, or even for life, and the teacher can compel them to implement the terms of any such agreement. It may be questioned whether there was necessity for the sweeping change made in the nature of the tenure of the public school teacher by the Education Act, especially when it is considered that the zealous and learned commissioners appointed to inquire into the burgh schools in 1867 reported that, ‘as a fact, there were very few cases in which the burgh schoolmasters were retaining offices for which they were unfit.’³ The office being one of great labour and small emoluments, it is to be feared that the precarious character of the tenure will make it less attractive now than formerly to distinguished teachers.

¹ 35 and 36 Vict., c. 62, § 55.

² Counsel has given it as his opinion that, according to this clause, the teacher's tenure depends upon the will and pleasure of the school boards in such a way that they cannot by any resolution or contract appoint him teacher for a limited period—say a year or three years. Was this section passed with the view of interfering with, or putting an end to, the freedom of contract between masters and servants—school boards and teachers? Was it not rather the intention of the clause to prevent a public school teacher from claiming—as he was formerly entitled to do by law—his office as a *munus publicum*—to prevent him from saying to the school boards: ‘It is *contra bonos mores* of you to appoint me your teacher during your pleasure, and it is *ultra vires* of me to enter with you into any stipulation limiting the nature of my tenure, which, *de jure*, is *ad vitam aut culpam*?’ If the opinion of counsel be correct, all parties—school boards as well as teachers—will, we doubt not, demand the repeal of this vicious clause.

³ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 48.

CHAPTER VIII.—REMOVAL OF MASTERS FROM OFFICE.

§ 1. NONCONFORMITY.—§ 2. POLITICAL DISAFFECTION.—§ 3. INEFFICIENCY.—§ 4. SEVERE DISCIPLINE.—§ 5. OTHER CAUSES OF REMOVAL.—§ 6. REMOVAL IN TERMS OF THE EDUCATION ACT.

THE power of removal has an important bearing upon the question of tenure of office, and the following cases have been culled from the records as specimens of the causes and circumstances under which teachers have been deposed.

§ 1. A frequent cause of removal was 'nonconformity,' the position of *conformity* varying according as episcopacy or presbyterianism was the established form of church government for the time. At the Reformation all schoolmasters were required to sign, under pain of dismissal, the Confession of Faith: a notable, and perhaps the earliest, instance on record of refusal is that of Ninian Winzet, the schoolmaster of Linlithgow, with whom, in May 1561, Mr John Spotswood, superintendent of Lothian, and Mr Patrick Kenloquhy, minister of Linlithgow, held 'diverse conferences to make him confess his errors;' he, however, continued 'obstinate,' and was deprived of his situation.¹ In the Assembly of the kirk, held at Edinburgh on Christmas 1562, Mr Robert Cumyng, schoolmaster of Arbroath, was deposed for 'infecting the youth with idolatry;' ² seven years later, Mr Ninian Dalzell, master of the grammar school of Dumfries, was accused by the Assembly of 'privily professing Papistry, and corrupt-

¹ Certane Tractatis, p. xii.

² Booke of the Universall Kirke, 25. In 1563 the kirk ordained that teachers who do not profess 'Christ's true religion' shall be removed from their office: Ibid., 33. The municipal authorities sometimes hunted heresy with hardly less zeal than even the kirk. Thus, in 1562, the council of Edinburgh strove hard to depose the master of the high school as an 'obstinate Papist:' Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

public school teacher, including the burgh teacher—a teacher who is under the control of the school board—beyond question, by changing it, in the case of teachers elected after the passing of the Act, from *ad vitam aut culpam* to *durante bene placito*, the teacher being now appointed ‘during the pleasure of the school board’¹—the true meaning, if not the proper construction, of which appears to be that the school boards and the teachers may make any agreement as to the tenure of office that they please.² The school boards would not, accordingly, be acting *ultra vires* by appointing a teacher for one year, for three years, or even for life, and the teacher can compel them to implement the terms of any such agreement. It may be questioned whether there was necessity for the sweeping change made in the nature of the tenure of the public school teacher by the Education Act, especially when it is considered that the zealous and learned commissioners appointed to inquire into the burgh schools in 1867 reported that, ‘as a fact, there were very few cases in which the burgh schoolmasters were retaining offices for which they were unfit.’³ The office being one of great labour and small emoluments, it is to be feared that the precarious character of the tenure will make it less attractive now than formerly to distinguished teachers.

¹ 35 and 36 Vict., c. 62, § 55.

² Counsel has given it as his opinion that, according to this clause, the teacher’s tenure depends upon the will and pleasure of the school boards in such a way that they cannot by any resolution or contract appoint him teacher for a limited period—say a year or three years. Was this section passed with the view of interfering with, or putting an end to, the freedom of contract between masters and servants—school boards and teachers? Was it not rather the intention of the clause to prevent a public school teacher from claiming—as he was formerly entitled to do by law—his office as a *munus publicum*—to prevent him from saying to the school boards: ‘It is *contra bonos mores* of you to appoint me your teacher during your pleasure, and it is *ultra vires* of me to enter with you into any stipulation limiting the nature of my tenure, which, *de jure*, is *ad vitam aut culpam*?’ If the opinion of counsel be correct, all parties—school boards as well as teachers—will, we doubt not, demand the repeal of this vicious clause.

³ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 48.

CHAPTER VIII.—REMOVAL OF MASTERS FROM OFFICE.

§ 1. NONCONFORMITY.—§ 2. POLITICAL DISAFFECTION.—§ 3. INEFFICIENCY.—§ 4. SEVERE DISCIPLINE.—§ 5. OTHER CAUSES OF REMOVAL.—§ 6. REMOVAL IN TERMS OF THE EDUCATION ACT.

THE power of removal has an important bearing upon the question of tenure of office, and the following cases have been culled from the records as specimens of the causes and circumstances under which teachers have been deposed.

§ 1. A frequent cause of removal was 'nonconformity,' the position of *conformity* varying according as episcopacy or presbyterianism was the established form of church government for the time. At the Reformation all schoolmasters were required to sign, under pain of dismissal, the Confession of Faith: a notable, and perhaps the earliest, instance on record of refusal is that of Ninian Winzet, the schoolmaster of Linlithgow, with whom, in May 1561, Mr John Spotswood, superintendent of Lothian, and Mr Patrick Kenloquhy, minister of Linlithgow, held 'diverse conferences to make him confess his errors;' he, however, continued 'obstinate,' and was deprived of his situation.¹ In the Assembly of the kirk, held at Edinburgh on Christmas 1562, Mr Robert Cumyng, schoolmaster of Arbroath, was deposed for 'infecting the youth with idolatry;' ² seven years later, Mr Ninian Dalzell, master of the grammar school of Dumfries, was accused by the Assembly of 'privily professing Papistry, and corrupt-

¹ *Certane Tractatis*, p. xii.

² *Booke of the Universall Kirke*, 25. In 1563 the kirk ordained that teachers who do not profess 'Christ's true religion' shall be removed from their office: *Ibid.*, 33. The municipal authorities sometimes hunted heresy with hardly less zeal than even the kirk. Thus, in 1562, the council of Edinburgh strove hard to depose the master of the high school as an 'obstinate Papist.' *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*.

ing the youth with erroneous doctrine in sundry points;¹ the Assembly, having found him guilty of apostasy from the 'true religion of Jesus Christ, and of corrupting the youth of his school with Papistry,' suspend him until they have as much experience of his good life and behaviour as of his defection and apostasy; further, he is ordained to confess publicly his offence, by going to Dumfries and other places where he has abused the simple people, confessing and revoking his errors, and craving pardon of God and the kirk, under pain of excommunication;² in the meantime, one of the school doctors, if sound in religion, is ordered to teach the school. It was not an age of toleration; there was no 'conscience clause;' scholars as well as masters were punished for nonconformity: in 1587 the General Assembly ordain that no scholar who refuses to subscribe the religion presently established and professed by the mercy of God, and to participate in the sacraments, shall be admitted by masters into schools.³ Nor was there any respect of persons: all, high and low, must conform—be educated in the true religion: in 1601 the Assembly 'earnestly dealt' with his majesty for the purpose of getting his daughter removed from the company of Lady Livingstone, an obstinate Papist; the king promises to 'transport her to his own house.'⁴

Masters of schools who did not subscribe the Confession of Faith and the Covenant, in 1640, were deprived of their office,⁵ and parents contumaciously refusing to conform to the church government then established were bereft of the management of their children, provision being at the same time made for educating them according to the prevalent opinions: in 1645, the Marchioness of Douglas, being accused of 'malignancy,' is peremptorily ordered by the presbytery of Lanark to 'sequester' her children; and a committee is appointed to take steps for educating them;⁶ in 1648 the Marquis of Douglas is commanded not to 'reduce' his son

¹ Booke of the Universall Kirke, 25.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 693.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 964, 968.

⁵ Acts of Parliament, v., 272.

⁶ Annals of Parish of Lesmahagow, p. 153.

from Glasgow without the consent of the presbytery, and to 'purchase' a pedagogue who shall be approved by them.¹ Scotland enjoyed more toleration during the government of the Commonwealth than at any other period before the Revolution. During Cromwell's vigorous rule in our country, all denominations were protected in the exercise of their religion except the Roman Catholics: in 1655 and 1658 it was enacted that no Papists might keep a school in Scotland.²

The Restoration was soon followed by the conscience-degrading Declaration, by which teachers were required to sign a bond declaring it unlawful for a subject to enter into leagues and covenants, or to erect 'council tables.'³ This oath, which was intended, according to the zealous presbyter Mr Robert Wodrow, to 'put the gravestone upon the covenant,'⁴ pressed with great severity against schoolmasters, many of whom were removed from office for refusing to submit to 'black prelacy.' A few cases of demission or removal, in consequence of nonconformity to the episcopal church government which was now established may be mentioned: in 1664 the council of Forfar are requested to depose Mr John Ford, schoolmaster of the burgh, in respect that he 'spoke certain words against the present government in the church, and has not his testimony from the archbishop of St Andrews, in conformity with the Act dated 29th October 1662,' requiring the brethren to take notice that expectants and schoolmasters shall not officiate without the licence of my lord archbishop; the council declare that they cannot 'goodly discharge' Mr Ford until the cause alleged against him be proven;⁵ in the end, however, the clerical authorities were too strong for the poor schoolmaster, who, on 1st November, had to deliver the 'kye of the school dore' to the provost.⁶ Another sufferer for con-

¹ Annals of Parish of Lesmahagow, 156. Cf. also *supra*, pp. 83, 84, 85.

² Acts of Parliament, vi., part ii., 827, 877.

³ *Ibid.*, 1662, c. 54, vii., 405; 1663, c. 17, vii., 462. These two Acts were rescinded at the Revolution by Act 1690, c. 57, ix., 198.

⁴ History of the Kirk, i., 267 (2d ed.).

⁵ Burgh Records of Forfar.

⁶ *Ibid.*

science' sake in these bad times was Mr David Skeoch, who in 1674 had been removed from the office of master of the grammar school of Linlithgow 'on account of his refusing to abstain from attending conventicles;' two years later, having received an offer of the mastership of the grammar school of Paisley, he signifies (24th August 1676) his willingness to accept it—'if he may have security of trouble from superior persons;' the council agreed that 'two baillies sall speak to the Earl of Dundonald and Lord Ross for procuring his security of trouble from the bishop;' some trouble was experienced on his settlement, however, as he did not enter on his office till 5th December following.¹ In 1675 the synod of Aberdeen order the presbyteries to summon all schoolmasters within their bounds to take the promise of canonical obedience, under pain of removal.² In June 1676, Mr James Anderson is suspended *ab officio et beneficio* as doctor of the grammar school at Ayr, because of his refusal to sing the doxology;³ in the same town, in 1680, the masters of the grammar school and Scots school were obliged to demit their office for not conforming to the church government.⁴ On 2d January 1679, the privy council write letters to the archbishop of St Andrews, and to the bishops of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, requesting them to cite all schoolmasters in their dioceses, and inquire if they had taken the oaths appointed—compelling such as had not complied to obey, under pain of deprivation;⁵ in obedience to this request, the town council of Edinburgh, at the instance of the bishop, on 21st February 1679, cited Mr Alexander Heriot, master of the grammar school, Mr James Scott, younger, doctor of the school, Mr George Sinclair, master, and Mr George Allan,

¹ Burgh Records of Paisley. He demitted at Whitsunday 1678.

² Synod Records of Aberdeen. 'I, A. B., promise that I will render to my ordinary, by the mercy of God, Lord Bishop of Aberdeen, and his successors, canonical obedience, and to them to whom the government is committed over me, following with a glad mind and will their godly admonition.'

³ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Wodrow's History, iii., 3.

doctor, of the grammar school of Leith, and Mr Alexander Strang, master of the grammar school of the Canongate, who, compearing in the council chambers, were informed by the provost that, if they did not obey the government of the church by bishops between this date and 1st March next, they would be deposed. The master and doctor of the high school refused to conform, and accordingly were deposed; but Mr George Sinclair, we learn, satisfied the bishop of Edinburgh, and retained his office.¹

Parliament, in 1681, passed an Act requiring all persons in offices of public trust to take an oath—the infamous oath called ‘Test,’² which led to severe fining, cruel treatment, and bloody executions of many who refused to take it. This Act was passed, like the Declaration, in order not only to ‘overturn the solemn covenants,’³ but, what was worse, to extinguish personal liberty. We quote one case which explains the tenor of the Test, and shows the formality and even solemnity with which the poor schoolmaster of Ayr swallowed it in 1683. Having at first refused, like so many of his brethren, to take it, he was deposed, but was afterwards prevailed upon to recant and subscribe the Test on 21st December 1683, when he was reponed in his office. ‘I, Mr William Rankin, master of the grammar school in Ayr, subscribing upon my knees, solemnly swear in presence of the eternal God, that I sincerely profess the true Protestant religion contained in the Confession of Faith, and believe the same to be founded on the written Word of God; I swear that I will adhere thereto during all the days of my life, and shall endeavour to educate my children therein, and never consent to any change contrary thereto; I disown all principles or practices, popish or fanatical, contrary unto the said Protestant religion and Confession of Faith; and for testification of my obedience to my most gracious sovereign, Charles II., I do affirm and swear, by this my solemn oath, that the king’s

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Acts of Parliament, 1681, c. 6, viii., 243.

³ Wodrow’s History, iii., 297.

majesty is the only supreme governor of this realm, over all persons and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil; and that no foreign prince or pope hath any jurisdiction, ecclesiastical or civil, within this realm; therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, and promise that, from henceforth, I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the king's majesty, his heirs and lawful successors, and defend all rights and prerogatives belonging to the king's majesty, his heirs and lawful successors. I further affirm and swear, by this my solemn oath, that I judge it unlawful for subjects, upon pretence of reformation, or any other pretence whatsoever, to enter into covenants or leagues, or to convene in any civil assemblies for consulting in any matter civil or ecclesiastical without his majesty's special express licence, or to take up arms against the king or his commissioners; and that there lies no obligation on me from the national covenant, or the solemn league and covenant, or any other manner of way whatsoever, to endeavour any change in the government, either in church or state, as it is now established by the laws of this kingdom; and I promise and swear that I shall, with my utmost power, maintain his majesty's jurisdiction foresaid against all deadly; and I shall never decline his majesty's power and jurisdictions, as I shall answer to God. And finally, I swear that this my solemn oath is given in the plain genuine sense and meaning of the words, without any equivocation or mental reservation, or any manner of evasion whatsoever; and that I shall not accept or use any dispensation from any creature whatsoever: so help me God.—W. Rankin.¹ Many teachers refused to take the oath; thus, in 1682, a doctor of the grammar school of Perth, being 'not at freedom to take the Test,' demits his office.²

The change of government at the Revolution led to a change of tests, but not to their abolition; oaths now against Roman

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

² Burgh Records of Perth. His brother at St Andrews has no scruples; in 1684 the master of the grammar school takes the 'oath called the Test:' Burgh Records of St Andrews.

Catholicism, and in defence of presbyterianism, instead of episcopacy, were imposed, and led in their turn to depositions. In 1689 a proclamation was made excluding Papists from all offices, civil or military;¹ and in 1700 it was declared that no Papists were capable of acting as schoolmasters.² In 1690 it was statute that no schoolmaster shall be admitted to that office, or allowed to continue therein, without subscribing the Confession of Faith;³ the Act was ratified at the Union, with the addition that the schoolmasters must conform themselves to the worship presently in use in the church, and never endeavour directly or indirectly to prejudice the same.⁴ Space permits us only to refer to two or three cases of removal under this head: On 1st May 1716, the master of the grammar school of Dundee was deposed for 'committing practices contrary to the Confession of Faith,' teaching his scholars a catechism not approved by the church, deserting the communion and joining a schismatical meeting, in which he officiated as an elder.⁵ On 14th August 1717, the master of

¹ Acts of Parliament, 1689, c. 7, ix., 16.

² *Ibid.*, x., 218.

³ Acts of Parliament, 1690, c. 25, ix., 163.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1706, c. 6, xi., 402. See also *supra*, p. 82, § 4.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dundee. The following case may be read in contrast: the council of Dunfermline was in advance of the age when they appointed a schoolmaster in spite of the kirk session, who opposed the nomination because he did not attend *their* church. On 12th October 1767, the council and kirk session having met for appointing a doctor of the grammar school, the council stated that they were unanimously of opinion that they have only to consider the moral character and qualifications of the candidates, and accordingly proposed Mr Andrew Donaldson as a proper person for the office. The kirk session, who had inquired of Mr Donaldson whether he would attend public worship in the Established Church, and having not yet obtained his answer, moved that the appointment be delayed until he promises to that effect. The vote was put, 'proceed or delay,' and the whole council voted 'proceed;' and the kirk session dissented and left the meeting; whereupon the council being fully satisfied of Mr Donaldson's moral character, and of his qualifications in point of literature, unanimously elected him as usher of the grammar school: Burgh Records of Dunfermline. Mr Donaldson attended the church of Mr Ralph Erskine, and, according to his gravestone, was an accomplished scholar and of good character.

the grammar school of Banff was deposed for refusing to subscribe the Confession of Faith and Formula.¹ The ecclesiastical and municipal authorities continued till the latter part of the eighteenth century to guard with more or less jealousy against admitting a burgh schoolmaster into office until he proved himself 'sound in the faith:' in 1719 the council of Fortrose resolve to admit no schoolmaster who is not well inclined towards the present establishment in church;² in 1738 the rector of the grammar school of Dundee 'qualified' by signing the 'Form';³ in 1802 the presbytery of the Chanonry of Ross report that the masters of the Fortrose academy qualified by subscribing the Formula in their presence.⁴

The law requiring burgh, as well as parochial, teachers to subscribe the Confession of Faith and Formula, appears to have fallen almost into desuetude in the case of the former class of teachers towards the end of last century. From the year 1800 to 1860 the number of instances in which they actually subscribed are comparatively few—being five times at the burgh school of Anstruther Easter, twice at the grammar school of Brechin, six at the grammar school of Jedburgh, and four at the Peebles grammar and English schools. Whether they subscribed at Burntisland grammar school, Dundee high school, Kirkcaldy burgh school, Lanark grammar school, and Port-Glasgow burgh school, has not been ascertained; but there is no evidence in the records during that long period—from 1800 to 1860—that the teachers in any other burgh school than those already mentioned subscribed the Formula, or were enjoined to be members of the Established Church in conformity with the Acts of Parliament. How completely the practice of burgh teachers being required to be members of the Established Church fell into disuse will appear from the fact that in 1861, of the one hundred and thirteen teachers in schools subject to the administration of the magistrates and councils—that is, schools not falling

¹ Burgh Records of Banff.

² Burgh Records of Fortrose.

³ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁴ Presbytery Records of Chanonry.

under Act 43, Geo. III., c. 54—only fifty were members of the Church of Scotland,¹ the rest being dissenters. But every burgh teacher was liable to be called upon to qualify to the church, under pain of dismissal, till 1861, when it was enacted that it should no longer be necessary for them to sign the Confession of Faith or the Formula of the Church, or profess their willingness to submit themselves to the government and discipline thereof.²

§ 2. Schoolmasters were obliged to give satisfaction to the civil as well as to the ecclesiastical government. The government of the Commonwealth ordered that schools in Scotland should be supplied only with schoolmasters well affected to the government settled by law.³ Parliament, in 1690, ordained that every schoolmaster shall take the oath of allegiance to the king and queen;⁴ in 1693 it was enacted that masters and doctors shall swear the oath of allegiance, and subscribe the 'assurance,' which declares that William and Mary are sovereigns, as well *de jure* as *de facto*;⁵ in 1696 they are ordained to subscribe the 'association,' engaging to support William III. against James II., and that if the Protestant champion die a violent death they shall avenge it and maintain the succession.⁶ The Treaty of Union

¹ Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, xlviii., p. 729 (1861). The number of instances from 1800 to 1860 during which burgh teachers were examined and passed by the presbytery of the bounds are not numerous: On three occasions at the Elgin academy the appointments were made from a comparative trial of the candidates by the presbytery; on two other occasions the certificates of the candidates were submitted to that body, and the party preferred examined. Up to 1841 the candidates at the Forres academy were examined before the magistrates by members of the presbytery of Forres and other judges present. In 1849 the examination was by members of the Forres Established, Free, United Presbyterian, and Episcopal churches. In three or four instances the teachers were examined and passed at the grammar school of Kirkwall by the presbytery: Ibid.

² 24 and 25 Vict., c. 107, § 22. See also *supra*, p. 93.

³ Acts of Parliament, 1655, vi., ii., 826. ⁴ Ibid., 1690, c. 25, ix., 163.

⁵ Ibid., 1693, c. 14, ix., 262; 1702, c. 1, xi., 15.

⁶ Ibid., 1696, c. 3, x., 33.

declares that no schoolmaster shall be allowed to hold office, but such as owns and acknowledges the civil government.¹ The oath of allegiance long continued to be administered to schoolmasters before they were admitted to office: we read that in 1738, the rector of the grammar school of Dundee qualified to the government in common form, by swearing allegiance to George II.² The church appears to have been no less zealous for the loyalty than for the orthodoxy of our teachers: in the years 1749 and 1800 the Assembly required all teachers of youth to produce to the presbyteries attestations of having taken the oaths to government;³ in 1802 the presbytery of Chanonry report that two masters of the academy of Fortrose have 'qualified to government.'⁴ The master did not always 'qualify,' nor was it always true that

' His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal ;'

and there is record of some of their number having been deposed for political causes, as well as for nonconformity in religion; but the instances on record hardly assume the gravity of political persecution, although the Campbeltown case does, according to modern notions, touch the verge of it. In 1694, John M'Lachlan, schoolmaster at Glasgow, was appointed by the privy council to be set in the pillory, and sent to the plantations, for 'seducing' soldiers to desert their majesties' service; a further prosecution was recommended on account of 'disloyal and impertinent speeches, uttered by him when he stood in the pillory at Edinburgh.'⁵ On 30th May 1702, Mr John Hill, doctor in the grammar school of Dundee, though often entreated by the town council, refused to take the oath of allegiance, and subscribe the assurance; accordingly he was deprived of his office.⁶ In the case of Mr Patrick Lyon,

¹ Acts of Parliament, 1706, c. 6, xi., 402.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Acts of Assembly, 1749, c. 4; 1800, c. 11.

⁴ Presbytery Records of Chanonry.

⁵ History of the Rod, p. 183.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dundee. His brethren are more loyal; in the

master of the grammar school of Dundee, one of the reasons for his removal from office was his having joined, at the time of the 'unnatural rebellion,' preachers who prayed expressly for the Pretender, under the title of King 'James the Eighth.'¹ In 1746 Alexander M'Farlan, schoolmaster of Kinghorn, was deposed for 'being concerned in aiding and assisting the rebellion, or, at least, following and endeavouring to rescue rebels from justice.'² In the same year, the schoolmaster of Fortrose was accused of several acts of disloyalty, 'during the late horrid and unnatural rebellion:' such as encouraging the scholars to make a bonfire in honour of the Pretender, and writing on their copies 'Honour to Prince Charlie;' he is therefore declared 'utterly unqualified as teacher of youth;' the magistrates, however, 'think it hard to break up the school at present, but will dismiss him *quam primum*.'³ Towards the end of last century the master of the grammar school of Campbeltown was politically in advance of the times: in 1775, the council being informed that Mr Dobbie, teacher in the grammar school, is propagating principles that may prove prejudicial to the youth and community of this place and, if not checked in time, may be hurtful to the public at large, warn him that if in future he interferes in political or religious matters, he shall be removed from his office. The warning had not the desired effect, and the radical schoolmaster was dismissed on 3d April following.⁴

§ 3. Infirmary is frequently a cause of removal; and, we regret to notice, there are few traces in the records of any provision having been made for the old servant, who had, through no fault of his own, become incapacitated for his laborious work. In 1584 the council of Edinburgh, in

same year, the master and one of the doctors of the grammar school take the oath of allegiance, and subscribe the assurance. Two years later, the master of the grammar school of Montrose also takes the oath, and subscribes the assurance: Burgh Records of Montrose.

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee.

² Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

³ Presbytery Records of Chanonry.

⁴ Burgh Records of Campbeltown.

respect that the master of the high school is no longer able to exercise his office, remove him from his place.¹ On 15th April 1665, the Latin doctor of the grammar school of Stirling was, in respect of 'his infirmitie to attend the school, ordered to provide for himself by Whitsunday next;' this abrupt dismissal seems to have been acquiesced in by the poor teacher, without a word of protest, or appeal for consideration.² The conduct of Edinburgh was more generous towards Mr Hew Wallace, master of the grammar school in 1656, when, on his supplication, they grant to him 1000 merks for his expenses to France, where he is going for the 'cure of the stone, wherewith he is grievously tormented.'³ In May 1675, the master of the grammar school of Ayr was called on to demit his charge, in respect of old age and infirmity.⁴ In 1697 the council of Stirling discharge the master of the grammar school, in respect of his age and other infirmities.⁵ In the same way, on 3d April 1721, the schoolmaster of Pittenweem receives 'his leave,' he being, by 'weakness,' unable to wait upon the school.⁶ The next cases are even more harsh: the doctor of the grammar school of Dunfermline having 'been seized with a palzy,' his office is, on 9th February 1745, declared vacant;⁷ and on 17th March of the year following, the commission of the doctor of the grammar school is recalled, because he is not able to attend the school through loss of judgment;⁸ in the same manner, on 7th May 1782, the master of the grammar school of Banff is dismissed, he having, from bad health, given no regular attendance on the school for many months.⁹

We come now to the most frequent cause of the dismissal of the teacher, namely, incompetency, inefficiency, negligence, or mismanagement, of which there are numerous instances in

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Stirling.

³ Steven's High School, p. 60.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁵ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁶ Burgh Records of Pittenweem.

⁷ Burgh Records of Dunfermline. No provision was made for the doctor, though he had served the town for thirty-four years.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Burgh Records of Banff.

the records. In 1576 the council of Haddington request the master of the grammar school to resign his charge, because the scholars are being 'attracted to other schools.'¹ In 1592 the council of Kirkcudbright, 'all in one vote,' dismiss the schoolmaster, who has been found inefficient to 'await on the school.'² In 1629 the schoolmaster of Linlithgow was removed because he allowed his school to fall into 'decay.'³ No complaint appears to have been made against the master of the grammar school of Paisley, who was appointed in 1654, until 1660, when on 9th August many complained of his inability to teach or to govern the school, so that it is 'greatly decayed and the children are not instructed sufficiently;' the council, 'finding in him no satisfying excuse, but only his want of a doctor,' declare the school vacant at Whitsunday next.⁴ In the same burgh we find another schoolmaster who had served the community faithfully—at least without a complaint—for fourteen years: on 7th August 1676, the council parted with him because they did not consider that the 'schoole prospered under his hand.'⁵ In 1670 the council of Dumbarton, understanding that the children do not profit in learning under the instruction of the master of the grammar school, ordain him to be warned to remove from the school.⁶ The grammar school of Stirling being, in 1672, 'decayed to the great hurt and discredit of the burgh,' through the children making not sufficient progress, the council unanimously declare the places of the master and doctor vacant.⁷ In 1688 a doctor of the grammar school of Glasgow was deprived of his office for neglect of duty.⁸ In 1692 the school of Wigtown being turned 'desolate' under the present teacher, the children 'vaiging and committing evill things by not being kept to school,' the

¹ Burgh Records of Haddington.

² Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright. ³ Burgh Records of Linlithgow.

⁴ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁷ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁸ Burgh Records of Glasgow. Cf. also Burgh Records of Crail, on 31st December 1710.

council remove him.¹ In 1694 the council of Stirling remove the English doctor from his office because of his 'supine negligence, and many other faults;'² three years later, the council, considering the 'bade caise' of the public school by the 'insufficiency' of the master and doctors, remove them.³ Mr George Glen, who was appointed master of the grammar school of Paisley in 1703, was made a free 'burgess for good deeds done, and to be done, to the burgh.' On 24th July 1713, however, heavy complaints having been lodged against him 'of his frequent misbehaviour, partly flowing from want of authority, and partly from his not-attendance in the school,' he receives notice to lay down his office at Michaelmas following.⁴ On 19th February 1711, the council of Peebles, considering the decay of the school, order the master to provide for himself by Whitsunday next.⁵ The grammar and English schools of Dunbar being much decayed, and going on decaying daily, the council, on 12th December 1726, dismiss the masters.⁶ In 1731 the council of Fortrose remove their teacher for neglect of duty.⁷ Next year the council of Lanark dismiss their schoolmaster for 'want of talent in communicating his art' and indiscretion in discipline, and for other causes.⁸ In 1736 the council of Kinghorn remove their school doctor on account of 'insufficiency.'⁹ In June 1738, the master of the English school of Ayr being 'not known in the new method of teaching English,' the council appoint another teacher in his place.¹⁰ In 1748 the master of the grammar school of Forres, for 'not taking care of the education of the children under his care,' is removed.¹¹ In 1750 the council of Rothesay being well informed of the learning, abilities, and other qualifications of Mr William Macartnay, appoint him master

¹ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

³ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁷ Burgh Records of Fortrose.

⁹ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Forres.

² Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁴ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁸ Burgh Records of Lanark.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Ayr.

of the grammar school; thirteen years afterwards, they are, however, of opinion that as he cannot teach navigation and bookkeeping, it is 'very improper to continue him,' and resolve that another schoolmaster 'be looked out with these qualifications.'¹ The legality of this step was called into question by the heritors—the school, though managed by the town council, being a parish school—on the ground that he was deposed without trial; accordingly, he was reponed in his office, which he continued to hold until his death in 1792. In 1781 the schools of Kirkcudbright having of late much decayed, the council dismiss all the teachers.² On 23d September 1779, the council of Banff, considering that the grammar school, formerly a 'convenience and ornament to the town, has dwindled away to nothing,' owing to the inability or inattention of the teacher, who was appointed in 1773, they resolve to remove him at Whitsunday next.³ The decadence of a school through incapacity of the master was, as we have seen, made the cause of removal in several instances, and in June 1784 a further case occurs at Ayr, where the scholars at the mathematical school having made little progress in the branches on which they were examined, owing to the inattention and want of authority in the master, the town take steps for appointing another in his room.⁴

§ 4. There are numerous instances of deposition for severity of discipline, additional to the case of Mr Hastie, already quoted,⁵ where, in conjunction with other offences, this was held by the House of Lords to be a sufficient ground for removal. On 31st July 1657, the magistrates of Jedburgh order the schoolmaster of the burgh to give up the keys of the school; we learn the cause of deposition from a subsequent entry, mentioning that he had applied to the presbytery for a certificate, but that several members of the town council gave in several reasons why it ought to be refused—one being that he 'had a

¹ Burgh Records of Rothesay.

² Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

³ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁵ *Supra*, Chapter VII., under § 6.

hand in the death of a bairne,' and had said that 'before he left Jedburgh, there sould be bluid.'¹ John Howie, who was admitted schoolmaster of Arbroath in 1679, was dismissed from his office for cruelty to the children.² On 26th June 1688, Hugh Muir, doctor of the grammar school of Glasgow, was deposed for exercising too rigid and cruel method of discipline.³ In 1699 a boy, John Douglas, son of Douglas of Dornock, while attending the school of Moffat, was killed by the master, Robert Carmichael, who thereupon fled, 'but by the providence of God he was discovered and seized;' he was indicted in the Court of Justiciary in 1700; the verdict was in these words: 'Find it proven that the panel did three times, *ex incontinenti*, severely and cruelly lash and whip the defunct upon the back and hips, and in rage and fury did drag him with his hand, upon head and back, with heavy and sore strokes; and after he was out of his hands he immediately died; and find it likewise proven that after the defunct's death, the side of his head was swelled, and blue marks were thereupon, with several marks of stripes from the small of his back to his houghs.'⁴ The judges found the treatment of the poor boy 'relevant to infer the pains of death;' but in the circumstances it was decreed that he 'be taken from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, by the hangman, under a sure guard, to the middle of the Lawnmarket, and there lashed by seven severe stripes; and then to be carried to the Fountain-well, to be severely lashed by five stripes; and then to be carried back by the hangman to the Tolbooth: Likeas, the Lords banish the said Mr Robert furth of this kingdom, never to return thereto under all the highest pains.'⁵ Our institutional writer on criminal law says, that in consideration of the station of a 'preceptor, his severity of discipline leading to the death of his pupil shall not ordinarily be ascribed

¹ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

² Kirk Session Records of Arbroath.

³ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁴ Hume's Criminal Law, i., 238 (3d ed.).

⁵ History of the Rod, p. 183. For other examples of discipline, see *supra*, Chapter V., § 10.

to a vindictive or cruel disposition ; but it is not therefore to be entirely pardoned, being so great an intemperance, and in such a person, but shall excuse him only from the pains of murder. Nor shall he be excused even from these, if the excess be so great as can only be imputed to personal malice or a depraved temper ; if, for instance, he invent some extraordinary mode or employ some dangerous and unusual instrument of discipline.' ¹

§ 5. Teachers were frequently removed or dismissed for quarrelling among themselves, though not without efforts made by the authorities to keep the peace ; many of the quarrels arose from one teacher encroaching on the province of the other, and so depriving him of fees. A few instances to this effect may be given. On 14th November 1711, the master and doctor of the grammar school of Peebles having quarrelled as to their respective powers and privileges in matters of teaching and discipline, the town council ordain them to live peaceably together, thereby giving good example to the children under their care, lest they ruin the school.² This warning does not appear to have been sufficient, for, on 12th March 1712, the master turned the doctor out at door, and beat him ; the keys of the school were ordered to be delivered up instantly.³ On 2d November 1711, the doctor in the grammar school of Dundee was suspended for a misunderstanding with the master.⁴ On a complaint of the master of the grammar school of Kilmarnock against the English teacher, for teaching Latin in his school, the council, 5th September 1748, order him to desist from teaching Latin for the future, under pain of dismissal.⁵ Take another case of encroachment, which also led to a dismissal, on 3d April 1795, when the rector of the grammar school, and the teacher of the English school, of Campbelltown, were both removed from office, because the one

¹ Hume's Criminal Law, i., 238.

² Burgh Records of Peebles.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁵ Burgh Records of Kilmarnock, 17th October 1748. Another teacher was appointed in his place.

infringed on the other's right to teach certain branches.¹ In 1808 a complaint was preferred against the second master of the Fortrose academy, for teaching branches not belonging to his province.² The evil of competition between teachers in the same schools still, alas! is far from being uncommon in Scotland. The masters of many of our secondary schools are at this day so entirely dependent on their fees, that their interests often clash—one master actually struggling with the other for the possession of the boys. A serious difficulty lately arose in the Elgin academy in consequence of this unseemly contest, and quite recently there was a 'deadly quarrel' between some of the masters of the Forfar academy about fees. This evil arises from the teachers being, as we have said, principally supported by fees, from the imperfect organisation of the school, and from want of endowments.³

Schoolmasters have been, not unfrequently, removed for breaking the law of the land, or coming under the cognisance of the ecclesiastical authorities, because of irregularity of affections. In 1656 the schoolmaster of Crail was deprived for assaulting another person to the effusion of blood.⁴ The particular offence of the school doctor of Stirling is not specified: on 8th May 1665, the doctor of English in the grammar school, having been found guilty 'of several base usages towards his scholars,' was discharged.⁵ Robert Inglis, doctor of the grammar school of Dunfermline, was, on 18th January 1659, deposed from office for drunkenness and scan-

¹ Burgh Records of Campbeltown.

² Presbytery Records of Chanonry.

³ Report on Endowed Schools, iii., 103.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dysart. In 1697 James Bean, schoolmaster of Kirkcudbright, and John Campbell were fined and imprisoned for 'venting and expressing' against each other 'several unchristian words, such as confoundit lyers, knaves, begerlie rascals, and the lyke, which brak furth in strocks ane upon the other:' Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright. In 1702 Mr Henry Gibson, schoolmaster of Kirkcudbright, and John Walker, burgess there, were indicted for 'mutuall blood and batterie,' and 'being in excess of drink;' they were fined: Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Stirling.

dalous carriage with Elspett Matheson; the kirk session, however, suspended his public rebuking on Sunday until the time of his departure, because it would condemn and vilify him before the scholars;¹ the same burgh furnishes another case of scandal, in the person of John Hart, who, in July 1705, was deposed from the office of master of the grammar school, 'in respect he had committed the crime of fornication.'² In 1689 the master of the grammar school of Paisley having become the subject of church censure and discipline, receives three months' warning of dismissal.³ In 1808 the Fortrose academy appears to have been unfortunate in its staff of teachers: the rector, Mr Pollock, is charged with drunkenness; the second master has exposed himself to censure; the third is accused of inebriety—appearing sometimes in that state among his scholars—and of a more heinous immorality, detailed at large, which, however, is condoned by his marrying his servant-maid.⁴

A painfully minute description is preserved of the sufferings of one poor schoolmaster, who was not only deprived of his office, but murdered by the authorities for an imaginary crime. In 1591 John Fian or Cunningham, as he was sometimes called, schoolmaster at Prestonpans, was tried for witchcraft; he admits, under torture, that he had had conferences with the devil, and had attended various meetings of witches with the Enemy of Man, some of which took place in North Berwick kirk; on these occasions he had acted as clerk of proceedings. He and other witches, he confesses, went off from Prestonpans one night to a ship at sea, which, by their incantations, they sank; he had chased a cat at Tranent with the design of throwing it into the sea, in order to raise storms for the destruction of shipping; in this chase he had leaped a wall, the top of which he could not, but for witchcraft, have touched with his hand. 'Passing to Tranent on horseback, and ane man with him, [he] by his divilish craft, raisit up four candles upon the horse's twa lugs, and ane

¹ Kirk Session Records of Dunfermline.

² Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

³ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁴ Presbytery Records of Chanonry.

other candle upon the staff whilk the man had in his hand, and gave sic lict as gif it had been daylict; like as the said candles returned with the said man at his hame-coming, and causit him fall dead at the entry within the house.' The unfortunate teacher, one of the many victims sacrificed to this terrible superstition—'darkness visible,' having afterwards denied the confession wrung from him under torture, was subjected a second time to torture of the direst kind: his nails were torn away with pincers; needles were thrust up to the heads in his fingers, and his legs were crushed in the boots till the blood and marrow spouted forth.¹ He resisted all, and thus only impressed the king, who was a witness of the torture, that the devil had entered his heart; he was then arraigned, condemned, and burnt.² The only other instance we have discovered of a schoolmaster having been connected with this melancholy subject, curiously enough, occurs at the same place, where, in 1661, Mr Andrew Rutherford, schoolmaster in the Pans, was appointed commissioner for trying certain persons in that parish accused of witchcraft.³

The extracts quoted in this chapter show the different grounds on which teachers were dismissed or removed, from the Reformation to the end of the eighteenth century; from 1800 to 1860—a period of sixty years—the number of appointments of teachers in burgh schools—schools under the

¹ Chambers's Domestic Annals, i., pp. 212, 213.

² The enormity of his crime created a profound sensation throughout the country. In London, an account of his life and death was published at the time, the following being a summary of the little pamphlet: *Newes from Scotland*, declaring the damnable life and death of Doctor Fian, a notable sorcerer, who was burned at Edenbrough in January 1591, which doctor was regester to the Divell, that sundry times preached at North Barrick Kirke, to a number of notorious witches; with the true examinations of the saide Doctor and witches, as they uttered them in the presence of the Scottish King; Discovering how they pretended to bewitch and drowne his Majestie in the Sea, conming from Denmarke; with such other wonderful matters, as the like hath not been heard of at any time. Two editions of this tract were printed in 1591 and 1592. The former edition has been reprinted for the Roxburghe Club.

³ Acts of Parliament, 1661, c. 205, vii., 196.

administration of town councils—exclusive of the Dundee high school and Stirling high school, was about 397, of which eighteen only were removed or dismissed by the magistrates and councils. The causes of removal, which we shall not specify, correspond with those already cited, witchcraft being the only exception. The burgh schools in which the dismissals took place during that period are the following: Three teachers at the Airdrie academy, two at the Banff grammar school, one at Dumbarton burgh academy, three at Dunbar grammar school, one at Dundee high school, one at Elgin academy, two at Forfar burgh school, one at the high school of Glasgow, one at Linlithgow grammar school, one at the Paisley commercial school, one at the English school of Perth, and one at the burgh school of Pittenweem. It may be added that none of these teachers was removed by the sentence of the presbytery.¹

§ 6. The Education Act has made the following provision for the removal of the teachers appointed before 6th August 1872 charged with immorality, cruelty, improper treatment of the scholars, or inefficiency in teaching: A school board may prefer a complaint to the sheriff of the county, charging a teacher with immoral conduct, or cruel or improper treatment of his scholars, specifying the particular acts in respect of which the complaint is made—a copy of the complaint to be served upon the accused, who shall, on an *inducere* of eight days, answer to the complaint before the sheriff, who shall thereafter proceed to the trial of the complaint, which if he find proved, he shall pronounce sentence of deprivation, the sentence being final, and not subject to review.² If a school board consider that the teacher is incompetent, unfit, or inefficient, they may require a special report regarding the school and the teacher from her majesty's inspector; on receiving the report the school board may, if they see cause, remove the teacher from office, provided that before they give judgment they shall furnish to the teacher a copy of the

¹ Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, xlviii., p. 729 (1861).

² 35 and 36 Vict., c. 62, § 60, sub-sect. 1.

report, and receive confirmation of their judgment removing the teacher from the Board of Education.¹ Since the passing of the Act, fifteen different school boards have taken advantage of this provision for the removal of teachers by applying, in terms of the second sub-section, to the Board of Education, for confirmations of their judgments—viz., the school boards of Kilmallie, Dalmellington, Haddington, Lintrathen, Stow, Logiealmond, Bowden, Stirling, Whitburn, North Knapdale (Tayvallich school and Balanoch school), Towie, Glenshiel, Mochrum, Forteviot, St Fergus, Kelso, and Ardrossan. Three applications to the Board of Education for removal of teachers were withdrawn by the school boards—viz., Stirling, North Knapdale (for Tayvallich school), and Forteviot. The judgment of the school boards removing the teachers of Towie and Kelso was not confirmed by the Board of Education; and the applications of St Fergus and Ardrossan to the supreme board were not disposed of when they published their report in July last, but in all the other cases they confirmed the judgment of the school boards.² Nearly all the teachers acquiesced in their removal, but some appealed to the Court of Session for pensions due to them as parish schoolmasters. Mr Little having been removed by the school board of Whitburn as ‘incompetent, unfit, and inefficient,’ the Lord Ordinary thought he was entitled to look into the grounds of his dismissal to see whether he was entitled or not to a retiring allowance. In the Logiealmond case, on the other hand, Mr Robb having been removed in terms of this sub-section, another Lord Ordinary held that the school board need not prove before the Court the ground on which they had dismissed their teacher: to do so would, he said, be contrary to the intention of the Act, and detrimental to the public interest;³ but the Inner House, to which the case was appealed, required the school board to specify the grounds on which they had dismissed him.⁴ In the Glenshiel case, on the other hand, the Second

¹ 35 and 36 Vict., c. 62, § 60, sub-sect. 2.

² Report of Board of Education, ii., 122.

³ Scottish Law Reporter, xii., 278.

⁴ Ibid., 469.

Division held that the decision of a school board dismissing a teacher was not subject to review unless there should appear to be oppression or evasion of the statute on the part of the board.¹ There being thus a conflict of opinions among the learned judges as to whether school boards are required to specify the faults on the ground of which they dismiss their old teachers, or whether the decision of a school board dismissing him is subject to review, the legislature should settle without delay all doubts in the matter.²

No good teacher is opposed to giving facilities for getting rid of members unworthy of the profession—teachers convicted on satisfactory proof of gross negligence, incompetency, remissness, or mismanagement; but it may be doubted whether the Education Act has sufficiently provided against unjust or capricious dismissals. The vague and elastic grounds on which a teacher is liable to removal—‘incompetent, unfit, and inefficient’—are calculated to lead to the annoyance, oppression, and finally removal, of any teacher, however competent, who is under the control of an officious and perhaps unscrupulous board—a board interfering, it may be, with his method and manner of teaching, or with the way in which he is carrying out the system of the school—matters in which he should be absolutely free of any control on the part of the board.

¹ Scottish Law Reporter, xii., 473.

² See also *infra*, Chapter IX., § 8.

CHAPTER IX.—MASTERS ENCOURAGED AND PENSIONED.

§ 1. MASTERS MADE FREE BURGESSES.—§ 2. MASTERS RECEIVE SPECIAL PRIVILEGES.—§ 3. PRESENTATION TO MASTERS.—§ 4. GRANT OF PENSIONS.—§ 5. PENSIONS GRANTED CONDITIONALLY.—§ 6. PENSIONS AT EXPENSE OF TEACHERS.—§ 7. PENSIONS IN THE HIGHER SCHOOLS.—§ 8. EDUCATION ACT AND SUPERANNUATION.

THE records supply a few illustrations of how the councils honoured, encouraged, and rewarded their servants the teachers—sometimes while they were discharging the duties of their office, but more frequently after becoming incapacitated through ill-health, or age, for further service.

§ 1. A frequent compliment consisted in presenting the successful teacher with the freedom of the burgh¹—a distinction which, in those days, was not honorary only, but conferred important privileges. In 1613 a master of the music school of Ayr is made an honorary burgess and guild brother;² in 1677 the master of the grammar school is also made a burgess and guild brother 'for the good service done in attending on the youths in the school.'³ In 1620 the master of the grammar school of Paisley is created a burgess and freeman of the burgh;⁴ in 1683 the 'under-teacher, for his encouragement, is created a burgess without payment of any composition';⁵ and in 1685 the master of the grammar school is made a burgess 'gratis, in respect of his benefit to the town, and for his encouragement to be painful and diligent.'⁶ In 1705, for the good services of the doctor of the grammar school of Montrose, the council make him a burgess and guild brother.⁷ So pleased were the magistrates of Edinburgh with the appearance of the

¹ Sometimes conferred in lieu of increase of salary.

² Burgh Records of Ayr.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Burgh Records of Montrose.

scholars of the high school at the public examination in August 1762, that they admitted the five masters to be burgesses and guild brethren without paying the customary dues; but for the future, no master of the high school shall be admitted burgess until he is five years in office.¹ In 1771 the town council of Dundee grant, as a compliment to one of their teachers and to his children, the 'freedom of the town and guildry.'²

§ 2. Good teachers were sometimes rewarded with other favours. Thus, in 1671, the council of Aberdeen allow each of their doctors the liberty every third week of prosecuting their private studies, the indulgence being granted in respect the place may not always be settled on them.³ They also received special privileges, including freedom from taxation, exemption from common burdens, etc.: in 1687 the master of the grammar school of Stirling was freed from the payment of the merk on the boll of malt to be 'browen be him for the use of his familie.'⁴ In 1706 the master and doctor of the grammar school, and the master of the music school, of Montrose were freed from paying any annuity in the burgh.⁵

§ 3. Again, the burghs showed their gratitude, perhaps, by granting small presents in money and other articles. In Paisley, for instance, the doctors are rewarded almost annually, from 1703 downwards, with 'half a guinea in gold for their pains and funder encouragement;'⁶ in 1715 the doctor is voted £20 Scots in a compliment;⁷ and in 1716 'one guinea of gold for his encouragement.'⁸ In 1720 the town council of Dundee present a new hat, of the value of 10s. sterling, to James Mudie, one of the masters of the English school;⁹ and in 1764 the same council present a piece of plate, being a silver teapot and salver, to a teacher in the town.¹⁰ There are many instances, it need hardly be added, in our own day

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁵ Burgh Records of Montrose.

⁶ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., *et passim*.

⁹ Burgh Records of Dundee.

¹⁰ Ibid.

of popular teachers receiving testimonials of this description—chiefly, however, from grateful pupils—a circumstance which does not make the donation less acceptable.

§ 4. There are, however, no traces in the records of a regular system of provision having been made for the superannuation of teachers, but, at the same time, the councils frequently granted, *ex gratia*, retiring allowances—annuities to good teachers who had faithfully served the burgh for a period, but were no longer able to exercise with advantage discipline in the schools. Thus, in 1584, the council of Edinburgh remove a master in the high school on account of old age, but, 'as they cannot leave him destitute of a livelihood, grant him a yearly pension.'¹ In 1640 the council of Aberdeen, considering that Mr David Wedderburne, master of the grammar school, in regard of his old age and inability to serve in such a laborious and toilsome calling as the place requires, has demitted his office, in which he had faithfully served the town for forty years, and also considering that the poor old master is likewise burdened with a wife and children, grant to him a pension of 200 merks yearly during all the days of his lifetime, with the condition that if they find out any other means equal to the pension, he will accept the second provision and demit the pension.² In 1723 the council of St Andrews, considering that Mr Patrick Lindesay, master of the grammar school, hath faithfully behaved as master, and by reason of his old age and infirmity is now unable to use discipline, continue to him his salary during all the days of his lifetime.³ In 1746 Mr James Ferguson, master of the grammar school of Ayr, who had served in the school for nearly fifty years, being now 'aged, valetudinary, tender, and much affected with the gout and gravel,' the council 'continue his yearly salary during the short time he may now live.'⁴ In 1782 the council of Kirkcudbright grant a pension of £10 to the master of the grammar school, who has served the town for thirty-five years, and is now 'far advanced in years and unable to be employed

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

elsewhere.'¹ In 1824 Mr Smith, English master of St Andrews, having resigned his office, the council record 'the high sense of the very important services rendered to the public by their late much respected and very valuable teacher, who, during the long period of forty-three years, has so much to the satisfaction of all classes most ably, usefully, and faithfully discharged the duties of his office,' and in testimony of their gratitude appoint him city factor; it is provided that, when he feels himself unable to discharge the duties of that office, or if the council deprive him of it, he should receive from the town's funds the amount of his salary as schoolmaster.²

'O blest retirement! friend to life's decline—
How blest is he who crowns, in shades like these,
A youth of labour with an age of ease!'

§ 5. When the teachers held their appointments not exactly during pleasure of the town councils, the patrons were obliged to make some compensation to them on condition of retiring, after they became disqualified for the due performance of their office. In 1704 the master of the grammar school of Perth, on voluntarily demitting his office, gets a pension of 300 merks Scots.³ In 1761 James Broun was appointed by the council of Dundee teacher in

¹ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

² Burgh Records of St Andrews. There are also instances of provisions for the relicts of teachers. In 1600 the relict and bairns of Mr Hercules Rollock, master of the grammar school of Edinburgh, petition the council for assistance; the good town owes him nothing, but because he was their common servant, and being desirous to give all others in the like rank occasion to do their duty, ordain 500 merks to be paid to him out of their common good: Burgh Records of Edinburgh. In 1725, on the petition of the relict of Mr William Johnstone, school doctor of Kirkcaldy, the council furnish her with half a boll of meal and two loads of coals: Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy. In 1778 the council of Banff, considering that Mr Robertson, master of the grammar school, had long and faithfully served the town for thirty-one years, grant to his widow a yearly pension of £8 sterling: Burgh Records of Banff.

³ Burgh Records of Perth.

one of the burgh schools *ad vitam aut culpam*; in 1771 the council appoint a committee to confer with him about retiring from the school, to which he agreed on condition of receiving £15 sterling yearly during his life; the council complied with his terms.¹ Again, in 1763 a committee of the same council was appointed to meet Mr Park about resigning his office as teacher in the Kirkyard school, on receiving a reasonable allowance during life.²

§ 6. There are too many instances in the records of the councils having been generous to the outgoing at the cost of the incoming schoolmaster, a practice we know which is still in use and very injurious to the interests of the school. The following extracts from the records of five burghs may be taken as instances of such dealings—dealings by which scholastic offices were bought and sold, or encumbered with the burden of making provision for the last incumbent—a provision which should have been made by the town instead of the teacher who was discharging the active duties of the office, and already underpaid for his services. On 23d September 1712, a master of the English school of Dundee agrees to retire from his office on condition of receiving 'payment of 100 merks yearly during life,' and Mr Barclay, who petitioned the town to appoint him to the place about to be vacant, is content to give that sum; on the following day he comes under a special obligation to that effect.³ We find the same practice at a later date in connection with the same school: in 1759, on the resignation of the teacher of the English school, the council appoint his successor, with the condition that he makes a yearly payment to the last teacher of £15 sterling.⁴ In 1726 Mr Patrick Coldstream was chosen schoolmaster of Crail; he shall have all the fees, profits, and emoluments pertaining to the office after the decease of Mr William Row, late schoolmaster; in 1734 Mr Coldstream petitions the council to grant him the 'haill immunities, liberties, and privileges enjoyed and intro-

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

mitted with by the now deceased Mr Row ;¹ so that the poor schoolmaster of Crail was saddled for eight long years with the payment of an annuity to his predecessor. In 1728 the council of St Andrews confess that they cannot give an adequate salary to the master of the grammar school, in respect it is settled on the late schoolmaster during his life.² In 1822 the council of Dunbar recommend that the salary of the rector of the grammar school be increased on the death of his predecessor, who receives part of the salary which should have been paid to the teacher now in office.³ In 1827 a person was appointed master of the mathematical school of Greenock without the usual salary, which was assigned to his predecessor during his lifetime.⁴ It would be invidious to mention similar instances in our own day.

§ 7. The foregoing extracts illustrate the practice which prevailed in our burgh schools till the passing of the Education Act with regard to the granting of retiring allowances to teachers who were no longer able to discharge their duties to the satisfaction of their constituents. We have seen that some burghs generously pensioned good teachers who were spent in the service of the community, others superseded their old servants without mercy when they became unfit for further service;⁵ others, again, granted retiring allowances, not *ex gratia*, but in order to get rid of inefficient teachers, who, in virtue of a contract or usage, held their offices for a period or life. But at no time in the history of burgh schools were the masters entitled to demand, by law or practice, pensions from their patrons when compelled because of infirmity or old age to resign their office—a resignation occasioned by no fault of their own. There is no doubt that the higher instruction in Scotland has suffered immensely from no regular provision having ever been made by Parliament or the burghs for granting superannuation allowances to teachers who worked satisfactorily for a number of years, but became incapacitated for

¹ Burgh Records of Crail.

² Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁴ Burgh Records of Greenock.

³ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁵ *Supra*, Chapter VIII., § 3.

further service. It is true that it has been the custom—invariable custom—with a very small number of the burghs to grant retiring allowances to some of their teachers, but not one of the following, which include all our best schools, has ever made any regulations for granting annuities in cases of long service and infirmity: New Aberdeen grammar school,¹ Annan academy,² Arbroath high school,³ Ayr academy,⁴ Banff grammar school,⁵ Brechin grammar school,⁶ Burntisland grammar school,⁷ Cupar Madras academy,⁸ Dumbarton burgh academy,⁹ Elgin academy,¹⁰ Forfar academy,¹¹ Forres academy,¹² Glasgow high school,¹³ Greenock academy,¹⁴ Inverness academy,¹⁵ Kirkcudbright academy,¹⁶ Lanark burgh school,¹⁷ Leith high school,¹⁸ Linlithgow grammar school,¹⁹ Montrose grammar school,²⁰ Paisley grammar school,²¹ Perth academy and grammar school,²² Madras college of St Andrews,²³ Stirling high school,²⁴ Tain academy.²⁵

§ 8. In the interest of education, we respectfully venture to say that the *ad vitam aut culpam* tenure of office ought not to have been abolished without adequate compensation having been made for the loss of dignity and independence which the office suffered in consequence; the security of the tenure having been destroyed, a liberal system of retiring allowances should have been granted in cases in which the teacher served the school board for a number of years, but became, through no fault of his own, unfit for further services; public school teachers should have been put on the same footing as professors, who, if incapacitated to conduct the work of the class, can be made to retire on an allowance;²⁶ the Education Act should have introduced and regulated a system of pensioning off teachers, the managing bodies being

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 338.

² Ibid., 343.

³ Ibid., 348.

⁴ Ibid., 353.

⁵ Ibid., 360.

⁶ Ibid., 366.

⁷ Ibid., 369.

⁸ Ibid., 393.

⁹ Ibid., 418.

¹⁰ Ibid., 449.

¹¹ Ibid., 460.

¹² Ibid., 465.

¹³ Ibid., 471.

¹⁴ Ibid., 482.

¹⁵ Ibid., 495.

¹⁶ Ibid., 505.

¹⁷ Ibid., 514.

¹⁸ Ibid., 516.

¹⁹ Ibid., 524.

²⁰ Ibid., 529.

²¹ Ibid., 546.

²² Ibid., 564.

²³ Ibid., 578.

²⁴ Ibid., 596.

²⁵ Ibid., 600.

²⁶ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 49.

invested with the power of compelling them to accept of these retiring allowances when disabled in any degree to perform their duties. Section 55 of the Act, which provides that the teachers who were in office previously to the passing of the Act shall not be prejudiced by any of the provisions contained therein, protects, to some extent, the parochial schoolmaster who is entitled by law to a retiring allowance, but it makes no provision whatever for the burgh school teacher, who is now more liable to dismissal than formerly, but has no compensation made to him for any loss which he may sustain. It is true he could at no time demand a retiring allowance, but he held what was considered a life appointment, and Parliament should have made some allowance for him if superseded, because it multiplied the grounds on which he might be dismissed.

The provision made by the Act for granting pensions to parochial teachers in office previously to the passing of the Act, is as follows: In the case of teachers of parish schools who may be removed in terms of section 60, the school boards shall have the same powers of granting retiring allowances, and the teachers shall have the same rights to demand retiring allowances, as were vested in heritors and ministers and in parish schoolmasters respectively, by sections 19 and 20 of the Act of 1861.¹ This provision for granting retiring allowances has already been fruitful of disputes between school boards and teachers, and will probably give rise to further litigation in the case of teachers removed for alleged faults, unless the legislature remove all doubt as to the meaning of the statute. The schoolmaster of Whitburn having, on 30th January 1874, been removed from office, claimed before the Court of Session his statutory retiring allowance, which had been refused by the school board; the Lord Ordinary, after examining the grounds on which he was removed, found that his inefficiency arose from want of abilities rather than fault of his own, and decided in his favour. In the case of the schoolmaster of the side parochial school at Logiealmond

¹ § 60, sub-sect. 2.

against the school board of Logiealmond, Lord Young refused the teacher a pension, on the ground that a teacher removed from office as 'incompetent, unfit, and inefficient,' has no legal right thereto; the Act of 1872 has come, according to its author, with regard to granting retiring allowances to old parochial teachers, in the place of the Act of 1861, which authorised pensions only when the teacher became 'disqualified because of infirmity or old age,' but permitted the removal of a teacher who, 'from negligence or inattention, has failed efficiently to discharge his duties,' without any pension.¹ The case having been appealed to the Inner House, the Lord President observed that the Lord Ordinary had omitted to notice that the Education Act of 1872 was a remedial measure, and should therefore be interpreted in a favourable manner; causes of dismissal and liability to loss of office having been multiplied, there ought to be a corresponding extension of the grounds on which a retiring allowance might be granted; if a dismissed teacher were without fault, he had a right to demand a pension; if he were in fault, the school board had still power to grant him a retiring allowance. The Court ordered the school board to 'reconsider their resolution refusing the teacher a retiring allowance, and if they should adhere thereto, to specify in their resolution the ground of such refusal.'² The school board having reconsidered their decision, adhered to it, and specified the teacher's inefficiency (the causes of which are specified) as the ground of their refusal, and the Court being satisfied that these statements were true, dismissed the action. But in this case the Court distinctly held that a schoolmaster dismissed for inefficiency might have a right to demand a retiring allowance, although his case did not fall within the category of old age or infirmity.³

The next case was an action by the schoolmaster of Glenshiel against the school board of the parish, who had dismissed him from office on the ground that he was 'incompetent, unfit, and inefficient,' the result of his intemperate

¹ Scottish Law Reporter, xii., 278.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 469.

habits, neglect, and frequent absence from his duties, etc. The Lord Ordinary decided against the teacher's claim for a retiring allowance, on grounds similar to those set forth in the Logiealmond case—a decision confirmed by the Second Division, but for reasons different from those given in the Logiealmond case.¹ The provision made by the Act for granting retiring allowances to public school teachers appointed after the passing of the Act is illusory and amounts to nothing. Section 61 provides that a school board may permit any teacher of a public school to resign his office upon the condition of receiving a retiring allowance; and the board may award to such teacher such retiring allowance as they shall think fit; always without prejudice to the right under the existing law to a retiring allowance of any teacher appointed under the previous Acts of Parliament.²

There is no person in Scotland who has taken a warm interest in the state of our education, that does not regret that a competent retiring allowance has not been provided for long service. Such a provision, while most proper and just in itself, would immensely facilitate the removal of teachers who have been faithful in the good cause for a sufficient term—servants who have become unfit for the duty of the school through old age—and so improve and elevate the standard of education throughout the country.

¹ Scottish Law Reporter, xii., 473.

² 35 and 36 Vict., c. 62, § 61.

CHAPTER X.—THE MASTER AS A PLURALIST.

§ 1. THE MASTER A READER, PRECENTOR, AND SESSION CLERK.—

§ 2. MINISTER ACTING AS MASTER.—§ 3. SECULAR EMPLOYMENT OF MASTER.—§ 4. MASTER AS PUBLIC ORATOR OR POET.

—§ 5. PLURALITIES CONDEMNED.—§ 6. PLEA FOR PLURALITIES.

§ 1. IN the pre-Reformation times, as shown in the earlier portion of this volume, the rector or master of the school was frequently called upon to discharge various public functions—in some cases not of local interest only, but connected with important national affairs. In the same way, though perhaps not on a platform so highly elevated, the schoolmaster after the Reformation frequently filled more than his own proper office—the most common being those of reader, precentor, and session clerk.

The schoolmaster of Cupar was ordered, in 1564, to read and exhort in the kirk of Cupar;¹ in 1572 the reader or exhorter of the common prayers in Haddington was also master of the school;² in 1595 and 1596 the doctors of the grammar school of Ayr read on Sundays the morning prayers, and also read after the preaching in the forenoon and afternoon;³ in 1604 the master of the grammar school of Paisley 'read the prayers in the Abbey kirk daily';⁴ the schoolmasters of Inverkeithing were readers in 1628 and 1634; and those of Tain in 1620 and 1622;⁵ in 1671 a schoolmaster in Aberdeen read a portion of Scripture with the ordinary prayers, morning and evening, each day in Trinity Chapel.⁶

¹ Booke of the Universall Kirke, 46.

² Burgh Records of Haddington.

³ Burgh Records of Ayr. In 1605 the master is required to read on the Sabbath and on week-days.

⁴ Burgh Records of Paisley. ⁵ Maitland Club Miscellany, ii., 45, 50.

⁶ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

The practice after this time began to slacken, and efforts were required to revive it: for example, in 1703, it being considered a grievance that there are not morning and evening prayers and reading in the church of Banff, every week-day and on Sunday, before the forenoon and afternoon sermons, the council unanimously decern the master of the grammar school to say prayers morning and evening in the church, throughout the 'haill week-days of the year,' between seven and eight in the morning and six and seven at night, on Sabbath and week-days.¹ That the schoolmaster was frequently precentor, as well as reader, is seen from numerous entries: in 1592 a doctor in the grammar school of Haddington was required to take up the psalms in the kirk;² the master of the grammar school of Banff, in 1628, read the prayers and uptook the psalms;³ the schoolmaster of Wigtown, in 1633, was reader, and raised the psalms;⁴ in 1649 the doctor in the grammar school of Paisley was also precentor;⁵ in 1650 and 1677, doctors of the grammar school of Ayr had 'to conceive prayer, read the Scripture, and raise the psalms on Sabbath and week-days;'⁶ in 1689 the schoolmaster of Kirkcudbright was precentor;⁷ in 1748 and 1750 the masters of the grammar schools of Rothesay were precentors in the church of the burgh.⁸ The master, as we have remarked, sometimes discharged the duties of session clerk, in addition to those of reader or precentor, or both combined: thus, in 1573, the doctor in the grammar school of Haddington, besides reading, officiated as clerk in the session;⁹ in 1602 the doctor of the school of Burntisland was uptaker of the psalms, keeper of the kirk records, and reader of the prayers;¹⁰ in 1612 the master of the grammar school of Ayr read in the kirk

¹ Burgh Records of Banff. In 1708 it is enacted that if he fail to read and pray at the appointed hours, the magistrates will 'consider his contempt, and abstract his salary accordingly.'

² Burgh Records of Haddington.

³ Spalding Club Miscellany, ii., 41.

⁴ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁵ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁶ Burgh Records of Haddington.

⁴ Ibid., 50.

⁶ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁸ Burgh Records of Rothesay.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Burntisland.

on Sabbath and week-days, and acted as clerk of session and kirk, attending each session day; he also furnished a 'musitioner,' who took up the psalms;¹ in 1663 the schoolmaster of Pittenweem was precentor and session clerk, and 'did other things incumbent on a schoolmaster';² in 1689 and 1694 doctors of the grammar school of Irvine acted as session clerks and precentors;³ in 1693 and 1696 the schoolmasters of Kirkcudbright were also precentors and 'kirk-clerks';⁴ in 1700 the council of Fortrose delivered to the schoolmaster, as session clerk, the 'church Bible, the register of baptisms and marriages, and the register of the distribution of the mortifications of the poor ones';⁵ in 1767 the council of Greenock promise to use their interest to get the master of their grammar school elected as session clerk of the new church;⁶ the same council, in 1772, wish their English teacher to act as reader or precentor in the new parish church.⁷

§ 2. For some time subsequent to the Reformation the minister was frequently engaged—as was befitting—in teaching the school of the burgh. We learn that on 25th February 1566, Mr Thomas Kinnear, minister of Crail, obliges himself that, though chosen minister of Crail, he will teach the school, provided that he preaches but once in the week, and that he is allowed to have 'honest stipend';⁸ the minister of Hadding-

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

² Burgh Records of Pittenweem. Cf. also under minutes dated 13th April 1663, 2d May 1677, 18th June 1684, 27th February 1692, 19th January 1697, 21st April 1699, 17th June 1704, *et passim*.

³ Burgh Records of Irvine. The South Leith session records furnish an illustration of an opposite character, it being the duty of the precentor and session clerk to write the copies for the children attending the 'hie' school: Campbell's History of Leith, p. 318.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁵ Burgh Records of Fortrose. In 1709 the council, considering the inconveniences arising from the frequent changing of session clerks, who were the successive schoolmasters of the place, and neglected to fill up dates of baptisms and marriages, appoint the town-clerk to be session clerk.

⁶ Burgh Records of Greenock. ⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Burgh Records of Crail.

ton officiated for many years as schoolmaster of the burgh; but in 1576 the town council pray him, because of his great burden in the ministry, to allow them to plant another master in the school, who might 'hallelie' attend to the charge; but they request him to teach the school until another master be provided;¹ in the same year, 1576, the minister of Kirkcudbright was also teacher of the 'schole' of the burgh; in 1578 the town council ratify the 'feing' of Mr James Dodds, minister, as schoolmaster; in 1591 Mr David Blyth, minister, is 'conducit' schoolmaster—John Henryson becoming his 'cautioner that he will do his duty';² in 1582 Mr David Spens, minister of Kirkcaldy, undertakes to teach a grammar school as principal, with a doctor under him; if the number of bairns increase, that the minister's house shall not contain them, the town promises to find a roomy house for the purpose;³ in 1600 the town of Dysart wants a qualified master for the school, and proposes that if the kirk would provide the minister with a helper, who would also undertake to teach the youth of the town, and to read, the council would give him a salary of 100 merks;⁴ Mr David Lindsay, the celebrated Reformer, at first master of the grammar school of Montrose, was rector of the grammar school of Dundee, and minister of St Mary's: in 1606, however, he resigned his office as schoolmaster, because he was not able to discharge both with good conscience.⁵ It was so common for the parish minister to be master of the grammar school of the burgh—teaching adults on the Lord's day, and children on week-days—that in 1587 the convention of royal burghs, being opposed to pluralities, protested against the same person holding in future the offices of minister and schoolmaster.⁶

¹ Burgh Records of Haddington. ² Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

³ Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy. ⁴ Burgh Records of Dysart.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dundee. On the other hand, the schoolmaster sometimes performed the duties of the minister: thus, in 1674, the bishop of Brechin appointed the schoolmaster of Brechin to supply his charge as minister: Black's History of Brechin, 89.

⁶ Record of Convention of Royal Burghs, p. 241.

§ 3. The teacher was now and then employed in duties less elevated and sacred than reading, precenting, clerking, and preaching. In 1581 the schoolmaster of Kinghorn was common clerk of the burgh; and in 1627 and 1628 the doctor was paid for 'guyding and keeping of the clock;' ¹ in 1633 the schoolmaster and the scholars of Linlithgow were appointed to 'walk the marches' of the burgh; ² in 1731 the English schoolmaster of Ayr presents his account 'for dressing and heightening the town clock, and assisting at the bells in July last for several days;' ³ the writing-master of the grammar school, in 1759, conscientiously resigned the office of collector of poors' stent, 'as it had often employed his time, which might have been more usefully spent both for himself and the community.' ⁴ In 1759 the council of Fortrose appointed their schoolmaster collector of the 'æques;' ⁵ and in the following year the teacher of humanity and mathematics in the grammar school of the burgh is appointed commissioner to the convention of royal burghs; ⁶ in 1784 the schoolmaster of Inverurie was depute town-clerk and general writer of dispositions; ⁷ and in 1786 the singing-master of Ayr was keeper of the register of the dead. ⁸

§ 4. The authorities sometimes turned to special use the literary abilities of their teachers, who, on great occasions in the history of the community, were appointed as poets, orators, or historians, to commemorate the important event. Thus, on the arrival of Anne of Denmark as the bride of our James VI., the master of the high school of Edinburgh, Mr Hercules Rollock, a man of letters, offered the queen, 'at the Strait of the Bow,' where the royal procession halted, in the name of the authorities, a hearty welcome to the capital of her new dominions. ⁹ The grammarian, Alexander Home, when

¹ Maitland Club Miscellany, ii., 46.

² Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 115.

³ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁵ Burgh Records of Fortrose.

⁷ Burgh Records of Inverurie.

⁹ Steven's High School, 22.

⁴ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁸ Burgh Records of Ayr.

schoolmaster of Dunbar, was appointed orator to welcome the first return of her husband to Scotland since his accession to the English throne; and at Dunglass Castle, on 13th May 1617, he addressed the king in a magniloquent Latin speech, which is still preserved.¹ We read in the records of another burgh that, on the 22d of September 1601, 'the council of Aberdeen, remembering the labours and travels' of Master Thomas Cargill, master of the grammar school, in making a treatise in Latin congratulating his majesty on his delivery from the Gowrie conspiracy, and containing some memorials of the antiquity and privileges of the burgh, ordain £20 to be paid to him;² the same Mr Thomas received £3 for writing verses in Latin in commendation of my Lord Marischal for erecting the new college in Aberdeen.³ Mr Cargill's worthy successor, Mr David Wedderburne, was taken bound in 1620 by the magistrates and council to 'compose in Latin, both in prose and verse, quhatsumeir purpose or theme concerning the common effairis of the toune, ather at home or afield, as he sal be requyred be any of the magistrattis or clerk, in tyme comeing.'⁴ In 1731 Mr Coldstream, schoolmaster of Crail, translated for the council one of the town charters from Latin to English at 'vast trouble;' the translation being done to the satisfaction of the council, they order 15s. to be given to him as a 'compliment, with hearty thanks over and above.'⁵

§ 5. Zealous patrons of schools naturally regarded with much disfavour occupations not relating to teaching, including the common practice of using the school as a stepping-stone to the ministry—using it for supplying means to qualify for the church—a practice which has done much injury to the welfare of our schools. A few extracts will show how earnestly the councils endeavoured to remedy this evil, and to prevent plurality of offices—an evil which is not yet quite extinct: In 1587 the convention of royal burghs request

¹ Steven's High School, 22.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Crail.

Parliament to pass an Act forbidding masters of the grammar schools in burghs to act as ministers or notaries—occupations which draw them from their ordinary care—or minister to bear the office of schoolmaster.¹ In 1605 and 1612 masters of the grammar school of Ayr become bound not to study theology, or any other art which may prejudice in any way their teaching of the grammar school.² In 1625 and 1642 masters of the grammar school of Stirling promise to devote themselves 'haillilie to the teaching of the grammar school, and not withdraw thairfra' without the licence of the town.³ In 1625, 1634, 1640, and 1649, the masters of the school of Jedburgh obliged themselves 'not to exerceis' the function of minister.⁴ In the same way schoolmasters of Montrose, in 1643 and 1656, engage not to 'exercise, or go to the presbytery, or take to any study.'⁵ In 1638 the master of the grammar school of Cupar was required to abandon the 'exerceis of the presbitry and preaching in any landward kirk.'⁶ The General Assembly, in 1645, ordained visitors of grammar schools to see that the masters be not distracted by any other employments calculated to divert them from their diligent attendance on the schools.⁷ In 1648 the kirk session of Crail appoint Mr William Haggie, master of the grammar school, clerk *pro tempore* to the session, with the condition that the clerkship be not prejudicial to his attendance on the school, or 'occasion any hindrance, distraction, or aberration in his diligent care of instruction in the school;' if it does, the session will appoint another clerk.⁸ In 1702 the council of Dundee, considering that the master and doctors of the grammar school 'exercise ane trade of merchandise which doeth very much hinder their attendance on the school,'

¹ Record of Convention of Royal Burghs, 241.

² Burgh Records of Ayr.

³ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁴ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

⁵ Burgh Records of Montrose.

⁶ Burgh Records of Cupar.

⁷ Acts of General Assembly.

⁸ Session Minute-Book of Crail. This entry, so creditable to the honesty and intelligence of the kirk session, is subscribed 'Ja. Shairp, minister,' who became the famous archbishop of St Andrews.

discharge them of such occupation.¹ In 1711 the council of Dunfermline elect a doctor of the grammar school on condition that he engage in no other business.² In 1716 the schoolmaster of Kirkcudbright becomes bound not to meddle with any other employment that may divert him from his office.³ In 1711 the magistrates of Peebles declare that, if the schoolmaster shall make use of the work of the holy ministry, the council shall deprive him of his office and benefice.⁴ The English teacher of Ayr being, 1738, session clerk, precentor, keeper of the town clocks, and collector of cess, the council resolve to have a new master in respect of his many avocations, which have led to the decay of his school.⁵ In 1770 the council of Kinghorn enact that, in future, no master or doctor may act as clerk to any society in the burgh.⁶ In 1772 the council of Ayr resolve that no person who has any view towards the ministry need offer himself as candidate for the English mastership.⁷ The master of the grammar school of Elgin, in 1793, obliges himself not to enter into holy orders during the existence of the contract;⁸ still nearer our own day the same objection finds record, as in 1815 the same council resolve that the successful candidate for the situation of classical master in the academy shall be bound not to preach, except during the summer month of the vacation;⁹ and in 1844 they advertise for a classical master, who will be restricted from preaching, except during the summer and Christmas holidays.¹⁰

§ 6. The poor schoolmaster was sure to be a candidate for any stray office which became vacant in the burgh—any genteel employment which contributed a little towards his maintenance; indeed, but for the emoluments derived from some of these offices—especially those which he so frequently held in connection with the church,¹¹ his income was so mean

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee.

² Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

³ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁴ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁵ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁶ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁷ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁸ Elgin Case, 35.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ In 1663 the salary of the rector of the grammar school of Dumfries was drawn partly from marriage proclamations, baptisms, and burials :

that, in many cases, it was hardly adequate to supply the necessities of life. If the school patrons—instead of passing acts prohibiting their teachers to engage in any business calculated to divert them from their proper duties—had placed them in easy circumstances, or even beyond the depressing cares of indigence, they would have taken the surest means to promote the virtue, usefulness, and education of their children, the highest interests of the country, and the welfare and happiness of the poor instructor, who, after having toiled at his little school for many years, could not look into the future without much uneasiness and dark forebodings. His income was miserably small; the *res angustæ domi* were becoming more urgent every day—however economically and sparingly he lived; his health was failing, and his strength exhausted; poverty had overtaken him at a time when he was fit for no other work; no superannuation was provided for him by a grateful community; he had no private means, and no windfall ever came his way; he received no perquisites of any kind—nothing, in fact, but the little stipend from the board, which, without terrible struggle, could not make both ends comfortably meet. Who could, in these circumstances, blame the poor teacher for trying to turn an honest penny outside the profession for which he had already made so much sacrifice, and which had not charity enough to stretch out to him a helping hand in his distress? It was an ill-judged economy to deal meanly with those whom we had entrusted with imparting to our children virtuous and useful education.

M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, 502. In 1663 and 1684 the school-master of Pittenweem was paid partly out of the penalties of the session box; in 1692, partly from baptisms, marriages, and other casualties: Burgh Records of Pittenweem. The masters of the burgh schools of Dunbar, in 1721, were paid partly from the kirk session box, and from baptisms and marriages: Burgh Records of Dunbar. The English master of St Andrews, in 1746, was paid from the kirk session, the trades and guildry: Burgh Records of St Andrews. English masters of Dundee, in 1773, were paid from the kirk fabric, from the guildry, from a tax imposed on ale, and from the hospital funds: Burgh Records of Dundee.

CHAPTER XI.—COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

§ 1. PARLIAMENT AND CHURCH ORDAINING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.
—§ 2. ACTS OF COUNCILS COMPELLING ATTENDANCE.—§ 3.
DIFFICULTIES IN ENFORCING COMPULSORY CLAUSES.—§ 4. DE-
FECTS OF THESE CLAUSES.—§ 5. HOW THE CLAUSES ARE EN-
FORCED.—§ 6. COMPULSION NECESSARY.—§ 7. COMPULSION TO
BE EFFECTUAL.—§ 8. OPERATION OF THE CLAUSES.

PARLIAMENT has resolved that 'knowledge shall be increased,' and that 'the million' shall be brought in some way or other to the knowledge of letters; accordingly, the 'schoolmaster is abroad,' and the compulsory officer is met at every corner—in the 'streets and lanes of the city, bringing in the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind,'¹ and it is the solemn duty of every one who loves his country and his fellow-beings to do all that in him lies to compass this great end.

§ 1. The oldest Act on our statute-book relating to education contemplated making school attendance compulsory, at least on the eldest sons and heirs of 'barrenes and freholders,' from the time that they shall be six or nine years of age until 'competentlie founded in Latin and jure.'² It appears from the tenor of this wholesome statute, and from entries in the records of the church courts and of several burghs, that the compulsory clauses in the recent Education Act were not altogether an innovation on the former law and practice of our country. Thus, in the Book of Discipline, drawn up in 1560, it is proposed that all fathers, of whatever estate, shall be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue.³

¹ Luke xiv. 21.

² 1496, c. 3, ii., 238.

³ Works of Knox, ii., 209. Ninian Winzet marvels greatly why at this time [the Reformation] so few children 'are held at the study of any science, and specially of grammar:' 'Tractatis,' p. 27 (Maitland Club).

The kirk session of Anstruther, towards the end of the sixteenth century, urged the education of the youth with no less zeal: in 1595 the youth of Anstruther are ordered to attend the school, and it is provided that such as are too poor shall be taught at the common expense; they who are able to maintain their children at school are commanded to send them thereto, that they may be brought up in the fear of God and in virtue; those who refuse shall be called before the session and admonished of their duty, and if after admonition they do not mend, there shall be exacted from them the quarterly payments for their children, 'and ane dewetie for the dayes meat, as it shall com aboot onto them, whether they put their bairnes to the schooll or not;' it is also provided that no poor children shall receive alms unless they attend the school, but as many of the 'puir' as attend shall have three hours daily for seeking their meat through the town—from nine to ten A.M., from twelve to one, and from six o'clock furth; the inhabitants are desired to help only such as give themselves to virtue; as for the others, they shall 'deal lyardly with them to drive them to seik efter vertue;' ¹ in the year following it is ordained that every man within the town who has bairns shall send them to the school, the session paying five shillings quarterly to the schoolmaster 'for as many of the poor as has ingyne.' ² The arrangement made by the kirk session of Anstruther for educating poor children—children belonging to the substratum of society—appears to have been greatly in advance of that provided for the same class by the Education Act; their fees are not only to be paid without question—and it is important to note, that by the ancient custom of Scotland careful preparation was made for teaching poor children *gratis*—but the most necessary provision of all is not overlooked, supplying the destitute children with food.

§ 2. In illustration of the same subject, let us quote a few acts of council from the records of different burghs in order to show that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

¹ Kirk Session Records of Anstruther.

² Ibid.

the municipal authorities, as well as Parliament and the church, brought some degree of pressure on parents to educate their children. In 1628 the town council of Cupar ordain all neighbours of the burgh to present their bairns to the school 'to-morrow morning before eight o'clock;'¹ and in 1664 the practice of compulsion is regarded by the same council as an existing rule: considering, they say, how much they are bounden in duty and conscience to attend to the education of the children in this burgh, they confirm all former acts ordaining parents to send their children to school, and by this act statute that all parents send their children to the grammar school who are past the age of eight years; each person transgressing this act shall pay £5 Scots quarterly for each child absent from school, the money to be employed for the use of the poor.² The following extract from the same records resembles the measures adopted in our own day to enforce the compulsory clauses: in 1677, it being represented to the council that there are several young boys in the town, of whom a fourth is not at school, although there are many acts of council commanding them to attend, the magistrates undertake to cause defaulting parents to send their children to school, according to the former acts of council, as soon as the session send them a list of absentees.³ In 1637 all the inhabitants of Peebles who have children fit for school are ordered to send them thereto *primo quoque tempore*, under penalty of ten merks, conform to a roll delivered to William Melrose;⁴ in 1653 the inhabitants of the burgh promise to send their male children capable of learning to school, trade, or craft, within the next forty-eight hours, under pain of being held liable for their future misdemeanours, the parents who can afford it paying quarterly fees;⁵ in the following year, the council undertake to execute the acts formerly made against those who neglect to send their children to school, and to uplift the penalties for the use of the teachers;⁶ in 1656

¹ Burgh Records of Cupar.² Ibid.³ Ibid.⁴ Burgh Records of Peebles.⁵ Ibid.⁶ Ibid.

the town officer was ordered to go through the town and cause all parents who have any male children to send them to school within twenty-four hours, under the certification contained in the former acts;¹ in 1688 all persons in the burgh who have children capable of learning are commanded to send them to school, under pain of being liable for their quarter fees; whoever are not able to pay the fees, the magistrates shall order the master to teach them *gratis*.² At the head court of Jedburgh, in 1641, it was ordained that all having bairns outwith seven years of age, and able to maintain them at school, shall send them thereto immediately;³ in 1643 it was ordained 'that every honest man or woman that has bairns past six years old send them to the school, under pain of £5, and punishment of their person';⁴ in 1656 the council ordain that parents having children from six to fourteen years old who ought to be at school and are not, shall be liable to the schoolmaster for their quarter's payment as if they had been pupils;⁵ and the master undertakes to teach the poor scholars *gratis*, on producing the certificate from the minister, magistrates, and elders, that their parents are not able to pay their fees.⁶

In 1643 the brethren of the presbytery of Lanark promise to the bailies of the town to deal seriously with their parishioners 'for keeping of the school'.⁷ In the years 1649, 1662, 1698, and 1727 respectively, the town council of Stirling passed acts ordaining all male children in the burgh above six years of age to be sent, under penalties, to the grammar school.⁸ In 1675 the provost, bailies, and council of Rutherglen, considering the great carelessness and neglect of duty of divers parents by not keeping their children at school, so that

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² Ibid. For payment of fees of poor scholars, see *supra*, p. 81, and *infra*, under Fees and Salaries.

³ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

⁴ Ibid. The same ordinance was repeated annually till 1648, also in 1652, 1653, 1657, and 1661.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Presbytery Records of Lanark.

⁸ Burgh Records of Stirling.

they might become fit and useful instruments both for kirk and kingdom, statute that all the inhabitants of the burgh from henceforth shall send their children between six and twelve years of age to the common school; with this certification that whoever neglects to do so shall pay the quarter wages used and accustomed to the schoolmaster, as if their children were at the school, and for that effect order the officers of the burgh, upon a list subscribed and delivered to them by the schoolmaster, without any further orders, to charge all such persons as shall be given up in the list to make payment to the schoolmaster of all bygone quarter wages then due from Candlemas last, as if their children had been at the school; in case of refusal, the officers shall immediately poind and distrain the readiest goods and gear of defaulting parents; if the officers find no goods 'streinzieable,' they shall apprehend the defaulters and commit them to the tolbooth, 'thairin to remayne ay and quhill payment be made;' the act shall stand, it is added, in force in all time coming, and intimation is ordered to be made 'heirof by towk of drum throw the toun.'¹ The following entry in the minutes of the town council of Dunbar, dated 1706, also refers to an existing law by which the inhabitants were compelled to send their children to school: At this date, the council having considered an act, dated 18th January 1677, with regard to parents keeping their children from school, ratify and renew that act, and ordain it to be made public that none pretend ignorance.²

These acts of Parliament, church courts, and town councils—of which more might be quoted—are of great value to the student of education, as showing the zeal with which the little local parliaments endeavoured to promote education from the Reformation to the Union of England and Scotland in 1707. From the Union to the passing of the Reform Act, there appears to have been less zeal or activity than in the pre-

¹ Burgh Records of Rutherglen.

² Burgh Records of Dunbar. Unfortunately the former act of council has not been engrossed in the council minute-book.

vious century on the part of the municipal authorities in requiring the youth to take advantage of the public schools established in the burghs. Several attempts have been made during the last twenty years¹ to devise a national scheme of education, but it was only in 1872 that a measure was passed which was really national, though its most important feature—the compulsory clause—can hardly be said to be a novelty unknown to the former law and practice of Scotland. The two principles on which the Education Act is founded are provision for the education of every child of school age in the country, and compulsion on every² child to take advantage of the education thus provided.³ Section 69 ordains that every parent shall provide elementary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic, for his children between five and thirteen years of age. Section 70 provides that defaulting parents may be prosecuted by the procurator-fiscal, on failure to comply with the above provision of the Act, on a certificate from the board.⁴

§ 3. Many difficulties—serious difficulties—are being experienced by school boards in enforcing the compulsory clauses: they feel that it would be harsh to take extreme measures against poor but honest parents who require the assistance of their children at some season in order to prevent them from becoming chargeable on the poor-rates; in dealing, for instance, with a child who is kept at home in order to take care of younger children whose parent, perhaps a widow, is working hard outside to obtain a livelihood for her helpless offspring. Again, it is not easy for school boards to enforce strictly the compulsory clause when young children are far from school, unprovided with shoes

¹ Five bills were introduced into Parliament on education between 1854 and 1870, and only the Act of 1861 (which is repealed by that of 1872) was carried.

² Except 'half-timers,' who appear to be at present exempted from the operation of the clause.

³ Second Report of Scotch Board of Education, p. xxiv.

⁴ 35 and 36 Vict., c. 69.

and clothes, especially in winter, or perhaps are not enjoying good health: cases in which parents—decent parents—cannot well afford to feed, clothe, and educate their children. For such cases section 69 of the Act endeavours to provide a remedy by ordaining that when the parents are unable to pay the school fees, they shall apply to the parochial board, whose duty it shall be to pay out of the poor fund the ordinary fees for the elementary education of every such child. At particular times of the year great difficulty is experienced in compelling school attendance in the rural districts, *e.g.*, during the herding season, which lasts six months, and the turnip-hoeing and potato-raising seasons, which last a few weeks; the enforced attendance of children during these seasons has given rise to great complaints on the part of parents and farmers, who require the labour of young people, but on these occasions the boards, we believe, endeavour to enforce the clauses—clauses which in many instances are useless, unnecessary, harsh, and oppressive—with as much toleration as is consistent with their duties under the Act.

§ 4. The remedy provided by the Act for paying the fees for the elementary education of poor children does not in practice work well, and falls far short of the necessity of particular cases: thus when poor parents apply to the parochial board for allowance for clothes, the board often refuse because the parents are not paupers; and the want of shoes and clothes prevents the children of many parents from attending school, especially in winter, however anxious they may be to send them to school. The Act appears to be defective in constituting the parochial boards the only judges of the parents' claim to assistance, for which in 1874, 3139 poor petitioners applied in terms of this section, but of that number 1051 were refused the help prayed for.¹ School boards find that when questions of ability to pay school fees arise between themselves and the parochial boards, the effect in practice is that such cases are shelved, the education of poor children being in the meantime neglected. It would assist the school boards to

¹ Second Report of Board of Education for Scotland, p. xxviii.

carry out the provisions of these clauses if they had the power of relieving poor parents of payment of school fees in whole or in part; and it would be well for the cause of education if other parochial boards followed the liberal example set by that of Dingwall, which gives to each of the principal teachers of the two public schools £10 a year for the education of poor children. The clauses, as they now stand, are also defective in having made no provision to prevent irregular attendance—one of the greatest difficulties with which boards have to contend, it being difficult, if not impossible, to get children sent to school under pressure to attend continuously or regularly. Shakespeare's picture remains true to nature—

‘The whining schoolboy, with his satchel,
And shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school.’

§ 5. Persuasion, threats, visitations, remonstrances, issuing of notices, and the summoning of parents before the board, are the means by which defaulting children are enrolled, and thereafter induced to attend with more or less of regularity. When all these methods fail, recourse is had to prosecution, of which during 1874 there have been only in Scotland 156—viz., 155 parents and one employer—and 110 convictions were obtained at an average cost of nearly £1, 13s. 4d. for each case. It may be added that during the year ending 31st December 1874, no summonses have been issued against parent or employer in Orkney and Nairnshire, and there have been no prosecutions in the counties of Shetland, Orkney, Caithness, Sutherland, Inverness, Nairn, Elgin, Kincardine, Kinross, Haddington, Peebles, and Dumfries. The heavy cost of prosecutions, at present conducted by the procurator-fiscal in the sheriff-courts, greatly deters boards from prosecuting defaulters, and the Board of Education for Scotland recommend that the failure to send a child to school should be summarily dealt with in the police courts in burghs, and in counties in the justice of peace courts—which could be done at a trifling cost. In some places there

is no compulsory officer, the members of the board, the clergy, and others, undertaking the duty of that functionary, and making periodical visits throughout their jurisdiction to induce defaulting parents to send their children to school.

§ 6. The necessity for compulsory education in our large towns—towns which are growing to an unnatural size and becoming every day more ignorant and corrupt in consequence of a rapidly increasing mining and manufacturing population—is admitted by all thinking people; but in rural districts the parish schools—the greatest institution of which Scottish history can boast—have done the work for which they were established so completely, that ‘down to a very recent period scarcely a single individual of mature age could be found in the lowland parishes who was unable to read.’¹ In the rural parishes where parents, as a rule, are willing to make any sacrifice to give education to their children, there was less necessity—if indeed any at all—for the compulsory provisions of the Act, but even here the clauses will be productive of good; though it seems advisable that they should be carried out in the country with even more forbearance than in towns.

§ 7. The activity of the school boards in carrying out the compulsory clauses, which has been more or less considerable in every town and parish of Scotland, has greatly increased school attendance throughout the country, but the deficiency of school accommodation is everywhere—especially in rural districts—a great barrier to the enforcement of compulsory education;² and it may safely be asserted that until provision is made for supplying clothing and food, as well as the fees of poor children, otherwise than through the parochial boards, the school boards can never properly give effect to this important feature of the Education Act for Scotland—a feature wanting in its integrity in that carried for England.

¹ Second Report of Scotch Education Board, p. xxv.

² Report of Board of Education, pp. xxiv.-xxvii., and 139-153.

§ 8. Operation of Clauses for the Year ending 1874.

County.	No. of Summons- es Issued by School Board.	No. of Prosecu- tions of		No. of Convic- tions of		Total Cost of Prosecutions.	Number of Parents who have applied to Parochial Board, and to whom relief has been	
		Parents.	Em- ployers.	Parents.	Em- ployers.		Granted.	Refused.
						£ s. d.		
Shetland . . .	34	...	...	...	...	...	14	15
Orkney . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	1
Caithness . . .	207	...	...	...	...	...	51	29
Sutherland . . .	75	...	...	...	...	...	12	14
Ross and Cromarty	97	6	...	5	...	*	42	35
Inverness . . .	111	...	...	...	...	...	13	16
Nairn . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	2
Elgin . . .	32	...	...	...	...	...	40	10
Banff . . .	521	2	...	1	...	2 13 8	114	50
Aberdeen . . .	95	1	...	1	...	6 8 2½	266	138
Kincardine . . .	5	...	...	...	...	...	20	15
Forfar . . .	327	14	...	12	...	12 18 5	102	68
Perth . . .	329	4	1	3	1	1 0 0	124	31
Fife . . .	183	4	...	...	...	3 13 1	62	9
Kinross . . .	8	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Clackmannan . . .	30	3	...	3	...	5 16 0	18	4
Stirling . . .	138	2	...	...	...	...	60	17
Dumbarton . . .	81	4	...	3	...	12 7 2	81	63
Argyll . . .	249	15	...	8	...	*	61	28
Bute . . .	155	6	...	4	...	*	13	4
Renfrew . . .	574	22	...	20	...	55 17 2	180	97
Ayr . . .	751	7	...	5	...	28 5 1	199	62
Lanark . . .	1356	49	...	38	...	101 8 8	99	49
Linlithgow . . .	33	1	...	...	...	...	35	11
Edinburgh . . .	323	8	...	2	...	16 7 9	191	103
Haddington . . .	81	...	...	...	...	...	27	15
Berwick . . .	41	1	...	...	...	1 18 9	20	11
Peebles . . .	17	...	...	...	...	...	3	1
Selkirk . . .	31	2	...	2	...	...	1	10
Roxburgh . . .	160	2	...	1	...	5 18 2	15	19
Dumfries . . .	52	...	...	...	...	...	63	17
Kirkcudbright . . .	76	1	...	...	...	2 5 0	49	9
Wigtown . . .	170	1	...	1	...	2 12 0	94	98
TOTAL, . . .	6342	155	1	109	1	259 9 1½	2088	1051

* Accounts not rendered.

CHAPTER XII.—FORMS OF SCHOOL GOVERNMENT.

§ 1. FORMS OF SCHOOL GOVERNMENT.—§ 2. TEACHERS NOMINATED BY MASTERS, WITH APPROVAL OF COUNCIL.—§ 3. TEACHERS APPOINTED BY COUNCIL, WITH CONSENT OF MASTERS.—§ 4. TEACHERS APPOINTED BY THE MASTERS ALONE.—§ 5. GOVERNMENT ABSOLUTE.—§ 6. GOVERNMENT CONSTITUTIONAL.—§ 7. GOVERNMENT REPUBLICAN.—§ 8. DIFFERENT SYSTEMS COMPARED.

§ 1. WHICH is the most perfect form of government for a school containing departments taught by more than one teacher? Should the form of school government be absolute, limited, or republican? In other words, should the school superintendent be absolute, like the English rector, or should he have limited powers only; or again, should all the headmasters of departments be made equal—each supreme under the patrons in his own class-room, and only responsible to them? Each of these forms of government prevailed of old, and still prevails, in the schools; each has been tried perhaps more than once in the leading schools, and set aside in favour of some other form, perhaps the one last superseded.

§ 2. The old patrons of the school generally appear to have favoured monarchy—government by one master—and it was a natural consequence that they should allow the master to nominate his assistants, or to have some voice in their appointment: thus, in 1600, the master of the grammar school of Glasgow undertakes to furnish a doctor, who shall be presented to the council for approval.¹ In 1627 the schoolmaster of Peebles having presented John Dunlop to be doctor under him, and his qualifications having been tested, the council receive him into office.² In 1633 the master of the grammar school

¹ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

² Burgh Records of Peebles.

of Perth was authorised to elect his own doctors, but it was stipulated that he must present them to the council, to 'heir their iust exceptionis, seeing they most pay their stipendis.'¹ In 1703 the master of the grammar school of Paisley appointed his doctor with the sanction of the council.² From the year 1749 the assistants in the grammar school of Wigtown were appointed by the masters, with the approval of the council.³ In 1781 the master of the grammar school of Kirkcudbright was authorised to appoint two ushers, subject to the approval of the council;⁴ in 1792 the same council enact that the English usher shall be admitted only with their consent.⁵ In 1786 the council of Banff recommend the rector to get 'proper ushers,' and they, being satisfied with his choice, authorise him to employ them.⁶ Appointments similar to the foregoing are still made: the teachers in the Bathgate academy appoint their own assistants, subject to the approval of the trustees.⁷ In the high school of Stirling the assistants are appointed by the masters, with the sanction of the council;⁸ and in the Tain academy the teachers have been appointed since 1861 by the rector, subject to the approval of the directors.⁹ The inference is that, in all this class of appointments, the managers hold the masters answerable for the conduct of their assistants; but the record in one instance only (at Perth in 1633) fastens responsibility upon the rector. If the masters were held wholly responsible by the council for the results of the school as a whole, they had probably the power of dismissing as well as nominating their assistants; but it is impossible to say whether they could exercise that power without obtaining the sanction of the council.

¹ Burgh Records of Perth.

² Burgh Records of Paisley. In Paisley the doctors, as a rule, were appointed by the council, but sometimes the schoolmasters were allowed to choose, subject to the approval of the council.

³ Burgh Records of Wigtown, *et passim*.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁷ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 362.

⁸ Ibid., 596.

⁹ Ibid., 600.

§ 3. On the other hand, the school managers frequently appointed the under teachers after taking counsel of the master, and obtaining his approval or consent: in 1612 the council of Stirling admit a doctor in the grammar school who had been presented in name of the master;¹ in 1645 the council appoint a doctor with consent of the master.² In the following year, the council of Jedburgh, with consent of the master, nominate a doctor.³ In 1763 the council of Kinghorn reserve to themselves the power of electing a doctor, he being recommended by the master.⁴ In 1802 the council of Forfar enact that they shall appoint an assistant, on the recommendation of the master.⁵ In 1821 it was agreed that the assistant of the master of the united burgh and parochial school of Crail should be elected on the recommendation of the rector.⁶ At present the teachers in Dumbarton burgh academy are appointed by the council on the recommendation of the rector.⁷ The powers of the head-master, with regard to teachers appointed by the council with his sanction, do not appear, but probably they were more limited than in the case of those selected by himself with the approval of the council; and if his powers were more limited, his responsibility for the result of the school as a whole was also probably limited in the same proportion.

§ 4. Again, there are cases in which the councils left the appointments of the assistants to the head-master, without exercising any interference with his choice: as the minister of Kirkcaldy, who was principal of the burgh school shortly after the Reformation, was allowed to elect his own doctor, 'for quhome he sall anser.'⁸ In 1611 the master of the high school of Edinburgh undertakes to procure four doctors in the school, for whom he shall be responsible.⁹ In 1695 the master of the grammar school of Paisley was authorised to choose his

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling. ² Ibid. ³ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kinghorn. ⁵ Burgh Records of Forfar.

⁶ Municipal Corporations Report, i., 158.

⁷ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 418.

⁸ Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy. ⁹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

own doctor.¹ Because of complaints made against the doctors of the grammar school of Stirling, the council authorise the master to nominate his assistants, he being answerable.² At the Elgin academy, the assistant teachers were chosen by the three principal teachers, so as to prevent the choice of an assistant from friendship or relation in preference to acquirements, and in order to divide the responsibility, thereby lessening it to the employer.³ The magistrates of Campbeltown state, in 1835, that they think it better to leave the privilege and responsibility of appointing the assistant with the rector.⁴ The custom of wholly entrusting the master with the election of his assistants has almost died out in Scotland; we find it only at the Forres academy,⁵ and at the Fraserburgh academy, where the teachers choose their own assistants.⁶ In relation to this class of teachers—those appointed entirely by the master—the head-master would seem to be absolute, having the power of dismissing as well as appointing them. The council deal with the master alone, the other teachers having no *locus standi* whatever in the eyes of the employers or the public.

§ 5. We have not found that the powers of the masters, or the duties of the assistants, were defined in the instances of appointments referred to. Our next duty is to cite cases in which the relative powers of the teachers are defined with more or less precision. The school managers appear to have invested the head-masters with extensive powers in the following examples: The doctor of the grammar school of Haddington, in 1592, promises to obey the master as becomes a doctor;⁷ in 1613 a doctor in the grammar school of Stirling binds himself to observe the directions given to him by the master;⁸ in

¹ Burgh Records of Paisley.

² Burgh Records of Stirling.

³ Session Papers, 541, pp. 51, 83.

⁴ Municipal Corporations Report, i., 150.

⁵ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 465. ⁶ Ibid., 469.

⁷ Burgh Records of Haddington.

⁸ Burgh Records of Stirling. The tenure of the doctor's office was also in the master's power; thus a doctor engages, in 1613, to serve the town for six months, 'and longer, during the pleasure of the council,

1615 a principal doctor is employed to teach such classes as the master shall allot;¹ in 1620 a teacher of English and music in the grammar school promises to be always subject and obedient to the master;² in 1631 a doctor in the grammar school undertakes to be 'obedient to the master in all his directions.'³ The writing and arithmetic master in the grammar school of Aberdeen promises, in 1628, to be faithful to the master and his doctors in all points, and particularly to be governed by the master;⁴ in 1633 the second doctor of the grammar school is declared to be liable to the master's admonition as the other doctor, obeying him in doctrine and discipline, and in all other things concerning the weal of the school.⁵ The council of St Andrews ordain, in 1714, the doctor of the grammar school to be subject to the master in all things.⁶ The council of Dunbar, considering, in 1726, the great decline of the burgh schools, the principal cause being their constitution, whereby there are two collegiate masters who have the same powers, resolve that the constitution be altered into such other plan as shall be afterwards decided; in the following year they appointed a principal master.⁷ In 1763 the council of Kinghorn resolve that, in case the doctor shall become remiss or negligent, the master may dismiss him at pleasure.⁸ The council of Banff, being of opinion, in 1780, that it may tend to the better improvement of youth to put the grammar school and the school for writing, arithmetic, and mathematics, under charge of one master, appoint a head-master and an assistant master.⁹ In 1781 the council of Kirkcudbright, satisfied of the inutility of having three masters separate from, and independent of, each other, resolve to have a master who shall have charge of the three and direction and will of the master.' In 1617 Mr John Row is appointed doctor for a year, 'and further, enduring the will of the master;' in 1618 his successor is appointed on the same terms: Ibid.

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling.² Ibid.³ Ibid.⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.⁵ Ibid.⁶ Burgh Records of St Andrews.⁷ Burgh Records of Dunbar.⁸ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.⁹ Burgh Records of Banff.

schools, with two helpers under him.¹ In 1786 the council of Banff appointed a rector, he having qualified assistants; the council recommend that, as it is only meant he should have the superintendence and direction, he should lay down such rules with respect to teaching, management, and government of the schools, as he and his assistants shall think prudent.² Leaving the records and coming down to our own day, we find that, at Fochabers free school, the teachers must carry out the rules laid down by the master.³ In the Forres academy the teachers are entirely under the control of the head-master.⁴ In the Greenock academy the assistants are under the respective masters, the whole being responsible to the rector, and he to the directors.⁵ In the Hamilton academy the teachers are subordinate to the rector, who formerly appointed them.⁶ In the Lanark burgh school the assistants hold their appointment subject to the head-master.⁷ The teachers in the high school of Leith are appointed and dismissible by the rector.⁸ In these different instances the patrons delegate their wishes and authority to one person—the master—who, in virtue of his commission, is for the time ruler of the institution.

§ 6. In another group of schools the patrons have not divested themselves to the same extent of their management as apparently they did in the last class. They simply appoint a president under themselves with limited powers to administer the school laws and to carry out their plans and orders; but they continue themselves as the executive, and may or may not give effect to the recommendation of their rector. In 1598 the fourth regent in the high school of Edinburgh was appointed principal—vested with the oversight of the other regents in matters of attendance, teaching, and discipline, but received no powers to compel the other regents to obey his instructions;⁹ the act of 1598 was ratified in 1710, with the

¹ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

² Burgh Records of Banff.

³ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 453.

⁴ Ibid., 465.

⁵ Ibid., 482.

⁶ Ibid., 491.

⁷ Ibid., 514.

⁸ Ibid., 516.

⁹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh. The powers of the master are not

addition that, if any of the masters neglect his duty, perform it superficially, or observe not a prudent course of discipline and good order, the rector shall admonish him privately for the first time; for the second, before all the colleagues; and, if he regard not that, report him to the council.¹ The powers of the masters of the grammar school of Aberdeen do not appear to have been much more extensive; it was the duty of the master, in 1631, to 'teach the high class, having the inspection and oversight of the rest';² in 1676 the council ordained one of the under masters to teach the class formerly taught by the principal, in addition to his own class, and to have authority over the other masters and scholars, they obeying him thereanent;³ but in these two instances the head-master appears to have had only constitutional powers. In the following extract the powers of the rector were in name only: the master of the grammar school of Perth, in 1679, shall 'have no superiority over the doctors, but only priority';⁴ he shall be *primus in paribus*. The duties of the rector of the Elgin academy, in 1791, consisted in visiting the different classes, and reporting their state to the directors.⁵ There are still head-masters in most of our important schools, but they possess, as of old, limited powers only: The rector of the grammar school of New Aberdeen superintends the other teachers, but they are practically independent.⁶ For the most part the masters in the Ayr academy are independent of the rector.⁷ The teachers in the Dollar institution act under the head-master, but they may appeal against his authority.⁸ The teachers in the Dumbarton burgh

really so large as they look in the act of council passed in 1630, when they forbid the master to 'input any doctor but such as shall be presented by the council,' but authorise him to depose any of them on misdeemeanour, notifying, however, the same to the council, and the reasons why he deprives them: Ibid.

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Report on Burgh Schools, i., 24.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Burgh Records of Perth.

⁵ Session Papers, No. 541, p. 24.

⁶ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., p. 337.

⁷ Ibid., 353.

⁸ Ibid., 405.

academy are subject to the rector, with the approval of the town council.¹ The head-master of Edinburgh high school can only report on the other masters,² just like his predecessors in 1710, and probably in 1598. In the high school of Stirling the teachers are not, except in a very limited sense, subject to the rector.³

The propriety of the old method adopted by the authorities to promote or compel harmony, and to discover the respective shortcomings of this class of teachers—those who had not equal rank, or were not absolutely subordinated to the head-master—appears somewhat questionable: thus in 1630 the council of Edinburgh resolved that, at the end of the annual visitation of the high school, the visitors 'sall remove first the maister, and trye if anything can be found against him; then the doctors, and tryell sall be taken what the maister or any other has to say against them, or any one of them; and this forme to be observit yeirlie in all tyme coming.'⁴ In 1709 the visitors of the high school, considering the great decay of the school, called the masters and doctors before them; having removed the doctors and interrogated the master whether or not the decay of the school proceeded from the negligence or insufficiency of the doctors, he answered, that so far as he knew, the doctors did duly attend in the discharge of their duty, and that the decay proceeded from the great number of private schools in the town; thereafter the doctors were called in, and the master removed, and they, being also interrogated whence the decay of the school proceeded, said that it was from the number of private schools; whereupon the master was called in, and all were exhorted to a faithful and conscientious discharge of their respective duties.⁵ The only other grammar school in which this invidious practice prevailed, appears to have been that of Aberdeen; in 1765, on the occasion of a visitation of the grammar school, the three doctors of the school being called in, the master declares he has

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 419.

² Ibid., 448.

³ Ibid., 596.

⁴ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁵ Ibid.

no complaint against any of them; on the other hand, they had nothing to lay before the visitors, and the whole masters declare they live in harmony with one another.¹ The same practice continued till the end of last century at Aberdeen, where the masters were requested to state anything they knew against one another in presence even of the boys. In reference to this custom Dr Adam, of the high school of Edinburgh, writes to the rector of the grammar school of Aberdeen: 'What is said might do very well for private advice; but there seems no necessity for publishing it to the boys; and I cannot see the propriety of solemnly interrogating you in their presence, how far these regulations have been strictly observed or not during the preceding year. Whatever tends to diminish the authority of a teacher in the eyes of his scholars, as this proposal seems to do, is surely hurtful.'²

§ 7. The last order of school government is republican in its character; there is no rector even in name; all the masters are equal, having co-ordinate powers and authority: for example, in 1602 two persons were appointed joint masters of the grammar school of Aberdeen with equal rank and powers.³ In 1725 the council of Paisley tried the plan of having two joint masters for the grammar school, instead of a doctor and a master as usual;⁴ the joint mastership lasted twenty-five years, but the system was not again revived. In 1782 the council of Glasgow abolished the office of rector in the grammar school, and ordained that the business of the rector, viz., presiding in the common hall, directing the discipline of the school, and regulating the method of study, should in future be conducted by the four masters all in common, with equal rank, authority, and salaries, the master of the oldest class for the time being to have the casting vote.⁵ In 1785

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Report on Burgh Schools, i., 25.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁵ Burgh Records of Glasgow. The rector had a general superintendence—like the rectors of Edinburgh and Aberdeen—over masters till 1782. The office of rector was re-established in 1816 in name only, but finally abolished in 1830.

the council of Dumbarton appoint two persons as joint teachers in the grammar school, declaring that the salary and emoluments shall be divided equally between them;¹ in 1789 the council, being satisfied that it is proper to alter the system on which the last appointment of the teachers proceeded, resolve in future to have one person to act as rector, and another as usher;² but on 7th June following, a committee of the council having been appointed to deliberate whether there should be two joint teachers or a rector and usher, report, on 16th July, that they are unanimously of opinion that it is much better to have two well-qualified teachers in the public school, having equal salaries and emoluments; the closest co-partnery should exist between them in public and private teaching, the proceeds equally divided, and all misunderstandings to be determined by the magistrates.³ Accordingly, on 22d July, the town council having elected two joint masters, require them 'to teach together as much as possible at all times, and to have the same salary.'⁴ In some important schools, including one or two of our largest, there are at present no head-masters: thus in the Dundee high school the masters are of equal authority, and independent of each other;⁵ in the high school of Glasgow each department is independent of the other;⁶ in the Elgin academy there is no head-master;⁷ nor in the Kirkcudbright academy, though there is a 'rector';⁸ nor in the Forfar academy.⁹

§ 8. The prosperity, life, and harmonious working of the school depend greatly on its form of government. We find the school at one time full and prosperous, at another time decaying and almost extinct; at one time the glory of the little community, at another time its reproach. From the extracts cited, it appears that the authorities frequently removed the schoolmaster from office,¹⁰ or sometimes altered the form of government, in order to retrieve the character of the school;

¹ Burgh Records of Dumbarton. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 425. ⁶ Ibid., 471. ⁷ Ibid., 449.

⁸ Ibid., 505. ⁹ Ibid., 460. ¹⁰ *Supra*, Chapter VIII., § 3.

but it does not appear that they had fixed on a particular form of government as the most perfect in all time coming—having perhaps learned from experience that the most suitable at one time was a failure under different circumstances. The despotic government appears to have prevailed chiefly in that class of schools in which all the branches, including classics, were originally taught by one master, who required, in course of time, a doctor, one or more, to assist him in the general work of the school. In the grammar schools proper—those in which *ars grammatica* alone was taught—the rector was generally master in a limited way; but if the grammar school was converted into an academy, other departments became of importance as well as classics, and the masters gradually became independent of one another, and acquired something like co-ordinate authority. It does not appear that in any important school in Scotland the head-master was for any length of time emphatically rector—having the direct management of the classes and entire control over the school, with the power of appointing and dismissing the masters; the authorities may have been of opinion—an opinion, perhaps, founded on experience—that it was not the safest system to entrust one man in every instance with absolute powers over a great school.

Managers of schools, educationists, and teachers are, we believe, still divided in opinion with regard to the form of government best calculated to promote the prosperity of the school. The arguments usually advanced in favour of masters having equal powers and rank are: When each teacher works for his own department, he is likely to be actuated with greater zeal than when he is part of a general system or machine; in schools where the head-masters of the different departments are equal, though one of them may be inefficient the rest may be good, and the school does not altogether suffer, as it would under an inefficient rector. The most prevalent form of school government in Scotland—one in keeping with the character of our civil government—is a kind of constitutionalism by which the rector exercises some

degree of supervision over the other masters and scholars, the extent of which is seldom defined. When every department of the school is successful, the position of the constitutional rector is pleasant enough, but if unsuccessful, what can he do to improve matters? He can only report to the patrons, who may, or may not, act on his advice; and in practice it is found that he has not sufficient power to manage and superintend the school, and that in point of fact he is powerless outside his own class. The form of school government that appears best calculated to secure harmony among the teachers and promote uniformity of teaching in the school is when the rector is absolute—entire manager of the school, with power to appoint and dismiss teachers—and the sole channel of communication between the school and the school board. The objections to this form of government are, that as everything depends on the rector, if he proves inefficient, or perverts his power, the school will be ruined, and that the system is calculated to suppress the individuality of a teacher—one of the great aims of education. Every good and competent teacher should be left to follow his own way independent of the head-master. The burgh school commissioners recommended, in 1868, that there should be a rector higher than the other masters, with entire control over the school, including the appointment and dismissal of the teachers.¹

It is generally admitted that in every school consisting of departments there should be a head-master, in order to give unity and representation to the institution. The difficult problem to solve is how to give him sufficient powers—powers larger than he usually has at present—without humbling or depressing his colleagues, each of whom may be as good, true, and efficient as himself. The rector, it would seem, ought to be the chief, if not the only, organ of communication between the school and the board, to which he should be responsible for the general discipline of the school—it being part of his duty to report to the managers, periodically, whether the school laws are faithfully obeyed—whether every person on

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, 91-108.

the staff properly discharges his duty by carrying out the legislation passed for the government of the school. A master with such duties must be invested with a general charge or superintendence over his colleagues—visiting their classes at any time he pleases, but without having the direct management of them. The rector should interfere as little as possible with the other masters—if competent masters—who ought to be absolutely allowed to teach after their own method, being answerable only to the board, directly, or, still better, indirectly, through the head-master in all matters specially relating to their own department. There will require to be an intimate relation between the head-master and the board, which should take no important step without consulting him, interfering as little as possible with his system of administration. The proper duties of the board consist in deliberating as to the varying educational requirements of the district, in legislating when necessary, in auditing the accounts, and in appointing teachers—the last duty being their most important function of all. Many good teachers are of opinion that if the school be under proper superintendence—under an efficient board—the relation of the masters to one another is not a matter of great importance, and that it is only necessary that there should be powerful authority somewhere.¹

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 211.

CHAPTER XIII.—STUDIES IN THE SCHOOLS.

§ 1. *ARS GRAMMATICA*: EXTENT; QUANTITY AND QUALITY; CURRICULUM; PROMOTION; GRAMMARIANS AND GRAMMARS. — § 2. MUSIC.—§ 3. ENGLISH AND WRITING.—§ 4. GEOGRAPHY.—§ 5. ARITHMETIC AND MATHEMATICS.—§ 6. DRAWING AND PAINTING.—§ 7. MODERN LANGUAGES: FRENCH, GERMAN, AND ITALIAN.—§ 8. GAELIC.—§ 9. DANCING.—§ 10. GYMNASTICS.—§ 11. ACTING OF PLAYS. — § 12. RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION. — § 13. SUNDAY WORK.—§ 14. LIBRARIES.

§ 1. THE curriculum of the grammar school not very long ago consisted only of the *ars grammatica*, which our forefathers regarded as the most constant and fundamental subject of instruction—the only instrument fitted for educating every one, irrespective of his circumstances, capacity, and inclination, without taking into consideration the age at which he was to leave school, or the occupation which he intended to follow. At a time when Latin was not altogether a dead language—when it was the vehicle for transmitting learning and carrying on correspondence among the nations of Europe—when the literature of no other country could be compared in richness with that of Rome—when education of direct utility was never dreamt of—it was natural enough, at such times, to make Latin the principal, if not the sole, subject of study in the schools; but the same reasons no longer exist for pursuing a classical education, which is now considered chiefly valuable for its indirect effect on the mind, there being in the case of the learned professions the further element of direct practical utility. No one doubts that classical training is an admirable instrument for disciplining the mind—it is certainly the best means for acquiring an exact and thorough knowledge of languages—but the age is

gradually losing the reverence for the dead languages which distinguished our ancestors, and modern educationists differ widely in opinion from such zealous advocates of classical education as maintain that Latin alone is more 'instrumental than all other subjects together in stimulating thought.'¹ Many think, on the contrary, that a course equally long and thorough in other subjects—say in modern languages, logic, mathematics, and the sciences—is an instrument of intellectual discipline perhaps as effective as classics, while it is calculated to be of much more service in after-life, there being few of those who receive a 'liberal education,' but are not followers of liberal pursuits, or members of the learned professions, that read a classical author after leaving school.

We shall, in the first place, produce some evidence, in as small a compass as possible, indicating the *extent* to which *ars grammatica*—classical literature generally—was taught, or proving the facilities afforded in every little centre of population in Scotland, from the middle of the sixteenth century to our day, for imparting scholastic education in the schools which were under the administration of the magistrates and town councils: In 1563 the master of the grammar school of Haddington promises to 'leir the bairnis diligentlie in grammatik letters, in latyne tounge';² in 1571 the schoolmaster of Crail engages to teach the 'bairns in grammar as becomes a master of a grammar school';³ in 1585 the bishop of Aberdeen institutes a grammar school at Banff for instructing the youth in the elements of Greek and Latin, and ordains that the rector shall be one well versed in these languages—knowing how to educate thoroughly in the rules of Greek and Latin grammar;⁴ in 1591 the master of the grammar school of Haddington undertakes to instruct the 'whole bairns sufficiently in their Greek and Latin grammars, and in all the classic authors necessary';⁵ in 1606 Parliament ratifies Mr John Davidson's foundation of

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 188.

² Burgh Records of Haddington.

³ Burgh Records of Crail.

⁴ The Original in the charter chest of Banff.

⁵ Burgh Records of Haddington.

the school at Prestonpans for the teaching of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew;¹ in 1612 the council of Inverurie appoint a master for 'educating the youth of the burgh in the Latin tuing';² in 1614 a fifth class was established in the high school of Edinburgh for teaching the rudiments of the Greek language;³ in 1625, 1642, and 1656 respectively, the masters of the grammar school of Stirling promise to instruct the 'hail youthe presented to them in all the parts of grammar and authors, both Latin and Greek';⁴ Mr John Row, who was afterwards minister of Aberdeen, introduced Hebrew into the grammar school of Perth, of which he was appointed master in 1632;⁵ in 1653 the master of the grammar school of Paisley shall 'use his best endeavours to train up the youth in literature';⁶ in 1655 the schoolmaster of Peebles swears to instruct the youth 'in all liberal sciences, including humanity';⁷ in 1661 the council of Aberdeen 'authorise Mr William Aidy to teach young scholars in the Greek tongue at such hours as shall not be prejudicial to the grammar school';⁸ in 1663 Latin and Greek were taught in the grammar school of Dumfries;⁹ in 1686 the schoolmaster of Stranraer undertakes to 'educat all children sent to the public school in Latin or any other science, in so far as he and they are capable';¹⁰ in the same year the schoolmaster of Wigtown shall, among other subjects, teach Latin to the scholars;¹¹ in 1727 the council of Ayr appoint a school doctor skilled

¹ Acts of Parliament, 1606, c. 29, iv., 302.

² Burgh Records of Inverurie.

³ Steven's High School, 48.

⁴ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁵ M'Crie's Life of Melville. There is no evidence in the records of Perth—the best of all authorities—corroborating Dr M'Crie's statement. In 1632 the council ordained Mr Row to teach, among other subjects, 'grammar,' but there is no mention made either of Greek or Hebrew: Burgh Records of Perth.

⁶ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁷ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁸ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁹ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, 502.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Stranraer.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

in the 'Greek and Latin tongues;' ¹ in the same year is chosen a schoolmaster of Dunbar, for teaching 'Latin and Greek;' ² in 1731 the master of the grammar school of Haddington becomes bound to teach 'Latin, Greek, and other liberal sciences;' ³ in 1747 Latin and Greek were taught in the grammar school of Dumbarton; ⁴ in 1762 the council of Rothesay procure a schoolmaster qualified to teach, *inter alia*, Latin; ⁵ in 1780 Latin and Greek were taught in the grammar school of Banff; ⁶ and in the following year in that of Wigtown; ⁷ in 1787 the rector of the grammar school of Kirkcudbright was required to teach Latin and Greek; ⁸ in 1789 the master of the grammar school of Greenock was allowed to teach only Latin and Greek; ⁹ in 1823 it was reported to the council of Greenock, by a committee deputed to visit the Irvine academy, that a 'class of lads, most of whom were not employed beyond twelve months upon Greek, had read several prose authors, and made such progress in Homer, that they could translate readily the first six books of the Iliad, *ad aperturam libri*, and the New Testament Epistles and Evangelists, *ad aperturam libri*;' ¹⁰ in 1826, the year in which James Melvin was appointed rector of the grammar school of Aberdeen, 'after full discussion, the magistrates and visitors order the Greek language to be taught in the two higher classes;' and we learn in the following year that in the examination in the elements of the Greek language the scholars acquitted themselves greatly to the satisfaction of the visitors, 'presenting a happy earnest of what might be expected were the study of Greek more general in the schools of Scotland;' ¹¹ in 1831 and 1835 the rector of the grammar

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

² Burgh Records of Dunbar.

³ Burgh Records of Haddington.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁵ Burgh Records of Rothesay.

⁶ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁷ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

⁸ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁹ Burgh Records of Greenock.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. The study was more general than the council imagined, but, judging from this entry, the famous school had for once fallen behind its neighbours in classical literature.

school of Campbeltown taught, among other subjects, Latin and Greek.¹

In the year 1835 Latin and Greek were taught, or there was provision for teaching these languages, in the following burgh schools *at least* (in addition to the higher schools, those of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Dundee, Perth, Ayr, Irvine, Inverness): town school of Airdrie,² burgh school of Burntisland,³ united burgh and parochial school of Crail,⁴ Cupar academy,⁵ Dumbarton burgh school,⁶ Hamilton burgh school,⁷ Inverkeithing burgh and parochial school,⁸ Inveraray grammar school,⁹ Montrose academy,¹⁰ Musselburgh grammar school,¹¹ Paisley grammar school,¹² Peebles grammar school,¹³ Renfrew grammar school,¹⁴ Stirling high school,¹⁵ Tain grammar school¹⁶—in all, twenty-three schools. With the exception of Burntisland burgh school and Peebles grammar school, Latin and Greek were taught in all these schools in 1868, and also in the following: Annan academy, Dumfries academy, Kirkcudbright academy, Banff grammar school, Elgin academy, Peterhead academy, Falkirk parochial or grammar school, Lanark burgh school, Greenock academy, Dunbar burgh school, Forres academy, Kilmarnock academy, Port-Glasgow burgh school, Kirkcudbright school, Arbroath high, and parochial or burgh schools, Brechin burgh school, St Andrews Madras college, Kirkwall burgh school, Stranraer academy, Wigtown burgh and parochial school.¹⁷

We gather from these notices of the different places in which Latin and Greek were taught, that a liberal provision was made all over Scotland from an early period for imparting to the young a scholastic education—an education, if not an acquisition of a useful knowledge form, upon which the highest structure might with safety be reared. There was hardly a burgh in which there was not a school for in-

¹ Burgh Records of Campbeltown; Mun. Corp. Report, i., 150.

² Municipal Corporations Report, i., 56.

³ Ibid., 139.

⁴ Ibid., 158.

⁵ Ibid., 181.

⁶ Ibid., 206.

⁷ Ibid., ii., 75.

⁸ Ibid., 93.

⁹ Ibid., 82.

¹⁰ Ibid., 241.

¹¹ Ibid., 252.

¹² Ibid., 310.

¹³ Ibid., 295.

¹⁴ Ibid., 361.

¹⁵ Ibid., 408.

¹⁶ Ibid., 425.

¹⁷ Report on Burgh Schools, i., pp. 254, 255.

tellectual exercises, for developing the powers of the mind—there was no important centre in which the authorities did not provide such a machinery as gave facilities to every clever lad who thirsted for learning to acquire knowledge of the languages of Greece and Rome—a knowledge which introduced him to a science, philosophy, and mythology, unequalled in richness, beauty, and thought, by those of any other country. We have not investigated the educational history of other countries with any diligence or care, but so far as our limited inquiry has proceeded, we have discovered no other place so small, barren, and poor as old Scotland which had devised and maintained a system of education in burghs and parishes so free and enlarged, that parents of small or moderate means, or no means at all,¹ were enabled to give to their children the highest form of instruction in the country; and it is our opinion that in no other country did the poorer classes, including the small farmers, crofters, artisans, and labourers, prize a liberal education to the same extent as those classes have done in our own country.² The

¹ See Notice of Poor Scholars, *infra* under Fees and Salaries.

² Out of 882 students in the Latin, Greek, and mathematical classes in the universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St Andrews, and of the junior Latin and Greek classes in the university of Aberdeen, for the session of 1866-67, it appears that the profession or occupation of their fathers was in the following proportion:

Classes.	Aberdeen.	Edinburgh.	Glasgow.	St Andrews.	Total.
Professional . . .	34	104	108	29	275
Commercial . . .	11	50	76	9	146
Agricultural . . .	37	54	60	11	162
Shop-keeping . . .	3	12	13	1	29
Artisans and skilled labourers . . .	12	57	65	9	143
Labourers . . .	8	10	15	1	29
Indefinite & Sundries	7	17	13	1	38
Profession not given	11	12	24	13	60
Total . . .	118	316	374	74	882

The instances of persons reaching our universities from the humblest origin, and afterwards reflecting lustre on their *alma mater*, are endless: Report on Burgh Schools, i., pp. 154, 155.

effect of this generous system of education in exalting our national character cannot be over-estimated.

Having given a rough estimate of the degree or extent to which classics were taught at different periods, our next duty is to endeavour to ascertain the character of the instruction given in this subject, at various times, in our leading grammar schools. We begin, for this purpose, by citing the testimony of the fullest, if not the first, curriculum preserved after the Reformation,¹ viz., that of the grammar school of Glasgow. According to this programme, it is appointed that a course of five years, beginning on the first of November, shall be devoted to the study of Latin, and that the pupils be previously instructed in reading, writing, and in committing some words to memory.

FIRST YEAR'S COURSE.—During the first six months part of the rudiments and etymology shall be prelected upon, and the scholars shall compare the names of things in daily use; during the last six months, besides repeating daily a portion of what they had previously acquired, they shall learn the remainder of the rudiments of etymology and syntax; they should also commit to memory short sentences, inculcating piety, good morals, and conduct, to be rendered into the vernacular in the best style possible.

SECOND YEAR'S COURSE.—During the first six months—a part of the rudiments being repeated daily—one half of the first part of Despauter shall be learned with the colloquies of Corderius; during the remaining six months, what remains of the first part of Despauter shall be taught, nor shall the morning lessons in etymology be omitted; the pupils shall also make as much progress as possible in the dialogues of Corderius, which, being learned, shall be followed by the select epistles of Cicero, the minor colloquies of Erasmus, and the sacred dialogues of Castalio.

THIRD YEAR'S COURSE.—During the first six months—a portion of the rudiments or of the first part of Despauter being repeated daily—the syntax of Despauter, or at least the

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 59.

greatest part of it, shall be taught, along with a few of Cicero's epistles and Terence's comedies. During the other months—a portion of the grammar lesson being repeated daily—the remainder of syntax shall be taught, and further progress made in the comedies of Terence. To these there shall be added prelection on Ovid's *Epistolæ de Ponto* and on his book of *Tristia*, also on the Psalms of Buchanan, especially those written in elegiac verse—each lesson to be gone over according to the rules of etymology and syntax. In this year, twice or thrice in each week, there shall be taught a theme in the native tongue, selected from the works of some elegant and polite Latin writer, particularly from the works of Cicero. When each pupil has translated this into good Latin, and has neatly written down the same, he shall deliver it for examination to the master or to the usher, whose duty it shall be in examining the theme to hear each (the rest listening with silence) distinctly, and in a clear voice, read his theme, to see that each passage is properly written, and if it be incorrect, he shall amend it in the hearing of all; and lastly, to give the words of the author himself, to be committed to memory, or at least carefully read, so that thus each scholar may the better learn to correct his mistakes. There should also occasionally be prescribed some passages from the best Latin authors, to be translated into the vernacular.

FOURTH YEAR'S COURSE.—For the first quarter, more or less, *ars versificatoria* of Despauter shall be prelected upon, with selections from Buchanan's prosody and epigrams; also, there shall be taken from the poets read in a former year, examples of each of the rules of prosody. For the rest of that year the scholars shall employ themselves (their prescribed tasks being repeated daily) in the art of poesy and in the practice of rules; Virgil, Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, Horace, and Buchanan's Psalms, should be prelected upon. Twice every week, also, there should be given out a short sentence having some wit or point, or an argument, or narrative; those who can, turning the same into verse—heroic, elegiac, or lyric; should there be any who have no aptitude for poetical

composition, let him be employed in converting loose sentences into grammatical language, and in writing themes.

FIFTH YEAR'S COURSE.—For the first half of the year (the grammar lesson not being neglected in the interval), prelections will be given upon rhetoric—the greater part of Tully and of Cassander, Cicero's *Oratio pro Archia*, and thirteen books of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, etc. During the remainder of this course, the pupils should be exercised in the study of the poets foresaid, of Sallust's history, Cæsar's commentaries, and certain works of Cicero; towards the end of the year let them study the elements of Greek grammar; they shall, on every alternate day translate into Latin a theme written in the vernacular, following as closely as possible the style of Cicero, Cæsar, or Terence—during the examination of the theme all who belong to the same class listening with silence; where the scholars shall in any respect have departed from a correct style, they must be instantly recalled to the rules of grammar; and where they depart from purity of diction, they should be corrected by examples from Terence, Cicero, and Cæsar; twice a week, also, let those who have the faculty try their skill in verse writing.¹

¹ The Original, which is in the archives of Glasgow, is not dated, but was written in the same hand as an act book of the town council in 1573. In 1685 the masters of the college and the ministers of the city drew up, at the request of the town council, a scheme for teaching the grammar school which would, in their opinion, 'raise both the reputation of the grammar school and make the children distinguishable for their proficiency from those who are educated at country schools: ' 1. The scholars shall continue in the grammar school for five years, corresponding to which there shall be five classes. 2. The first year's scholars shall be taught the common rudiments of Latin, including the vocables, *Dicta Sapientium*, *Sulpicius*, etc., as presently taught in the school. 3. In the second year they shall ascend to the next, or fourth class, which shall be taught the large half of the first part of grammar, together with *Corderius*, *Erasmi Minora Colloquia*, some select epistles of Cicero and Cato. 4. In the third year they shall advance to the third class, which shall be taught the other half of the first part of the grammar, and a little piece of the second, as far as *Regimen genetivi*; for authors they are to have Ovid's epistles, his books of *de Tristibus et de Ponto*, Buchanan's *Psalms*,

Several improvements were made in the course of study pursued in the high school of Edinburgh since the time when the 'grace buik, prymar, and plain donat' were among the class-books.¹ The 'ordo scholæ grammaticæ Edinensis,' used at the high school in 1640, was as follows: During the first six months of the first year, the scholars shall be taught the principles of grammar *in vernaculo sermone*—learning at the same time the Latin names of everything on earth and in heaven; during the second six months they shall daily repeat a certain portion of grammar, and learn particular sentences relating to life and manners; during the first six months of the second year, they shall repeat daily certain parts of grammar, more particularly as laid down by Despauter, translating the same into English; also, they shall read Cordery's colloquies; during the second six months they shall be taught daily the syntax of Erasmus, the masters teaching and the scholars learning in the Latin language. Through the whole of the third year they shall repeat daily a portion of etymology and syntax, be exercised in reading Cicero's *de Senectute* and *de Amicitia*, Terence's comedies and elegies, Ovid's *Tristia*, Buchanan's Psalms, and Cicero's epistles—reading the same *clara voce*. In the fourth year they shall repeat daily for the first month what they had already learned, be taught Buchanan's prosody, with Despauter's select rules, and Buchanan's epigrams and poetry; during the other months they shall be exercised in poetry and in the

such of them, especially, as are written in elegiac or Sapphic verse; with themes and versions out of the best authors, and especially Cicero. 5. The fourth year scholars, being promoted to the second class, shall learn the rest of syntax from *Regimen genetivi*, not neglecting the repetition of the former parts, together with Caesar's Commentaries, Justin's History, Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, and Virgil. 6. The last year scholars, being ascended to the first and highest class, shall perfect the third and fourth parts of the Latin grammar; also learn Buchanan's Epigrams, his *Jephtes* and *Baptistes*, some select parts of Horace and Juvenal, with exercises in poesy, themes, and versions: The Original in the archives of Glasgow.

¹ See *supra*, p. 49.

practice of the rules of grammar—reading Virgil, Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, Horace, Buchanan's *Psalms*, translating Cicero, Cæsar, and Terence; the beauties of these authors to be explained to them. In the fifth year they shall study the whole rhetoric of Tully, and the greater part of the compendious rhetoric of Cassander; read Cicero's orations, and the short speeches in Sallust, Virgil, and Lucan; they shall read distinctly and audibly, and declaim.¹

¹ Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman*, pp. 88-90. Two earlier curricula of this grammar school are preserved: In 1598, the first and second rudiments of Dunbar, with the colloquies of Corderius, were taught to the first class. To the second class was taught the first part of Pelisso, Cicero's familiar epistles, with version, thrice in the week; the third regent taught the second part of Pelisso, with the supplement of Erasmus, *Syntaxis*, Terence, the *Metamorphosis* of Ovid; the fourth regent, the third part of Pelisso, Buchanan's prosody, Tully's figures and rhetoric, *Figuræ Constructionis* Thome Linacri, Virgil, Sallust, Cæsar's *Commentaries*, and Florus' *Ovidii Epistole*: Burgh Records of Edinburgh. In 1614 Dunbar's *Rudiments* is enjoined to be taught to the first class as the most approved book, the master conjoining with it the vocables of Stanisburgius [?] for declining *Dicta Sapientium*, and the distich of Cato. The second class shall learn Despauter's first part, Corderius, *Minora Colloquia Erasmi*, *Select Epistles* of Cicero as collected by Sturmius; and as soon as they enter into the third book of part one, they shall be exercised in themes and versions. The text-books prescribed for the third class are Despauter's second part, the familiar epistles of Cicero, his treatise *de Senectute*, or *de Amicitia*, and always Terence; Ovid's *Epistles*, or his *Tristia*; they shall also be exercised in themes and epistles. The fourth class shall be taught parts three and four of Despauter, Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, or Virgil, with Quintus Curtius, or Cæsar's *Commentaries*; and if they be sufficiently qualified, Suetonius; they shall have exercises in versions, themes, and verses, according to their abilities. The high class shall learn rhetoric, some of Cicero's *Orations*, or *de Oratore*, or *de Claris Oratoribus*, Sallust, Plautus, Horace, Juvenal, Persius; it shall have exercises in orations, compositions, versions, and verse, according to their gifts. They are to be taught prose and verse alternately, and the Greek grammar, Lyesiod [Hesiod?], or Thergius [Persius?]. There shall be repetitions and disputes every week: Burgh Records of Edinburgh. A later curriculum was drawn up for the high school in 1710, when, on the recommendation of a committee of the professors of the university, the council appointed

The curricula in the grammar schools of Glasgow and Edinburgh may be compared with that prepared for another grammar school, that of Aberdeen, in 1700: The entrants shall read Latin during the first quarter, or longer, as shall seem good to the masters. After reading, they shall learn the declensions, comparisons, pronouns, conjugations, and the rest of the rudiments, to the constructions; they shall also learn by heart, decline, and conjugate the first four sections of Wedderburne's vocables; with the constructions they shall have the two last sections of the vocables—*dicta sapientis* and *rudimenta pietatis*; with the first part of the grammar they shall have Lilly, Sulpicius, distich of Cato, Ovid's epistles, Virgil's epigrams [*sic*], Moretum, Terentii Andria; and for prose authors, Corderius, Minora Erasmi Colloquia, Ludovici Vivis Dialogi, Minores Ciceronis Epistolæ; and for sacred 'pense,' Ursin's Catechism, Dialogi Sacri Sebastiani. With the second part of the grammar, Virgil's eclogues, Ovid's Metamorphosis, Virgil's fourth book of Georgics; and for prose authors, Curtius, Sallust, Cæsar's Commentaries; for sacred lessons, Buchanan's Paraphrase on the Psalms. With the third part of the grammar, Virgil's second and sixth Æneids, Horace's Odes; and for prose authors, Cicero's Offices, Colloquia Erasmi Majora, Sweton [Suetonius?]; and for sacred 'pense,' Bu-

the following text-books to be read in the several classes: In the highest class—*Poets*: Terence, Virgil, Lucan, Horace, Juvenal, Buchanan's Psalms; *Prose authors*: Cicero's Select Orations, Livy, Florus, Sallust, 'Sueton,' Vossius' little compend of Rhetoric. In the second class—Virgil's Pastorals, Claudian, Ovid's Metamorphosis, Buchanan's Psalms; *Prose authors*: Cæsar's Commentaries, Velleius Paterculus, Justin, Curtius. In the third class—*Poets*: Phædrus, Ovid's Epistles or Metamorphosis; *Prose authors*: Cicero's Select Epistles, Cornelius Nepos. In the fourth class—Sulpicius de Moribus, Cato's Moral Distichs, Phædri Fabulæ; *Prose authors*: Corderii, Erasmi, et Castalionis Colloquia. In the lowest class—Vocables, variæ loquendi formulæ dicta sapientium, rudimenta pietatis. Persius is omitted, because his style is obscure, and the Westminster Catechism, the Latin being not unexceptionable. They recommend Buchanan's history and his other distinct poems to be read in private by the first class: Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

chanan's paraphrase continued. With the fourth part of the grammar, some of the select Satires of Horace, the tenth and thirteenth Satires of Juvenal, some of the Satires of Persius; and for prose, the first decade of Florus' Livius, and Buchanan's chronicle, together with the turning and making of verse, dictates of rhetoric, and rules of elegancy, to which shall be added some practice in composing and resolving orations according to the rules of rhetoric. After Despauter's grammar is taught, Kirkwood's orthography and syntax shall be learned, with his tract '*de variis carminum generibus*.' From Vives' Dialogues all along through the rest of the prose authors, the choicest sentences of each day's lesson shall be dictated in Latin and English, together with the versions of each day's lesson; and for each lesson throughout the several factions, a daily conference shall be appointed. As to composition, the public arguments shall be dictated three times in the week; besides these, the high class shall have five arguments more. On Saturday forenoon there shall be disputes, repeating of rules and authors publicly by the several classes by course; once a week all the rules and questions of the Shorter Catechism shall be repeated publicly. In the winter quarter, each scholar of the higher class shall repeat a fable of Æsop from the public desk before the whole school.¹ The work done in this school

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. The following regulations, dated 1711, for teaching Latin in the grammar school are worth quoting: The first or lower class shall, every year, be formed in the first week of November—when the highest class goes off to college—out of those who have lately joined the school, or have been formerly employed in reading Latin, or not duly qualified to begin the grammar. The doctor who has to teach that class (the elementarians) shall carry them through the rudiments, vocables, and 'small authors, with all possible despatch, so that after an examination at the general visitation in the following year they may be found duly qualified to be admitted to the grammar school. With the view of composing this class—on which all the rest in a great measure depends—the children shall be enrolled at Rood-day and Lammas, sufficiently instructed in English, so that the master of the lowest class may engage them in reading Latin, mandating vocables, or other suitable exercises, until formed into a class. All who have not entered

nearly a century later, will appear from a statement made to the council in 1796, when it was reported that the fourth and fifth classes in the grammar school were reading Virgil, Terence, Livy, Cicero, Sallust, Cæsar, Horace; the greater part of their time was spent in reading prose authors; they got about three versions in the week; in the third class the boys were reading Cornelius Nepos and Eutropius, in the second class, Corderius and grammatical exercises; from the first to the third year, the boys will have read the rudiments, vocabulary, Corderius, Eutropius, Watt's grammar, grammatical exercises, Cornelius Nepos, Ovid, and Cæsar; the reading of English was practised in first and second year, particularly in the first year.¹

seasonably, or are not fitted to begin Latin, or to be reduced into a class, shall be continued in reading until the next year's class shall be formed. The foresaid class, now the second class, shall, in the beginning of November following, begin grammar, so that within the second year they may be taught etymology, or first part, and some of the second, which, with the authors prescribed in 1700 (see *supra*, p. 341), may be taught within a year. That class, now the third, shall, in the beginning of November, be carried forward in the grammar, so that in a year more they may learn the remainder of the syntax, prosody, or third part, and the few pages relating to orthography; thus learning the whole grammar within two years; the authors to be taught to this third class shall be the same as formerly appointed, according to the progress in grammar. The rudiments and grammar having been carefully taught within three years, with the proper authors, the class, in the beginning of November in the fourth year, shall be delivered to the master, whose work shall consist in expounding and resolving authors to the highest or fourth class, according to their proficiency in themes, versions, poetical compositions, and orations; these exercises shall always be accompanied by the constant repetition of the rules and the most abstruse or necessary portions of the grammar. The master shall, after the first day of May, yearly teach his class some very plain and short treatise of rhetoric, along with other exercises; and he shall be required to teach a complete set of new authors every year, but there shall only be one prose author and one verse author beside the sacred lesson, and some diets for reading or practising colloquies: Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. An illustration of the course of study pursued at a school, embracing English and mathematics, is furnished by the records of Ayr: In 1746 the council, after much 'deliberation,

Every student of classical literature will value the ancient curricula, or the statement of the work prescribed or done in our fine old grammar schools—recognising in the various courses a large and liberal scheme admirably, if not wonderfully, arranged for acquiring sound scholarship, which was taught in the more important grammar schools, including Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Dundee, and other minor schools, independently of, and in no way subordinated to, other branches of knowledge, however useful and important in themselves. In this enlightened age, there is so much else to learn that even in the schools which have to some extent clung to the old faith, less attention can be devoted to classics; and, accordingly, exercises so useful and admirable in themselves as recitation, declamation, verse-making, and Latin writing—exercises which formed a conspicuous part of the old course of studies—our present classical masters have been obliged to discard or throw overboard, though fully admitting their importance, in order to the thorough grounding of their pupils in grammatical knowledge; these branches of the course or methods of teaching have been driven out of school programmes by the constantly decreasing time given to classical literature on account of the increasing demands of the modern branches of study; the

adopted a method that appears to them most proper for promoting the purposes of education, that is, the training up of the youth in the knowledge of literature, and preparing them for business in the most expeditious and effectual way possible.' There shall be three masters: one to be occupied in teaching English; another in teaching arithmetic, book-keeping, geometry, navigation, surveying, Euclid's Elements, algebra, with other mathematical sciences, and parts of natural philosophy; the second master shall have charge of the Latin scholars, assisted by the mathematical master who shall take charge of one of the classes, which will give him an opportunity of acquainting himself with the genius of the boys, and so judging how far they are fit for mathematical studies. The school will thus be converted into a sort of academy, where almost every sort of the more useful kinds of literature will be taught, and the want of college education, in a great measure, supplied. In 1751 a fourth master was added, each master having a separate charge: Burgh Records of Ayr.

chief sin of our age—*hurry*—has made it simply impossible for our masters, however zealous in the good old cause, to listen to declamations, or introduce into their class verse-making—a practice which prevails to a large extent, we believe, in the great English schools. Classics being at the time of which we are writing a necessity or reality, and not a matter of tradition—which it is to a large extent at present—the old master laid a broad, deep, and firm foundation for the acquirements of thorough and extensive learning, the benefit of which was much more largely reaped than it is now, when only a smattering of classics can be given even in many of the schools which read the highest classics—such a smattering as will be of comparatively little use in after-life from its want of thoroughness. Can Latin be so taught as to be really useful to pupils who can attend it only for one year? We think it might; but the system on which it has hitherto been taught makes it almost a waste of time for a boy to join a Latin class unless he continues in it for three or four years.

The records quoted showing the classical studies which were common in the greater grammar schools of Scotland during that long period, are also, we think, of great interest and value to the student of liberal education, as proving the strong similarity between the old classical studies and those at present pursued in our highest classical schools—showing, in fact, *mutatis mutandis*, that they were substantially the same as those now followed at the Edinburgh high school, the grammar school of Aberdeen, and others, though it may fairly be doubted whether even these great schools lay now so deep and stable a basis as their predecessors in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. We need hardly add that the grammatical books—the books employed for teaching how to use correctly the languages of Greece and Rome—have been changed,¹ teachers in the higher schools

¹ Books discontinued: Despauter—Grammar; Corderius—Colloquies; Erasmus—Colloquies, Syntax; Castalio (1515-63)—Sacred Dialogues; Buchanan—Psalms, History, Poems; Cassander (1515-66)—Rhetoric;

preferring compilations of their own based on the works of more recent grammarians, such, for example, as Zumpt, Madvig, and other models. The Colloquies, and similar books, have given place to Readers, etc., by which greater variety and completer gradations of difficulty can be secured; and above all, because the good old practice of speaking Latin has been wholly abandoned.¹

We have seen the extent to which classical literature was taught from an early period down to 1868 when the royal commissioners reported on the condition of our burgh schools; and we have also seen the thorough character of the classical instruction imparted at our higher grammar schools from a short time after the Reformation to the end of last century. Our investigations in this branch of education cannot be complete without giving some idea of the work done at present in our principal burgh schools, and fortunately there are materials enough at hand which show at least the quantity, if not the quality, of the instruction given in them during the session of 1872-73, just when the schools were passing from the administration of the magistrates and council to that of the school boards. We begin our analysis and classification of the returns made to the endowed schools commissioners with Latin, illustrating the work done by reference to the text-books used by the highest class in the different

Linacre (1460-1524)—*Figuræ Constructionis*; Pelisso, Jo. Condiensis—*Rudimenta prima Latinæ Grammatices* (1560); Dunbar—*Rudiments* (1614); Stanisburgius[?]; Wedderburne—*Vocables*; Lilly—*Grammar*, 'Brevissima Institutio'; Sulpicius (363-410)—'De Moribus'; Vives, Juan Luis (1492-1540)—*Dialogi*; Ursinus, Zachary (1534-83)—*Catechism*, and its Defence against the Lutherans; Vossius—*Rhetoric*. It may be added that of the class-books prescribed for the grammar school of Aberdeen in 1700, *Dicta Sapientium*, *Rudimenta Pietatis*, Lilly, Sulpicius, *Disticha Catonis*, and Ursin's *Catechism*, were taught in the first class of that school a little before Dr Alexander Beverly became master in the institution, and the 'Rudimenta Pietatis' were used for several years after he was appointed. The following authors referred to in the list of books are not now usually read in schools: Justin's History, Lucan, Florus, Suetonius, and Claudian.

¹ See *supra*, p. 161, and *infra*, p. 372.

schools, and make only one observation, viz., that at present Cæsar is considered an elementary class-book, used generally near the beginning of the curriculum, whereas in the old grammar schools it was not, as a rule, introduced till the fifth, and never before the fourth, year of the course. Cæsar—Bathgate, Burntisland; Cæsar and Ovid—Moffat; Cæsar and Virgil—Leith, Linlithgow; Cæsar, Virgil, Horace, and Livy—Lanark; Cæsar, Cicero, and Plautus—Greenock; Ovid and Sallust—Hamilton; Virgil—Crieff, Dumbarton, Renfrew; Virgil and Livy—Banff, Brechin, Forres, Montrose; Virgil, Sallust, and Horace—Perth; Virgil, Livy, and Horace—Elgin, Inverness; Virgil, Livy, Cicero, and Horace—Arbroath, Dundee, Glasgow; Virgil, Cicero, Horace, and Tacitus—Paisley; Virgil, Sallust, Cicero, Livy, Terence, Tacitus, etc.—St Andrews; Livy—Lerwick; Livy and Horace—Annan, Fraserburgh; Livy, Cicero, and Horace—Aberdeen, Ayr, Cupar, Dundee; Cicero—Peterhead; Horace—Tain; Cicero and Horace—Kirkcudbright, Stirling; Horace and Tacitus—Irvine; Cicero, Horace, and Terence—Forfar; Horace, Cicero, Juvenal, etc.—Dumfries; Horace, Cicero, Plautus, and Tacitus—Edinburgh.¹

It appears from the extracts quoted from the records of different burghs that provision was made for teaching Greek in several of the grammar schools during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; but the omission of Greek text-books from certain lists of classics prescribed for the grammar schools of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, renders it somewhat doubtful if advantage was taken to any great extent of the liberal provision made by the authorities for acquiring a knowledge of the language of Greece, which does not seem to have taken at any time a deep hold of our seminaries of learning. Some estimate may be formed of the work done, and of the proficiency of the most advanced scholars, in our secondary schools, in this department of classics, during the session of 1872 and 1873, from the returns made to the endowed schools commissioners, which as in the case

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 341-602.

of Latin we have arranged and classified as well as we could in the following order: First Greek Reader—Hamilton; First Greek Reader and New Testament—Dumbarton; Xenophon—Breachin, Forbes, Fraserburgh; Xenophon and Anacreon—Aberdeen; Xenophon and Homer—Annan, Banff, Crieff, Greenock, Kirkcudbright, Montrose, Perth, Peterhead, Stirling; Xenophon, Homer, and New Testament—Cupar, Elgin, Paisley; Xenophon, Homer, Lucian, and New Testament—Forfar; Xenophon, Homer, Sophocles—Inverness; Homer—Tain; Xenophon, Homer, Sophocles, Euripides—Dundee; Xenophon, Homer, Herodotus, a play—Arbroath, Dollar, Dumfries; Xenophon, Homer, Euripides, Herodotus, and New Testament—St Andrews; Xenophon, Homer, Sophocles, Thucydides, and New Testament—Edinburgh; Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, or a play—Glasgow; Thucydides, Euripides, Lucian—Ayr; Plato—Irvine. It may be added that there are no Greek reports from Bathgate, Burntisland, Lanark, Leith, Lerwick, Linlithgow, Moffat, and Renfrew.¹

We have no means of estimating the quality of the instruction given in Latin and Greek, in the various schools mentioned, but judging from the foregoing statements, founded on authoritative returns, it appears to be highly satisfactory as to quantity, though an examination of the great body of them would probably show that with the exception of the higher-class schools proper, their organisation in classics is somewhat defective. This, indeed, is almost inevitable from the limited material supplied to the teacher in small provincial centres,² and from the narrowing influence hitherto of the privy council system.³ The burgh school commissioners reported in 1868 on the quantity and quality of classics as

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 341-602.

² The number studying classics in the highest classes of the burgh and other schools of the kind, was during session 1872-73, only 607, mathematics 616, and modern languages 682: Endowed Schools, iii., p. 101. Out of the 3343 scholars on the rolls of the higher-class public schools proper at the end of 1874, only 475 pupils were studying mathematics, and only 305 Greek: Report of Board of Education, ii., 154.

³ See *infra*, Chapter XIV., § 5 (Public Money).

then taught in the burgh schools; they state that classics were popular and well taught in the higher-class schools—those giving an education definitely higher than the elementary schools—which consisted of six only, viz., the Edinburgh high school and academy, New Aberdeen grammar school, Old Aberdeen grammar school, Aberdeen gymnasium, and Trinity college at Glenalmond; in these schools 39 per cent. of the scholars were learning Greek, and 94 were learning Latin. The Edinburgh high school and Edinburgh academy, for general classical reading, appeared to them the first schools in Scotland; in the Aberdeen schools, on the other hand, our most exclusively classical schools, few books are read, and only a very small portion of these, a large part of the scholars' time being taken up in writing versions; the Aberdeen schools are more distinguished for verbal accuracy and grammatical precision than for the elegant and extensive scholarship which characterises the Edinburgh schools. The system of teaching classics, which is common in the Aberdeen schools, prevails also, to a large extent, throughout the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray. On the other hand, in the burgh schools which combine elementary and higher education, of which the commissioners visited fifty-four public in burghs, four public not in burghs, and eleven private, the popularity of classics is on the decrease; in this class of schools only 3 per cent. were learning Greek, and 21 per cent. learning Latin. Taking all the schools together, they have summed up the quality of instruction in classics as follows: Public, private, and mixed elementary, 29 per cent. of the classical departments were good, 25 per cent. fair, 31 per cent. indifferent, and 15 per cent. bad.¹

How long did it take our forefathers to establish the first principles, or lay the sure grounds for the attainment of the thorough scholarship which distinguished their pupils? In other words, what was the duration of their curriculum? We find that it varied from four to seven years, but generally that it extended to five years. According to the programme of study

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 109-113.

drawn up for the grammar school of Glasgow some time after the Reformation, it is ordained that a course of five years shall be devoted to the study of Latin;¹ and, at a later period, it was also fixed at five years: in 1685 it was appointed that the scholars continue in the school for five years, corresponding to which there shall be five classes.² In 1598 a curriculum drawn up for the high school of Edinburgh, and headed, 'Orders agreed to by the council as long as they shall find them to stand with the good of the commonwealth and furtherance of letters,' provides for giving instruction to four classes only, of which the fourth was the highest.³ The length of time, accordingly, of the course in the high school at the end of the sixteenth century appears to have been only four years, but this regulation did not continue long in force, and underwent modification or improvement shortly afterwards in order to promote the 'furtherance of letters.' in 1614 the council ordain in all time coming Mr John Rae, master of 'thair hie scole,' to observe certain 'reullis and ordouris' which were enacted for the instruction of *five* classes, extending over five years; in 1640, when the same school was regulated in conformity with the 'ordo scholæ grammaticæ,' the duration of the course embraced the same period;⁴ and still later, in 1710, the council approved of particulars in relation to the mode and method of discipline which had been prepared by Principal Carstairs and seven of the professors, prescribing certain authors to be read in the highest class, second class, third class, fourth class, and lowest class.⁵ In Aberdeen the course also extended to five years, though there was at first a peculiarity in connection with the curriculum at this school, which we do not find elsewhere, and deserves to be noticed: on 23d October 1710, the council resolve that the whole scholars of the school shall be reduced to four classes (excepting the 'elementarians') after the first day of November next, and that all in each of these

¹ *Supra*, p. 336.

² *Ibid.*, p. 338.

³ Steven's High School, pp. 33, 34; *supra*, p. 340.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 339.

⁵ Burgh Records of Edinburgh; *supra*, p. 340.

classes shall learn one and the same lesson; the elementarians (who shall be distinct from the four classes) will be taught equally by the three *hypodidasculi per vices* weekly or monthly, as they shall agree;¹ so that practically there was at Aberdeen, as at the other great grammar schools, a curriculum of five years, of which the first year was spent in preparing or qualifying the boys for admission, in a worthy manner, to the grammar school, at which Latin only was taught; in the year 1796 there is an entry in the same records mentioning the work done by the fourth and *fifth* classes, from which it appears that at that time the length of the course was the regular one of five years;² it was the same in 1825.³ In short, it may be concluded that the duration of the curriculum of study in all the greater grammar schools during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries was five years. The curricula of studies in the minor grammar schools usually embraced a longer period of duration. The records of Ayr afford an example of such a school: in 1761 the following regulations were adopted for the grammar school of the burgh: Mr Paterson, the rector, was appointed to teach mathematics and the highest class in Latin and Greek; Mr Ochterson shall teach the first five classes of the Latin school, and as it requires six years to finish the course of Latin and Greek, it is intended that no scholar shall be put under the care of Mr Paterson until he hath been five years under Mr Ochterson, or some other master, so that Mr Paterson shall have the care of those only in the last year for Latin and Greek.⁴ The course of study at the grammar school of Dundee was still longer—longer than at any other school of the kind in Scotland, but it also followed at last the example of its more important neighbours: in 1773 the council of the burgh, considering that the present plan of education has been long and justly complained of, particularly in requiring a tedious course of seven years of attendance; and being informed that at a number of the most

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

reputable schools the scholars complete their course in the knowledge of the Latin language in a much shorter time, enact that from this date the following method shall be observed in the Latin school: the course which at present continues for seven years shall be reduced to an attendance of five years, and the number of classes reduced from seven to five.¹ At present the duration of the curriculum varies to a much larger degree than in the old grammar schools: it is still five years at the Aberdeen grammar school, Glasgow high school, and Stirling high school; six years at the Edinburgh high school; nine years at the Leith high school, and at the Perth academy and grammar school; eleven years at the Ayr academy, and at the Paisley grammar school;² its length varies at the Montrose academy, and there is no uniform curriculum at the Elgin academy, nor any at all at the Dumfries academy; the Irvine academy does not apparently fare better—at least it is not credited with any in the returns made in 1874 to the Board of Education.³

In all instances in which there is detailed information with regard to the work prescribed in our old grammar schools, we find, as we might expect, a hard and fast course of study or curriculum, which is very necessary for the order and discipline of the school and regular progress of the scholars; but, unlike the English grammar schools, there is now no enforced curriculum of study in any of our public schools, not even in the higher-class public schools, at which, with hardly an exception,⁴ the course of each pupil is left to the free

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee. After searching the records of Dundee, we have not been able to find a trace of the seven years' course of study.

² The duration of the course at the last four schools seems to indicate that they have not yet eliminated the elementary branches from their studies.

³ Report, ii., 154.

⁴ In the Edinburgh high school there is a prescribed course, deviation from which can only be obtained under special circumstances, and by the permission of the rector. The school boards of Glasgow and Stirling are, we believe, moving in the same direction with regard to *their* high schools.

choice of parents—subject only to the restrictions imposed by the time-table. Many teachers recommend a fixed curriculum, but however desirable it would be for the order of the school to have a rigid course, the enforcement of it has been found after trial quite impracticable, there being in mixed or large communities so many boys who are preparing for different occupations; and in all the most important schools the senior departments are largely recruited by boys who come only for one, two, or three sessions. At present, in several schools, all the pupils go through the same training during the first part of their course; but after this, a divergence takes place, some betaking themselves to the classical, others to the modern, department of the school, according to the occupations which they intend to follow. The burgh school commissioners suggested, in 1868, that the first part of the course, extending from nine to thirteen, should include English, arithmetic, Latin, French, and writing—drawing or music being optional. After finishing this course of four years, the boys should have a choice of a literary or scientific course, from thirteen to sixteen or seventeen; the former intended for the professions, and the latter for commerce or other occupations. The literary course would include English, mathematics, Latin, Greek, French, or German, and perhaps a course of popular lectures on science—music or drawing being optional. The scientific course would embrace mathematics, science, English, French, German, music, or drawing—writing and the elements of bookkeeping being optional.¹

The practice, peculiar to Scotland, of the same master carrying his pupils round the whole curriculum has prevailed of old in our schools: thus, in 1671, the council of Aberdeen approved overtures by the visitors for redressing an abuse lately risen in the grammar school, by which the scholars are greatly prejudiced in their learning, viz., changing the doctors from one class to another every quarter; in future, each doctor shall teach the scholars he receives at the four respective quarters until they join the master's class;² in 1711 the

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 148.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

council ratified the act of 1671, and enjoined that each doctor shall bring up the class *per vices* until he delivers it to the head-master.¹ In 1773 the council of Dundee enact that the two doctors and under doctor in the grammar school shall each carry his class from the first principles for three years, at the end of which he shall deliver it to the rector, under whose care it shall continue for the next two years.² The Scottish system is naturally preferred by our own teachers to that prevalent in other countries, where the scholars ascend from the class of one master to that of another; the practice in use in Scotland, which necessarily requires the master to keep his mind active by fresh subjects and higher studies, increases his chances of preferment to higher offices in the profession; at the same time, it is an advantage to the pupil to have for his teacher one who has become acquainted with his character and capabilities; and the economy of the system strongly recommends it to parents who are not in affluent circumstances. On the other hand, the Scottish method or order becomes an evil where the pupils make no progress under the master, or where the master is not sufficiently qualified to instruct advanced pupils, though admirably fitted for juniors, or when the pupils in the same class vary much in age, ability, and industry, which is generally the case at present.

In connection with the first-rate system of classical training which, as we have seen, so remarkably characterised old Scotland, it is of great consequence to ascertain if possible what was the practice in the great schools with regard to the promotion of pupils from one class to another, and fortunately the records supply us with some information on this most important point in the organisation of a school. It appears that in some of the schools in which promotion by routine prevails at present, a certain proficiency was required in the

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. At the same time it was resolved that all the scholars (excepting the elementarians) shall be reduced to four classes, every one in each class learning the same lesson.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

scholars two centuries ago before being advanced from one class to another: thus, in 1598, the council of Edinburgh enacted that boys who enter a particular class, if found unable to 'hold with their marrowes,' shall be put back at the quarterly examinations;¹ in 1614 the council forbid any of the scholars in the high school 'to assend in the schoole or pass to the colledge, bot quha efter examinatioun ar judgit worthie.'² Promotion by merit prevailed in the same school at a much later period: in 1710 the council ordain that, at the advancement of the classes, care shall be taken that such only shall be promoted as understand tolerably well the subjects taught during the preceding year.³ The same admirable custom prevailed at other grammar schools—for example, at that of Aberdeen: in 1671, by an act of the council, passed for 'redressing abuses,' it is provided that if any boy, through 'neglect or hardness of engine,' come short of his fellows, he shall descend by advice of the visitors, or with consent of the parents, to a lower class;⁴ in 1711 the same council ordain that, at the quarterly visitation, such boys as are found incapable of keeping pace with the rest of their fellows shall descend to a lower class, 'an arrangement which will,' in the opinion of the council, 'much contribute to the advantage and good order of their school';⁵ at the general visitation, it is provided that 'elementarians,' who, on the testimony of the doctor and master, are not judged after trial sufficiently qualified to be advanced to the grammar school, either for want of capacity, application, or attendance, shall begin the rudiments again with the succeeding class; in 1769 a committee of visitors (including Dr George Campbell and Mr James Beattie) recommended that no boys be advanced to a higher class at the end of a year but such as have made a certain amount of proficiency: thus, that no boy be advanced from the first class till he be master of the etymological part of the rudiments of the Latin grammar, and have learned some of the easiest rules of syntax; that no

¹ Steven's High School, p. 35.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Ibid.

boy be advanced from the second class till he have learned the syntax, the grammatical exercises, and so much of the etymological part of Ruddiman's grammar as shall be thought necessary; and that no boy be advanced from the third class who has not got the rules of prosody, and is not able to turn a piece of easy Latin into English, and of easy English into Latin.¹ In fact, the strong and thorough system of classical training which prevailed in these schools would have been simply impossible, without the promotion from one class to another being understood to be by merit alone—without fear or favour.

It is a defect in the curricula of certain schools that, at present, promotion from a lower to a higher form does not depend on merit—on an examination, testing the proficiency of the scholar—but that it takes place almost as a matter of course. Promotion in the following schools is not regulated by examination, and takes place, as a rule, by the pupils being advanced from one class to a higher at the commencement of each new session: New Aberdeen grammar school,² Brechin grammar school,³ Dundee high school, Edinburgh high school,⁴ Glasgow high school,⁵ Greenock academy,⁶ Inverness academy,⁷ Stirling high school.⁸ In some of these schools the pupils rise, as a matter of course, by the year with the class; in others, the question of promotion is arranged between parents and teachers, which is practically promotion by routine; conscientious teachers frequently recommend the dull boys to go into the next lower class, but this must be done with delicacy. It should be added that there are exceptions in some of these schools to promotion by routine in the case of special ability, or more than ordinary dulness; but in important schools like these—which are, in fact, all the higher class of schools—every boy should be examined at the end of each session, and those who are not advanced enough to ascend should be continued for another year in the same class, proficiency in one subject not affecting pro-

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 340. ³ *Ibid.*, 368. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 444.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 474. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 488. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 499. ⁸ *Ibid.*, 599.

motion in another.¹ According to the system prevalent in these schools, the more talented and industrious scholars are impeded for the sake of the tail of the class, which also suffers injustice, in respect that the non-proficient scholars are advanced without having learned thoroughly the elements of any branch. The present unsatisfactory state of matters with regard to promotion by routine arises partly from the opposition of parents to keep back pupils who are unfit to enter a higher class, but chiefly from the opposition of teachers, whose income mainly depends upon the number of pupils attending their classes. In a few schools the pupils are not advanced altogether *en masse*, as in the group of schools mentioned, but their promotion is more or less regulated: age and progress are taken into consideration at the Arbroath high school² and Cupar Madras academy;³ at the Ayr academy, promotion is regulated by 'several considerations';⁴ at the Montrose grammar school, promotion is regulated by the head-master;⁵ at the Dumbarton burgh academy, the pupils advance a class every year subject to the discretion of the rector, who advances those qualified, and detains those who have not made sufficient progress;⁶ at Madras college of St Andrews, promotion is made partly by proficiency, and partly by age and length of attendance;⁷ at Tain academy, promotion is regulated by attainments, except in the case of pupils entering at an advanced age, and far behind in their studies.⁸ Promotion appears to be obtained in the following schools through proficiency only: pupils' progress at the Annan, Crieff, and Forfar academies;⁹ after examination in the Bathgate academy;¹⁰ pupils' competency at Burntisland grammar school;¹¹ depends entirely on the state of the pupils at Closeburn school;¹² at the Dollar institution it is regulated by the quarterly written examinations, and if pupils cannot make their 25 per cent. they

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 108.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 350. ³ Ibid., 399. ⁴ Ibid., 358.

⁵ Ibid., 530. ⁶ Ibid., 420. ⁷ Ibid., 585. ⁸ Ibid., 602.

⁹ Ibid., 345, 387, 463. ¹⁰ Ibid., 364. ¹¹ Ibid., 371. ¹² Ibid., 387.

are not allowed to advance into a higher class;¹ pupils' proficiency at Fochabers free school,² at Kirriemuir seminary,³ at Lanark burgh school,⁴ at Lerwick educational institute,⁵ and at Linlithgow grammar school;⁶ at Hamilton academy, determined by the pupils' attainments—ascertained by examination at the beginning of the session;⁷ at Moffat grammar school, by examination and marking;⁸ when a boy attending a junior class at the Perth academy and grammar school is not prepared to enter the next higher, he is prevented doing so;⁹ at Peterhead academy, the capacity of the pupils, as tested by examination;¹⁰ at Renfrew grammar school, proficiency of the pupils.¹¹ Promotion is regulated in the schools which give instruction in elementary subjects—reading, writing, and arithmetic in the more elementary stages—by the Government standard of examination when they are in receipt of public money.

We shall now briefly refer to a few of our principal grammarians—authors of books intended to facilitate the reading, writing, and speaking of Latin, which, as we have already remarked, was, till recently, almost the whole course of study in all the important grammar schools. It is not mentioned anywhere that the grammar written by Mr John Vaus was used in the schools after the Reformation, but the 'Donat' was continued as a class-book in the Scottish schools until, at least, the end of the sixteenth century. In 1567 Robert Lekprevik received a monopoly of printing the 'bukes callit Donatus pro pueris, and the Rudimentis of Pelisso';¹² Robert Smyth was authorised in 1599, by writ of privy seal, to print exclusively the 'Plain Donat, and the hail four pairtes of grammar, according to Sebaustiane.'¹³ Different editions of Despauter's grammar, adapted to Scottish schools by our own teachers, long continued to be used as a class-book in the grammar schools. The distinguished teacher and grammarian, Mr James Kirk-

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 411.

² Ibid., 458.

³ Ibid., 512.

⁴ Ibid., 515.

⁵ Ibid., 533.

⁶ Ibid., 525.

⁷ Ibid., 494.

⁸ Ibid., 527.

⁹ Ibid., 567.

¹⁰ Ibid., 570.

¹¹ Ibid., 575.

¹² Life of Ruddiman, p. 21.

¹³ Ibid.

wood, who was schoolmaster of Linlithgow and afterwards of Kelso, having been cited by a parliamentary commission appointed to inquire into our schools and colleges, to give evidence as to the best Latin grammar, was asked by one of the commissioners, his old pupil, Lord President Stair, 'What he thought of Despauter?' 'A very unfit grammar,' replies his old preceptor; 'but, by some pains, it might be made a good one. If,' he said, 'its superfluities were rescinded, the defects supplied, the intricacies cleared, and the method amended, it might pass for an excellent grammar.'¹ Having been desired by the commissioners to reform the grammar as he had proposed, he published in 1695 a revised edition, which was commonly used in the schools till the early part of last century.

The first grammar written by a countryman which really took possession of the Scottish schools was that of the admirable Mr Andrew Simson, one of the most distinguished teachers of whom our country can boast. We have already made the acquaintance of this celebrated teacher as master of the grammar school of Perth, where, and at Dunbar (of which he was afterwards schoolmaster and minister), he taught 'some of the ancient nobilitie, and many of the gentry and clergy, of whom not a few proved worthy instruments of God's glory in church and commonwealth.'² His 'Rudimenta Grammatices,' called *Dunbar Rudiments*, published in 1587, continued to be one of the most popular books of

¹ Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. In 1710 the council of Aberdeen order all entrants to the school to be taught Kirkwood's grammar, which is preferable to that of Despauter. In the year following, they approve of a regulation enjoining the entrants to be taught Kirkwood's last edition of Despauter: Burgh Records of Aberdeen. In 1711 a third edition of Mr Kirkwood's 'Grammatica Despauteriana, cum nova novi generis glossa,' was published at Edinburgh, and in 1720 a fourth edition.

² M'Crie's Life of Melville, ii., 425 (2d ed.). He educated a grammarian not inferior to himself, and who was also a teacher not less successful—Mr Alexander Home: Ibid., 412. He had also the honour of educating another Home, more eminent still—David Home of Wedderburn: Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman, p. 21.

the kind in Scotland, until a more learned grammarian, Mr Thomas Ruddiman, produced, in 1714, his famous 'Rudiments of the Latin Tongue,' which superseded all other grammars.¹

In the same year as the schoolmaster and minister of Dunbar published *his* Rudiments, his professional brother at Haddington, who was also the teacher and minister of the burgh, Mr James Carmichael, issued his 'Grammaticæ Latinæ,'² but the work proved not so acceptable to the profession as that of Mr Simson. When the national work, the *Regiam Majestatem*, was put to press, the privy council, 'finding non so meit as Mr James Carmichaell to examine and espy and correct such errors and faults therein as vsuallie occures in every printing that first cumes from the presse,' appoint him corrector of typographical errors. At the end of the Scottish translation there is a poem by the learned minister.

While Mr Carmichael's grammatical work deserves mention chiefly for the sake of the author, who was a man of note in his day, the interest of the production of the following grammar consists mainly in the letter of dedication, from which we learn that the author, Mr Andrew Duncan, master of the grammar school of Dundee,³ prepared his 'Latinæ Grammaticæ' from having witnessed the painful efforts of the young to master the elements of Despauter's grammar. Everything in his grammar is, he says, clear and clearly stated; he has dispensed with verse, and all that is redundant and obscure; he

¹ The title of the Dunbar Rudiments is, 'Andreas Simsonus sive Simonides, Ludimagister Dunbarensis, et postea ejus Ecclesiæ Pastor. Rudimenta Grammatices in gratiam juventutis Scoticæ conscripta. Prima ejus editio exiit Edin., 1587.' Robert Smyth, in 1599, and Thomas Finlayson, in 1606, were authorised to print exclusively 'The first and second Dunbar Rudimentis.' There was an edition of the rudiments by Andro Hart in 1612, by Bryson in 1639, by the stationers in 1660, by John Reid in 1680, and by John Moncur in 1709: Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman*, pp. 21, 22.

² Copy of the Grammar published at Canterbury in 1587 is preserved in the Advocates' Library.

³ He was afterwards minister of Crail, and one of the ministers banished to France for holding the Assembly at Aberdeen: Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, ii., p. 416.

has not accumulated rules, nor entered into niceties and exceptions. 'What is the use of these to children intended for commerce, seafaring life, agriculture, tailoring, or shoemaking? What good can result from the differences of grammarians? The route taken should be as short as possible. Let even a rustic traveller, who is going to St Andrews, be asked which road he would prefer—a short and level one, or one unnecessarily long, roundabout, and rugged? How can you, teachers, with a good conscience, lead tender minds through pathless wilds and labyrinths, when they are calling out for the shortest way?' But notwithstanding Mr Duncan's benevolent intentions and most laudable endeavours, his grammar appears to have taken little or no root in our schools.

The next grammarian we shall mention is Mr Alexander Home, who, as a scholar and teacher, was not unworthy of his preceptor, Mr Andrew Simson, who introduced him to the Latin tongue at the school of Dunbar. Mr Home was, like so many of his countrymen at that time, a travelled scholar, having spent sixteen years in England, partly as tutor and partly as student at the university of Oxford. On returning to his native country in 1596, the council of Edinburgh did themselves the honour of appointing him master of the high school, in the room of the learned Mr Hercules Rollock¹—an office which he demitted in 1606, for the mastership of the grammar school of Prestonpans, founded by the minister of the parish, Mr John Davidson, of pious memory; in the records of the presbytery of Haddington we read that on 8th July 1606, the 'haill parischioners being poisit how thay lyekit Mr Alexander Hoome, in token of the approbation, tuk him be the hand.'² In 1615 he accepted the office of master of the grammar school of Dunbar, where, as the most eloquent orator of the day, he was appointed to welcome, in the name of his countrymen, the first visit made by James VI. to Scotland after his accession to the English throne, when, on 13th May 1617, the grammarian delivered a magniloquent speech—we need hardly say in Latin—worthy of the great occasion.

¹ Steven's High School, 29.

² Presbytery Records of Haddington.

Mr Home, while master of the high school of Edinburgh, was maturing his thoughts on his grammar, which he published in 1612—believing it to be superior to those produced by his countrymen, Mr Simson, Mr Carmichael, and Mr Duncan, and better adapted for Scottish youth than the foreign grammars of Despauter, Vives, Ramus, and Pelisso, which were hitherto the standard books used in the schools.¹ In an address to parents, tutors, and preceptors of the Scottish youth, Mr Home deplores the effeminacy and degeneracy of the age, and maintains that every one should be continued under strict discipline until twenty-five years of age. His views on school discipline coincide with those of Mr Duncan, referred to in a previous part of this work:² ‘As soon as a child can speak he ought to love the school; but in order to do this, if parents and guardians kept him in tighter rein, teachers would be warranted in leading them by the appliances of crumbs and apples, and could correct whatever is amiss by care rather than by the rod.’³ The grammar which was published, as already stated, in 1612, and dedicated to his patron, Lord Chancellor Seton, had the honour of being the first legal grammar in Scotland, that is, the first grammar appointed by Parliament to be taught exclusively in all the schools.

From the Reformation much pressure was brought to bear on Parliament by the parents of scholars in order to undertake

¹ In 1602 the council of Stirling ordain the ‘common rudimentis professit in all uther scoles,’ with Pelisso’s first part of grammar and the ‘Rudiments of Ramus,’ to be taught in the school: Burgh Records of Stirling. Petrus Ramus was a famous French philosopher, born in 1515, and massacred on St Bartholomew’s Day, 1572. Mr Andrew Melville attended his lectures, and introduced his method of teaching into the Scottish universities. A translation of his Latin grammar was published at Cambridge in 1585, ‘P. Rami Grammatica ab eo demum recognita,’ etc. London, 1589.

² *Supra*, p. 199.

³ Steven’s High School, p. 44. The title of his grammar, a copy of which is in the Advocates’ Library, is ‘Grammatica Nova in usum juventutis Scoticae et auctoritate Senatus omnibus regna Scholis imperata,’ by ‘Alexander Humius.’ Edinburgh, 1612.

the compilation of a national grammar, with the view of removing the disadvantages under which laboured the youth, who, if obliged to go from one school to another—which from some cause or other was very commonly the case—were required by every new teacher to purchase a new grammar, and to begin their grammatical studies from the beginning. Shortly after the Reformation the authorities undertook to ‘set forth a general grammar to be used within scolis of this realme for eruditioun of the youth,’¹ of which a monopoly of printing was granted in 1567, but it does not appear to have come into existence. The absolute necessity of having a national grammar was so universally felt towards the end of the sixteenth century, that, when Parliament proved to be unequal to the task of preparing such a work, the convention of royal burghs, in 1593, after ‘long reasoning, on the supplication of the commissioner of Dumbarton,’ ordained two letters to be directed—one to the ministry, and the other to the presbytery of Edinburgh—requesting them to prepare a grammar to be universally taught in all grammar schools of the burghs.² Every one interested in education was anxiously waiting for the publication of the statutory grammar—a grammar intended to introduce uniformity of teaching in the country—and only temporary arrangements were made in the schools,³ with regard to the use of class-books, until the great work was ready. But the preparation of this school-book proved to have been too great a task for the collective wisdom and learning of Scotland, including Parliament, privy council, convention of royal burghs, and the ministry of Edinburgh. At length Parliament, wearied with the importunities of petitioners who were praying for a national grammar, took decided action in the matter—at least by legis-

¹ Chalmers’ Life of Ruddiman, 21.

² Record of the Convention of Royal Burghs, 411.

³ Thus, in 1602, the council of Stirling prescribe a certain grammar, ‘until the General Assembly of the Kirk, or his Majesty and Estates of Parliament agree on a universal grammar to be taught throughout the whole realm:’ Burgh Records of Stirling.

lation. In 1607 our sovereign Lord and Estates of Parliament, understanding that the cause of the 'Latine towng being greatlie diminischit,' is the 'want of the uniform teaching of all the parts of grammar,' through the 'curiositie of diuerss maisters of scholis, who take upon them, efter thair fantesie, to teach suche grammer as pleasis them'—a practice which 'haillelly prejudgeis' the youth, who, because of the 'pest and otherwayes, are oft and diuerss tymes changit to diuerss scholis and maisteris'—appoint a committee for cognoscing and concluding such form as 'they shall think most meet to be observed hereafter by all masters of grammar schools;¹ school-masters are ordained to obey the regulations to be made by the commissioners, under penalty of deprivation, and payment of £20 to the poor of the parish.² The intentions of the legislation were good, but they embarked in a hopeless, if not a mischievous, work; they were resolved to suppress wholly the judgment and individuality of the teacher, and introduce into all the schools a uniformity of teaching at any risk; we imagine that if Parliament had succeeded, the profits or advantages of the plan which they had proposed would, when the balance-sheet was made up, be found *per contra*. The commissioners failed to produce a national grammar, or, as might be expected, to establish a uniformity of teaching; but the commission had the effect of enjoining, some years afterwards, Mr Home's grammar to be taught in all the schools; the Acts of Parliament and the privy council passed in favour of his grammar were, however, defeated by the bishops, who were opposed to the venerable grammarian;³ and in 1630 we find the privy council again cognoscing on this very subject. Mr David Wedderburne, master of the grammar school of Aberdeen, was charged, in 1630, to compear before the privy council at Edinburgh, and give evidence with regard to the new school grammar, published by Mr Alexander Home;⁴ at

¹ Acts of Parliament, 1607, c. 9, iv., 374; M'Crie's Life of Melville, ii., 505 (2d ed.).

² Acts of Parliament, 1607, c. 9, iv., 374.

³ M'Crie's Life of Melville, ii., 413. ⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

the same time the council of Glasgow pay the expenses of the master of the grammar school, for 'riding to Edinburgh about the grammar to be imposed on the country.'¹

The grammar of Mr Home was superseded at this time by a new grammar written by an Aberdonian, who was not inferior to any we have mentioned in industry, ability, and scholarship. Mr David Wedderburne, master of the grammar school of Aberdeen,² honoured with the friendship of the celebrated Gerard Vossius who praises our countryman as 'homo eruditissimus, beneque promerens de studiis juventutis,' and again as 'homo doctissimus et nostri etiam amicus,'³ was born at Aberdeen in 1580, and acquired Latin in the grammar school of his native city under Mr Thomas Cargill, also a celebrated preceptor, on whose death, in 1602, he and Mr Thomas Reid (the well-known Latin secretary of James VI.) were, after an examination extending over four days, admitted joint-masters.⁴ In April 1603, Mr David appeared before the town council, and 'declarit that he being urgit and burdenit be the lait provincially assemblee of the ministrie, to accept upon him the function of ane minister of Goddis word, was resolut to obey God calling him thairto, and to leave and desert the said school.'⁵ The council accepted his resignation; but in September following, Mr Wedderburne, 'now being otherwayes resolut not to leave his said office, but being willing to continue, cravit to be reponit;' the patrons granted his request, and in October following, Mr Reid having resigned

¹ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

² He taught Arthur Johnstone, and contributed to the *Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*.

³ Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, 64. 'His posthumous edition of Persius,' says Dr Irving, 'ought to have secured him a respectable place among our philologists;' Mr Thomas Ruddiman (no mean judge), in his catalogue of his books, styles him 'celeberrimus scholæ N^o-Aberdonensis rector;' and the famous Thomas Dempster, who was his schoolfellow at Aberdeen, extols him as 'utriusque linguae doctissimus.' The honourable place which he occupies in the verses of his dear friend Arthur Johnstone is well known: *Ibid.*

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ *Ibid.*

his office, Mr David was admitted to be 'full maister be him self allane, withott any college or coequell maister with him.'¹ He frequently taught in both the universities of Aberdeen: in 1614, on the death of the principal of Marischal college, he was selected to teach the 'high class,' and in 1619 he was appointed to teach 'ane lessoun of humanitie, anes every weeke in tyme comeing within the college of the burght, out of sic authoris, at sic houris, and efter sic method, as sal be injoyned to him be the counsall;'² this lecture was abolished in 1624;³ in 1620 he was nominated grammarian or humanist in King's college, an office which he did not long retain.⁴ But it is as a grammarian we have here to do with Mr Wedderburne, who, like his predecessor Mr John Vaus, encountered many difficulties in publishing his grammar, but he was supported in his trials by the patronage of his gallant city: in 1630 the magistrates, 'havand consideration that the new grammar laitlie reformed be Mr David, can naither be printit nor publishit for the vse of yong scholaris wnto the tyme the same resave approbatioun from the lordis of counsall,' order £100 to be paid to him in order that he may proceed to Edinburgh for their sanction;⁵ in 1631 he receives 100 merks for his 'great expense in Edinburgh, St Andrews, and Glasgow' in the 'purches' and obtaining the consent of the privy council and clergy to his new reformed grammar;⁶ in the following year the council grant to him 200 merks for printing his new grammar—very properly dedicated to themselves;⁷ in the same year appeared his 'short introduction to grammar,' the earliest grammar with which we are acquainted having an English title; in 1633 he petitions Parliament to allow the 'short and facile grammar,' drawn up by him under great pains, to be taught universally, and that all other grammars be discharged.⁸ He did not receive the monopoly for which he petitioned, but his grammar became at once popular, and

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.² Ibid.³ Ibid.⁴ Collections on Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 62.⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.⁶ Ibid.⁷ Ibid.⁸ 1633, c. 34, v., 48.

had the honour of the approbation of the convention of the royal burghs, who in 1633 requested each burgh to cause the rudiments and grammar lately published by Mr Wedderburne to be taught in their grammar schools, each burgh taking a number of them.¹ In 1634 he published his '*Institutiones Grammaticæ, in tres partes distributæ*,' dedicated to Sir Paul Menzies of Kinnmundy, provost, and to the town council of Aberdeen; and shortly afterwards his '*vocabula, cum aliis Latinæ linguæ subsidiis*;' and in 1636 the council grant to him £50 for his great pains in compiling 'new vocables for the weal and benefit of the young scholars of the grammar school.'² Mr Wedderburne was not only a grammarian; we know him as an admirable writer of Latin verse, and it was one of his duties to 'compose, both in prose and verse,' whatever concerned the common affairs of the town.³ Our distinguished master continued in his office of rector of the grammar school until 8th July 1640, when, 'in regaird of his old aige

¹ Burgh Records of Dumbarton. The burgh of Dumbarton takes forty copies, and pays 4s. for the grammar, and 2s. for the rudiments. This grammar, by the same authority, was ordered, it is said, not to be taught, as not being worthy: Report on Burgh Schools, ii., p. 95. In 1636 the council of Peebles ordain the treasurer to buy Wedderburne's grammar: Burgh Records of Peebles. Two years later the master of the grammar school of Cupar was required to teach the same grammar: Burgh Records of Cupar. And in 1696, the council of Edinburgh, considering that the ordinary Latin rudiments taught to children are hard for beginners, ordain Wedderburne's rudiments, which are more plain and easily learned, to take the place of the Latin rudiments: Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ A few of his poetical pieces composed on such occasions may be mentioned: '*In obitu summæ spei Principis Henrici, Jacobi VI. Serenissimi Britanniae Magnæ, Hiberniæ et Galliæ Regis, filii primogeniti, Lessus. Authore, Davide Wedderburno Scholæ Aberdonensis Moderatore. Anno Dom., 1613.*' '*Propempticon Charitum Abredonensium.*' This poem was written at the request of the magistrates of Aberdeen, who rewarded the poet with a gift of fifty merks. '*Abredonia atrata, sub obitum Serenissimi et Potentissimi Monarchæ, Iacobi VI. Pacifici, Britaniæ Magnæ, Galliæ, et Hiberniæ, regis fortvnatissimi, fidei defensoris et assertoris doctissimi,*' 1625: '*Vivat Rex, seu προσευχὴ πρὸς τὴν incolumitate Serenissimi regis Caroli . . . ejusque felice in Scotia*

and inhabilitie of bodie,' he resigned, subscribing the minute of his demission, 'M. David Wedderburne sexagenarius et vltra.' He received from the grateful council a pension of 200 merks yearly during all the days of his life—in 'respect that he had served the burghe fourtie yeires at home and afield, with commoun applaus both of the councell and communitie.' Well done! good, faithful, and efficient servant, Master David.

'The school was done, the business o'er,
When, tired of Greek and Latin lore,
Good Syntax sought his easy chair,
And sat in calm composure there.'

Mr Wedderburne finished his laborious life—a life of great usefulness and honourableness—in February 1646, having enjoyed the bounty of his good town for six years only.¹

At last, in 1714, all grammars gave way to 'The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue,' written by Thomas Ruddiman, the most learned grammarian produced in Scotland. The author reduced the work into a short text, giving an English version with the Latin original, thus leaving every master to select either the English or Latin, as he liked—pedagogues having not yet settled about the best method of communicating Latin—and adding explanatory notes.² The school-book, which became popular as soon as it was published,³ is the labour of

inauguratione,' 1633. 'Sub obitum viri clarissimi et carissimi D. Arturi Jonstoni, medici Regii, et poetarum sui seculi facile principis, Davidis Wedderburni Suspiria.' Abredoniae, 1641.

¹ Mr Joseph Robertson has given a catalogue of his writings, in which seventeen distinct works are ascribed to him: Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, 60, 65.

² Rudiments of the Latin Language, by Thomas Ruddiman, keeper of the Advocates' Library, and sometime schoolmaster at Laurence Kirk in the Mearns. 1st ed., Edinburgh, 1714.

³ He saw fifteen editions of his rudiments, and, according to his laborious biographer, George Chalmers, 'when he departed at the utmost extremity of life [he was born in 1674, and died in 1757], he left this saleable treatise as a productive income to his widow:' Life, p. 65. In 1725 he produced his 'Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones facili et ad puerorum captum accommodata methodo perscriptæ.'

a master in the Latin tongue, who carefully examined all the grammars written by his countrymen and foreigners, adopted what was best in each, and omitted their defects. In short, the work is a judicious and learned compilation of the excellences of all the grammatical treatises of note written before his day, containing little or no innovation on the method of teaching Latin which prevailed at that time.

We shall refer to the grammar written by Mr John Hunter, minister of the Gospel at Ayr, not because of its merit, but as being one of the earliest of the 'easy grammars,' which appeared in abundance subsequent to the middle of last century: in 1728 Mr Hunter informs the council of Ayr that, having 'long compassionated the distress to which we condemn our children—without demerit—he composed a grammar in English for the Latin tongue, and entreats them to order a trial of its expediency in their grammar school for ten or twelve months, and if it did not justify itself to every one who is neither partial or dilatory, it should never be mentioned a second time; and if it lost any of the children's time, or did not redeem more than half of the vastly wasteful profusion of it, which has been hitherto so common, he would compensate the loss by any rational equivalent of their own proposal;' the council, after report, order the doctor to teach it to the first class in the public school till May 1730; a trial to be made of the proficiency of boys who had not before learned that or any other grammar at Michaelmas 1729.¹ A more distinguished grammarian was Mr John Mair, master of the grammar school of the same burgh, who quietly produced in 1755 his 'Introduction to Latin Syntax,' without any of the demonstration which inaugurated Mr Hunter's still-born 'New Method.' The Introduction, which exemplifies the rules of construction as delivered in Mr Ruddiman's rudiments, we need hardly add, has still maintained its place in the schools—at least it was a class-book in some of the schools in our day.

Space permits us only to mention one other grammarian,

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

whose memory is still cherished by not a few of his pupils as one of the most exact and perfect Latin scholars produced in our country since the days of Ruddiman—we mean James Melvin, rector of the grammar school of Aberdeen from 1826 to 1853—who, as a master of idiomatic Latin, will bear comparison—we believe favourable comparison—with the most distinguished names for scholarship in Scottish history, George Buchanan and Thomas Ruddiman. In 1825 the visitors of the grammar school of Aberdeen prefer Melvin's grammar, which is 'very complete and accurate,' to any other; they also recommend that the attention of the fourth and fifth classes be directed to that grammar as a book of reference, in order that they may reap the benefit of the valuable notes and vocabulary which it contains.¹

Before the middle of last century our Latin grammars—the quality of which as a whole does not impress us favourably with the progress hitherto made by our country in philology²—

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² It is a great desideratum in the history of education in Scotland that there is no collection of the books which have been used in our schools at different periods. We hope some zealous member of the profession may be induced to begin such a collection, of which grammars, as being a very important—perhaps the most important—part of school literature, should form the prominent department. In addition to the grammars already noticed, we beg, for the guidance of any such collector, to give the following list, written by Scotsmen from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth centuries; and we venture to say that if any person succeeds in collecting these precious school-books, he will render valuable service to educational history:

Buchananus (Geor.) de Prosodia Libellus. Edin., ap. Waldegrave.

Leochæus (Jo.) Rudimenta Grammaticæ Latinæ in gratiam Jacobi Moraviæ domini Anandiæ cui Leochæus erat Præceptor. Lond., 1624.

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were written wholly in Latin; that is, the language which the

ensis. *Grammatica facilis, seu nova et artificiosa methodus docendi linguam Latinam: Cui præfiguntur animadversiones in rudimenta nostra vulgaria et grammaticam Despauterianam*: Glasg., 1674. *Prima pars Grammaticæ in Metrum redacta*: Edin., 1675. *Grammatica delineata secundum sententiam plurium*: Lond., 1677. *Grammatica Despauteriana, cum nova novi generis glossa*: Editio tertia, Edin., 1711.

Dykes (Patr.) *Scholarcha Dunensis, Grammatica Latina*: Edin., 1679, 8vo. *Ejusdem*: Edit. 2^a, multo auctor, Edin., 1685, 8vo.

Monro (Jo.) *Philosophiæ in Academia Andreapolitana professor. Nova et artificiosa Methodus docendi linguam Latinam*: Lond., 1687. *Eadem ab Jo. Forresto, Ludimagistro Lethensi, nonnihil immutata et ad minorem molem redacta*. Edit. 3^a, Edin., 1711, 8vo.

Gordonius (Geo.) *Pædomathes, seu Manuductio Grammaticalis*. Lond., 1689, 12mo.

Monro (Andr.) *Institutio Grammatica*. Lond., 1690, 8vo.

Hamilton (Wm.) *Mystagogus Liliarius; or a Practical Comment upon Lilly's Accidence*. Lond., 1692, 8vo.

Sanders (Gul.) *Primum Mathesios in Academia Andreapolitana Professor, postea Ludimagister Perthensis. Institutiones Grammaticæ succinctæ ac faciles*. Edin., 1701, 8vo.

Watt (Tho.), schoolmaster of Haddington. *Grammar made Easy; containing Despauter's Grammar reformed. Together with a Method of teaching Latin by ten English Particles*. Edin., 1714, 8vo.

Bayne (James), schoolmaster of Dunfermline. *Short Introduction to the Latin Grammar*. Edin., 1714, 8vo.

Crawford (Hugh), schoolmaster of Mauchlin. *A plain and easy Latin Grammar*. Glasg., 1721, 8vo.

Love (John), schoolmaster first of Dumbarton, and afterwards of Dalkeith. *Animadversions on Mr Robert Trotter's Latin Grammar*. Edin., 1733, 8vo.

Ruddiman (Tho.), *A Dissertation upon the Way of teaching the Latin Tongue; wherein the Objections raised against his Grammar are answered and confuted, and the vulgar Practice of teaching Latin by a Grammar writ in the same language is justified: with some Critical Remarks on Mr Jo. Clark of Hull, his new Latin Grammar, etc.* Edin., 1733, 8vo.

Purdie (Ja.), schoolmaster of Glasgow. *Index to the Etymology of Mr Ruddiman's Grammar*. Glasg., 1733, 8vo.

Stirling (Jo.), *Introduction to the four Parts of Latin Grammar, etc.* This, after a singular, and (I may say) a very idle manner, Mr Stirling hath subjoined to most of the authors published by him, such as Cordeus, Eutropius, etc. 8vo.

grammar was intended to explain.¹ For example, Mr Home's grammar begins, '*Grammatica est ars bene loquendi*,' the third sentence runs, '*Vox est sonus oris humani ad sensa animi significandum*;' and Trotter's well-known '*Grammaticæ Latinæ Compendium in usum Scholæ Drumfrisiensis*,' published in 1732, does not contain one English word, with the exception of examples of etymology translated into English at the end. The beginner will find it a difficult task to understand a language unless he has learned the rudiments at least in the vernacular; but if sufficiently instructed through his mother tongue in the declensions, conjugations, and the fundamental rules of syntax, it does not appear absurd that he should then proceed to learn the rest of the grammar in Latin, though it may be answered that even the advanced scholar should not be confused with Latin rules, which he can more easily learn in his native speech: *e.g.*, the rule a 'noun in *es* is of the feminine gender,' clothed in English dress, is more easily apprehended than the same rule in Latin—'*nomen in es est feminini generis*;' or 'an adjective agrees with its substantive in gender, number, and case,' than '*adjectivum concordat cum substantivo in genere numero et casu*.' It looks ignorant and cruel to endeavour to teach an unknown tongue by a grammar written wholly in an unknown language;² but if our ancestors committed such a mistake, it is no less an error in education, we think, to endeavour to teach Latin and Greek by merely reading the authors, without any imitation by speech of what we read—language being more easily and readily acquired by constant imitation, as every one knows, than by any amount of critical reading and laborious explanation. In the same way as we learn a modern language by conversing with people to

¹ We must except Vaus's grammar, in which the declensions and conjugations are given in the vernacular.

² The same barbarous practice exists at this day in the Highlands, where children who can only speak Gaelic are taught through the English language only. We have been told of a person who was taught in school to repeat from memory the Shorter Catechism in English from beginning to end without understanding a single word of what he said.

whom the language is familiar, our ancestors made it a universal custom that nothing but Latin should be spoken in their grammar schools and colleges;¹ this practice helped to make the pupils proficient in classical scholarship—enabling them not only to acquire a knowledge of Latin but making the language to them vernacular—a living language. It was the constant use and exercise of the language as a living language that made it possible for them to learn the Latin tongue by a grammar written in Latin.

§ 2. Music is the parent of poetry, and her fairest daughter is the immortal Iliad—a poem so sublime that it had more influence perhaps than any other composition, except the Bible and the Koran. ‘From Homer,’ says Pope, ‘the poets drew their inspiration, the critics their rules, and the philosophers a defence of their opinions. Every profession wrote books upon him till they have swollen to libraries. The warriors formed themselves upon his heroes, and the oracles delivered his verses for answer.’ We have already given some account of *sang* schools in the Middle Ages—schools in which the music of the church was taught vocally and instrumentally. Music, as a branch of education in the schools, was at that time only second in importance to *ars grammatica*, but the Reformation in Scotland—a Reformation so violent as to have tolerated no art, however noble and refined, calculated to administer to or increase the luxury or pleasure of life—dealt so fatal a blow to this most humanising of all arts that only in our day is it partially recovering from the interdiction or condemnation under which it has suffered since that event. Our duty at present is to collect evidence of the extent to which singing and music were taught in the schools from the Reformation to our own day. Shortly after the Reformation, the decline of the study of music became so apparent that the legislature passed an Act with the view of reviving it: music and singing being ‘almost decayed, and will shortly decay,’ unless timely remedy be provided, our sovereign lord commands the patrons of colleges, in which

¹ *Supra*, p. 161.

sang schools are founded, to erect such schools, and to supply masters able to instruct the youth in the science.¹ But neither Acts of Parliament nor royal patronage were able to prevent the decay of this subject: in 1609 James VI. endowed a music school in the burgh of Musselburgh,² and in 1620 a similar school in Elgin;³ in 1610 his consort Anne of Denmark mortifies a sum of money as an endowment to the sang master of Dunfermline.⁴ The neglect into which music fell as a branch of education may be estimated from the paucity of ordinances for visiting music schools and suppressing private schools for giving instruction in that subject; we have met with one case of visitation only, dated in 1627, when a committee was appointed by the council of Aberdeen to visit the music school, taking notice of the form and discipline thereof;⁵ and with the following isolated instances of 'protection,' which was granted in two or three burghs only: in 1626 the council of Glasgow discharge all other sangsters from teaching music than James Sanders;⁶ but twelve years afterwards the music school of Glasgow being 'altogether decayed,' the council called before them Mr Sanders, and having obtained his consent, grant licence to Duncan Birnet to take up a music school in the burgh;⁷ in 1691 the council agree that no public school may teach music during the subsistence of the engagement of a teacher appointed for the burgh.⁸ In 1703 the council of Montrose forbid any other person than John Gillies to teach vocal and instrumental music under 'the falzie of 100 merks for each quarter's contravention';⁹ two years later the same teacher complains that some women have taken upon them to teach music to the great prejudice of the public school, and craves redress of the abuse; a vote, after serious con-

¹ Acts of Parliament, 1579, c. 58, iii., 174.

² Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 130.

³ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 332.

⁴ Original in charter chest of Dunfermline.

⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁶ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Burgh Records of Montrose.

sideration, was taken, as to whether the council should suppress the private music schools, or only put an 'imposition upon them;' the latter motion was carried;¹ in 1713 the council of Dundee, because of the decay of the music school, allow John Coupar, from Aberdeen, to teach music, vocal and instrumental.²

The town of Aberdeen appears to have made one or two attempts to revive the study of music in the schools, but in vain: in 1710 the council order an intimation to be made publicly, that it would conduce much to the 'interest of the youth entering the grammar school if they knew somewhat of musick' before joining that school;³ nearly half a century later more stringent measures were adopted: in 1757 the council, considering the great advantage of having the church music decently performed, enact that each grammar scholar shall be regularly taught music.⁴ The succeeding extracts are of interest in connection with what may be considered a further attempt at the revival of music as a branch of education: in 1757 William Robison presents to the council of Ayr a missive, advising that church music, as performed for upwards of a century in Scotland, having been greatly complained of, attempts of late had been made in most of our principal burghs, and several other places, towards reformation; these attempts, through the encouragement of magistrates and other influential persons, had succeeded far beyond expectation; a great many being desirous of a similar reform in this town, he humbly represents that for some time past he had been endeavouring to make himself acquainted with the 'new musick;' and being willing to do everything in his power to promote so good a design, proposes to teach the subject under the authority of the magistrates;⁵ in 1783 John Aitken, music master in the same burgh, was granted the liberty of the assembly room once a year for his concert; and considering he has, at the desire of the council, been at

¹ Burgh Records of Montrose.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Ibid. .

⁵ Burgh Records of Ayr.

very considerable trouble in teaching church music to the youth in the poor-house, and the tradesmen and servants within the burgh, they allow him a present of five guineas.¹

The church, no less than Parliament, the sovereigns, and burghs, endeavoured to promote the cultivation of music: in 1713 the Assembly require schoolmasters to teach common church tunes, and to sing part of a psalm every day;² and in 1839 presbyteries are recommended to use all prudent means for promoting church music in all schools.³

Seldom was the teacher of the 'tuneful art' professor of music only; he was generally precentor in the parish kirk of the burgh. Thus in 1583 a master of the sang school of Haddington is required to 'uptake' the psalms in the kirk.⁴ In 1583 and 1627 the masters of the sang school of Ayr undertake to sing in the kirk the four parts of music, beginning each Sunday at the second bell.⁵ In 1597 and again in 1636 the council of Aberdeen request the music masters and their doctors to take up the psalms in the two kirks, morning and evening, Sabbath and week days.⁶ In 1620 the teacher of music in Stirling was also 'uptaker' of the psalms;⁷ and in the same year James VI. granted to Elgin the Maison Dieu for supporting a master of music, qualified to perform the ordinary service in the church.⁸ In 1627 the master of the music school of St Andrews took up the 'psalme at preacheing and prayeris.'⁹ In 1677 the master of the sang school of Haddington was taken bound to precent;¹⁰ in 1735 the music master of Dunfermline had also to perform the same duty.¹¹ Frequently the master of the song was also English master—taught the bairns reading and spelling, and sometimes writing and grammar, an office so generally discharged

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

² Acts of General Assembly, 1713, c. 7.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Haddington.

⁵ Burgh Records of Ayr; Maitland Miscellany, ii., 41.

⁶ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁷ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁸ Elgin Case, 58.

⁹ Maitland Miscellany, ii., 49.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Haddington.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

by him that the sang master became almost synonymous with English or rather *Scots* master. Space permits us only to refer to a few cases illustrating this interesting point: The council and honest men of Ayr engage, in 1583, a master of the sang school, who also undertakes to teach the scholars to read and write English;¹ in 1602 the girls attending the grammar school of Ayr were transferred to the sang school for reading and writing;² in 1621 the master of the music school of Dunbar was also the English master of the burgh;³ and about 1659 the music school of Elgin was converted into an English school—music, however, being still taught;⁴ the master of the music school of Dumfries was required, in 1740, to teach English in the burgh school, from twelve till one o'clock, and from six till eight o'clock in the evening.⁵

In the burgh schools in which music formed a branch of the curriculum of study, and was not subordinated to the other subjects of instruction, the duties of the teacher are more clearly defined: thus, in 1583 the sang master of Ayr shall instruct the youth in singing and playing on the 'pynattis' and other instruments, according to his knowledge.⁶ The council of Dundee, in 1652, admit into the music school a teacher of vocal and instrumental music, and ordain him to have the 'highest rounne in the church-yard,' for teaching his scholars.⁷ In 1669 the town of Glasgow was 'altogether destitute of a teacher for instructing the youth in the art of music,' and 'many,' we are told, 'were the honest men who wished that an able musician should be tried out' and brought to this place;⁸ in 1691 Mr Lewes de France, who had humbly offered his services to Aberdeen in 1675, undertakes to teach the inhabitants of Glasgow music, including the 'writing of the thirteen com-

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

² Ibid.

³ Maitland Miscellany, ii., 43.

⁴ Elgin Case (Session Papers, 541).

⁵ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, p. 505.

⁶ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁷ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁸ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

mon tunes, and some psalms,' the scholars furnishing their own books; he will teach, free of expense, such poor in the town as the magistrates appoint;¹ in 1728 the singing master of Haddington played on hautboy, bass-viol, German flute, and other instruments; in 1733 the provost of the burgh accepted the situation of singing master and precentor;² in 1745 the music master of Dunfermline subscribes a 'contract similar to that between the last music master and town, with this difference, that, instead of the virginalls and monicords' mentioned in the contract with the last master, the violin and flute should be inserted.³

Two or three cases may be referred to, illustrating how the music masters were appointed. The first quoted is only a temporary arrangement: in 1598 the council of Aberdeen, to prevent the sang school from 'skailling'—the last teacher having lately departed this life—appoint John Leslie, in Kintore, to the office, 'albeit he cannot instruct his scholars in playing' until a qualified master be provided.⁴ The authorities took every means to secure good appointments: in 1675 the council of Aberdeen issued an edict, inviting persons expert in the science of music to compete for the office of master of the sang school;⁵ in 1729 the town council and kirk session of Dunfermline entreat the Marquis of Tweeddale, as patron of the sang school, to allow them to advertise for music master in the *Gazette*;⁶ in 1733 the town wishes to advertise the vacancy of a music master, 'so that proper candidates may have access to put in for the same';⁷ two years later the council state that 'of late the marquis was satisfied' that the vacancy should be advertised.⁸

The information with regard to the hours of the day at which music was taught in the schools is very meagre, but the following extracts may be given in illustration of this point: In 1675 the master of the music school of Aber-

¹ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

² Burgh Records of Haddington.

³ Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

deen was required to teach from seven to nine A.M., ten to eleven A.M., and two to three P.M.;¹ in 1679 the council of Dunbar ordained that music, vocal or instrumental, might be taught in the burgh school from one to two P.M., that is, during the play hour, the 'subject being a recreation rather than a task';² in 1720 the music master of Dundee refers to an engagement, according to which he was required to teach for four hours on five days in each week.³ In 1763 the school doctor of Kinghorn taught church music immediately after dismissing the school on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, from 1st April to 1st October.⁴

One of the ancient uses to which the singing acquired at the sang school was put appears from the records of Aberdeen: the magistrates and council ordained, in 1631, by reason of the great insolence of the youth of the sang school at night 'walkis,' that in future only four sang scholars shall repair to the 'lyik or nicht walk,' and only when the master's presence is desired;⁵ in 1643 the council, understanding the great abuse committed at 'lykewakis,' and at funerals, by the tolling and ringing of bells, and other superstitious rites, forbid any inhabitant to desire the master or doctor of the music school to sing at 'lykewakis,' certifying that the master and doctor transgressing this ordinance shall, *ipso facto*, be deprived of their office.⁶ Ancient customs are not easily eradicated: in 1658, the council finding that the foresaid abuse 'is peice and peice creeping in again, to the great prejudice of the inhabitants,' ratify the act of council, discharging all singing at all the 'lykwaks' in time coming.⁷ The ancient custom of singing at 'lykewakis' still prevails in many parts of Ireland, where it is accompanied by its twin sister, dancing; and many persons still living remember the hearing of laments or dirges—the singing of mournful poems—on like occasions in the Highlands of Scotland.⁸

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Dunbar.

³ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ At the funerals of members of Highland families of note, even still

The emoluments of the sang master, who was teaching a subject the interest of which was gradually dying, appear from the following notices: In 1581 the 'fie of the maister of the sing scole' of Cupar was £6, 13s. 4d.; in 1627 he received £100, and the doctor £26, 13s. 4d.¹ In Haddington the master of the sang school had, in 1583, a yearly stipend of 80 merks, with a furnished house and free chamber;² in 1677 his salary was fixed at £100 Scots, besides house-rent and other perquisites.³ In Aberdeen, where music appears to have been taught more energetically than in any other burgh, the council grant to the master of the sang school, on his humble petition in 1587, a yearly stipend of £20;⁴ in 1597 the sang master received a stipend of 120 merks, and is ordered to restore an altarage granted to him last year for keeping a doctor, because he receives an augmentation of 10 merks from the town's common good;⁵ on 15th November 1598, an interim master was elected until the feast of Candlemas next, at a salary of 20 merks, besides scholage;⁶ in 1666 the singing master had a yearly salary of 250 merks Scots, with school fees, and the benefit of 'lyke-wakes';⁷ in 1675 the council engage a French teacher of music, at a yearly salary of £200, and 30s. quarterly from each scholar;⁸ in 1757 it was ordered that each grammar scholar shall pay a fee of 1s. quarterly for learning church music.⁹ In 1601 the master of the music school of Ayr had a salary of £40 yearly out of the common good, and 10s. quarterly from every town bairn learning to sing or play;¹⁰ in

the ancient custom of discoursing laments upon the bagpipes is not unknown. We well remember of a Highland parish minister of the old school, not long ago deceased, whose obsequies were solemnised with all Highland 'pomp and circumstance'—including, of course, liberal supplies of the national beverage, as well as of the music of old Gaul.

¹ Maitland Miscellany, ii., 42.

² Burgh Records of Haddington.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid. This act shall not be quoted as a precedent, being only granted to him in respect he is a stranger and well expert in music.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Ayr.

1613 his salary and fees were the same, but he was allowed 'chamber maill and a stand of clayths this year';¹ in 1627 he received a stipend of ten bolls of victual and £13, 6s. 8d. of silver;² in 1757 the sang master offers to teach music at 1s. 6d. monthly for an hour a day, and to the poorer sort at such an annual allowance as may be fixed by the magistrates.³ The 'maister of the sang scule' of Dundee in 1602 had a salary of £80; in 1628 he received for fee and house maill £266, 13s. 4d.; and in 1634 the same as in 1628;⁴ in 1612 the council grant to him a stipend of 300 merks, being 250 merks from the common good and 50 merks from the kirk, besides his house maill, which is worth £20;⁵ in 1613 the council, for advancing the music school, grant to a doctor a yearly stipend of £10 out of the readiest of the goods of the burgh;⁶ in 1652 £50 Scots were ordained to be paid yearly to the master of the music school;⁷ in 1720 a music master was appointed at a yearly salary of £10 sterling, of which the town pays £48 Scots, the guildry £39, the seamen fraternity £9, and the hospital £24; he may uplift quarterly, from those learning vocal music, £1, 10s. Scots, and from those learning vocal and instrumental music, £3 Scots.⁸ In 1608 the burgh of Glasgow pays to the master of the sang school £20, the maill of his house, for Whitsunday and Martinmas terms;⁹ in 1626 the council fee a teacher at 10s. quarterly for his own fee, and 40d. for his man;¹⁰ in 1669 the town agrees to give him 350 merks yearly, and the bishop of Glasgow £100 Scots;¹¹ in 1691 the master shall teach music at 14s. monthly for an hour daily, and the writing of the thirteen common tunes, and some psalms, at 14s.; the magistrates allow him £100 Scots yearly.¹² In 1618 the master of the music school of Paisley was authorised to uplift quarterly from every bairn 6s. 8d. of scholage.¹³ In 1620 the council of Stirling grant

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

² Maitland Miscellany, ii., 41.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 43.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Burgh Records of Paisley. The music school appears to have ceased about 1623.

to the teacher of music a yearly salary of £20, and 6s. 8d. quarterly for every town bairn learning music;¹ in 1694 the precentor of the burgh was appointed to keep a 'public school for teaching the youth to sing and play at the old cellarie.'² The 'teecher of musick' in Dunbar in 1621 had a salary of £100;³ in 1626, 1627, the 'maister of the musik scholl' of St Andrews received a fee of £200;⁴ in 1627 and 1628 the 'scholemaister that teaches the musick' in Lanark received £66, 13s. 4d.;⁵ the 'musichioner of the burgh' in 1633 and 1634 received 100 merks;⁶ the master of the 'music scoil' of Inverness received in 1628 £36;⁷ in the same year, the master of the 'musick schooll' of Tain received for stipend £100;⁸ in 1633 the 'doctour and musciner' of Irving received £100;⁹ in the same year, the master of the 'sang schoole' of Dumfries had a stipend of £80.¹⁰ The following notice of the sang school of Dumfries is an example of the decline of this subject: In 1740 the council voted an annual salary of £100 Scots to a teacher of the 'tuneful art, from a belief that it will be of a considerable advantage to the youth of the burgh, and others, that a music school be erected,' the school, when opened, being made free to all.¹¹ In 1717 the council of Dunfermline appoint £60 Scots to be paid to the music master, being his salary for one year.¹² The council of Inverness, in 1835, paid £40 yearly out of the burgh funds to the music teacher.¹³

From the foregoing notices of sang schools it appears that from an early period down to the end of the seventeenth century there was in several of the most important burghs

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling. In 1620 the brethren of the kirk of Stirling, at the desire of the council, give the 'musionar for uptaking the psalm in the kirk, and teaching ane musick schooll, 20 merks yearly.' Kirk Session Records of Stirling.

² Ibid.

³ Maitland Miscellany, ii., 43.

⁴ Ibid., 49.

⁵ Ibid., 47.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 45.

⁸ Ibid., 50.

⁹ Ibid., 45.

¹⁰ Ibid., 43.

¹¹ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, 505.

¹² Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

¹³ Municipal Corporations Report, ii., 110.

either a separate school for teaching music, vocal and instrumental, or that it formed one of the branches of education in the grammar school;¹ but the art seems not to have been studied anywhere with interest or zeal, though during that period it does not seem to have been such a dead subject as at present, for of fifty-four public schools in burghs, reported on in 1868, in eight only was it taught—viz., Elgin academy, Falkirk grammar school, Glasgow academy, Forres academy, Inverness academy, Leith high school, Stranraer academy, and Wigtown burgh school;² and last year, in all the higher-class public schools proper there was only one at which singing was taught—high school of Glasgow—where we find seventy-one scholars, each paying a quarterly fee of 5s., and ten scholars were learning to play on the pianoforte at Leith high school!³

Music, according to Plato and Luther, should be taught to all young people; and the throat is known to be such a complete musical instrument that *all*, with very rare exceptions, can be taught to sing. We hope that school boards will see that every pupil read, write, and perform music as they read, write, and perform any other lesson—a result which will not only strengthen the lungs and chests of children, but supply them with a perennial source of enjoyment, pleasure, and luxury, calculated to support them in their future trials, and

¹ In addition to the instances already cited of the existence of music schools, it may be mentioned that there was a music school in St Andrews at the Reformation; in 1560 Alexander Smith, doctor of the sang school in the Abbey, depones in a cause of divorce: Kirk Session Records of St Andrews. Music was taught to the 'youth' in the grammar school of Kirkcudbright in 1620: Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright. 'Music vocal,' taught in the Perth grammar school in 1623: Burgh Records of Perth. Music, taught in Wigtown in 1686: Burgh Records of Wigtown; in Forfar in 1713: Burgh Records of Forfar; in Kilmar-nock in 1745: Burgh Records of Kilmar-nock. The English teacher of Greenock was allowed in 1772 to teach church music at private hours: Burgh Records of Greenock. We have found no instance of secular music having been taught in the burgh schools.

² Report on Burgh Schools, i., 254, 255.

³ Report of Board of Education, ii., 154.

to elevate them in feelings and character. A collection of religious and patriotic songs should be prepared, as in Germany and Switzerland, for the use of the different classes of our schools; and school boards ought to make it imperative on the master to teach these, granting dispensation only in extreme cases.

‘The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treason, stratagems, and spoils;
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus:
Let no such man be trusted.’

§ 3. The patrons of the grammar schools—schools in which *ars grammatica* was the whole curriculum—found it necessary to pass at an early period ordinances requiring the pupils to be instructed in elementary knowledge before being admitted to the higher schools. Thus, in a course of study drawn up for the grammar school of Glasgow before the end of the sixteenth century, it is assumed that the boys shall be instructed in reading and writing before joining the school;¹ in 1598 it was ordained that no scholar be admitted into the high school of Edinburgh who could not read English and did not know writing—the first regent in nowise teaching any the A B C in reading;² in 1612 the grammarian, Mr Alexander Home, recommends that boys should remain at the *schola anglica* for reading and writing till their ninth year, and at ten begin the study of Latin;³ in 1710 the council of Aberdeen order an intimation to be made publicly, that it will ‘conduce much to the interest of the youth that, before they be entered in the grammar school, they should be taught to read English perfectly, and to write well, and something of arithmetic;’⁴ in the following year, the citizens are advertised to enter their

¹ Original in the archives of Glasgow.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Steven’s High School, p. 44. Here is a specimen of the *English* of the period: piger, *sweeter*; ploro, I *greet*; sales, *bourdes*.

Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

children at the grammar school, 'duly primed in reading English.'¹

The necessity for the pupils to be grounded in the elementary branches of education before being admitted to a grammar school compelled the councils from an early period to tolerate, license, patronise, superintend, and even to grant small allowances to teachers of English schools, which long continued to be adventure schools: thus, in 1583, on the petition of a teacher of young children in Aberdeen, the council grant him 26s. 8d. yearly for school rent;² and in 1627 they appoint a committee to visit the English school of the burgh;³ in 1639 the council of Glasgow statute that only four English schools shall be held in the burgh, whose masters shall be admitted by the

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. Pupils entering the first or elementary class in this grammar school are still required to be able to write to dictation a simple English passage; and for admission to the same class in the Edinburgh high school, the pupils must read English with ease. Ability to read and write is a condition of admission to the Fraserburgh academy, and the pupils joining the Brechin preceptory are expected to have made some proficiency in English. But in most of our other burgh schools, no age is fixed for admission; the scholars are in fact admitted at all ages; and accordingly instruction begins with the English alphabet: *e.g.*, Arbroath, Banff, Burntisland, Dumbarton, Dumfries, Forfar, Greenock, Irvine, Kirkcudbright, Lanark, Lerwick, Linlithgow, Montrose, Paisley, Renfrew, Stirling, Tain: Report on Endowed Schools, ii., pp. 367-602. Formerly the age of admission was fixed at several schools: *e.g.*, in 1656 the council of Dysart discharge their schoolmaster from keeping any lads at this school 'without under five years of age:' Burgh Records of Dysart; in 1802 the council of Forfar enact that no children be admitted to the town's school 'who are not six, rising seven years of age:' Burgh Records of Forfar; in 1710 the council of Aberdeen ordained that no scholar be admitted to the grammar school until nine years of age, unless of a 'large capacity and engyne:' Burgh Records of Aberdeen. The age of admission to the following schools varies from five to seven years: Annan, Ayr, Bathgate, Elgin, Forres, Glasgow, Hamilton, Inverness, Leith, Moffat, Perth, Peterhead, St Andrews: Report on Endowed Schools, ii. Surely it is a great defect in our educational machinery that, with three or four exceptions, all our secondary schools—highest class of schools—are also infant schools!

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Ibid.

town council ;¹ in 1654 eight teachers who had taken up Scots schools in the city without authority, supplicate most humbly to be allowed to continue them, and two others pray that they may take up Scots schools for the first time ; after consideration, the magistrates gave them warrant, they conducting themselves religiously, keeping prayers morning and evening in the schools, exacting only certain fees, 'and instructing freely, without any kind of payment or scholage whatsoever, all poor children whomsoever, who, or their parents or friends, shall require the same of them ;'² it was declared at the same time that 'taking up schools without the authority of the magistrates, is against all reason, and contrary to what has been heretofore observed in the like ;' in 1663 the following persons were authorised to keep Scots schools in the town : Jonet Ramsay in Drygait, Elizabeth Miller, William Bogill, Marion Watson, spouse of William M'Nab, Alexander Wilson, George Steinstoune's wife, Mr John Morrison and his spouse, Mary Murray, George Frissal, William Brock, Robert Forrest, Agnes Hutcheson, Elizabeth Boyd, Jean Mauchen, James Hadden.³ It having pleased the Lord to vouchsafe to Alexander Anderson, in Aberdeen, learning—reading and writing, the council in 1661 allow him to teach these branches ;⁴ in the same year they grant their schoolhouse to James Schewan for teaching reading and writing ; in the following year the council, considering that the English schools have been for many years abused by too many persons who are unable to teach having liberty to exercise that office, engaged an able man to come from Edinburgh to teach the children in English.⁵ In 1665 the council of Irvine authorise a person to teach cipheryng and to 'rectify writing.'⁶ In 1700 the council of Dundee warrant a person to take up a writing school in the burgh ;⁷ in the same year Dundee patronised a writing master,

¹ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Irvine. English was taught in the burgh in 1746 : Ibid.

⁷ Burgh Records of Dundee.

who had a salary of £72 Scots yearly, payable by the town, dean of guild and his court, the fraternity of seamen, maltmen, and 'nine trades ;'¹ seven years later the council visited the English school and ordered the master to provide a sufficient writing master.² The council of Greenock, sensible that it will be of the utmost advantage to the youth to be properly grounded in the English language, granted to an English teacher in 1764 an annual salary of £5 sterling ;³ writing was taught in the school under the direction of the council in 1772.⁴ On the petition of James Burness, schoolmaster in Montrose in 1772, representing that he had lately commenced as teacher of English, writing, arithmetic, and church music—subjects which he had acquired at considerable expense—and craving a yearly salary, the council in the following year granted the prayer of the petition.⁵ Instead of tolerating or licensing private schools for teaching English, the councils appointed teachers, in many cases *pro tempore* only, for instructing the scholars in the elementary or preparatory branches within the walls of the grammar schools. Thus, in 1593 the council of Edinburgh authorised a master to have the use of one of the chambers of the high school for teaching the bairns to write ;⁶ the class was optional ; in 1704 the masters are requested to use their influence to get the boys to attend the writing school.⁷ In 1628 the council of Aberdeen appointed a teacher of writing and arithmetic in the grammar school as a 'mean to farther the bairns ;'⁸ in 1643 a loft was erected in the north end of the grammar school for the benefit of the scholars 'for writing therein ;'⁹ in 1700 the scholars in this school were

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee. The nine trades were : bakers, shoemakers, glovers, tailors, bonnet-makers, fleshers, hammermen, weavers, and dyers.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁴ Ibid. In 1786 the English teacher taught reading, spelling, grammar, and English grammatically: Ibid. In this year a second English school was established.

⁵ Burgh Records of Montrose.

⁶ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁷ Education Report (Scotland), 34.

⁸ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁹ Ibid.

taught writing by the masters of the high English school between seven and twelve o'clock forenoon—the master of the grammar school ‘noticing’ the writing.¹ The English school teacher taught writing in the grammar school of Dundee two years later; in 1712 he is requested to attend the school from seven to nine A.M., ten to twelve A.M., two to four P.M. on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and from two to six P.M. on other days.²

In the smaller grammar schools, English—including reading and spelling—and writing were generally recognised from an early period as part of the proper course of study, and it may therefore be assumed that the elements of knowledge were not less widely diffused in this class of burghs than in those of greater importance. From the records of several burghs we quote those entries in which English and writing are mentioned for the first time; but it is to be borne in mind that these subjects may have been, and probably were, taught in these schools previous to the dates assigned to them in the following instances, although the magistrates and council did not record any regulation for teaching them. In 1582 the master of the grammar school of Crail is required to instruct the youth ‘in vulgar language and reading of the same,’ as well as in grammar;³ in the same year all the bairns of Ayr may be taught English or Latin in the common school at the pleasure of their parents;⁴ in 1612 the doctor of the grammar school of Stirling engages to teach the bairns to read the ‘Inglis tounge’;⁵ in 1620 the doctor taught ‘Inglis,’ reading, and writing;⁶ in the same year David Adamson taught ‘Inglis’ in the burgh school of Burntisland;⁷ in 1621 there was an ‘Englische schoole’ in Dunbar whose teacher

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Burgh Records of Crail.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr. ‘Scots’ was taught in the grammar school in 1673, and again in 1682: *Ibid.* One of the masters of the grammar school of Ayr taught, in 1751, English only: *Ibid.* And there were two English masters in Ayr in 1786: *Ibid.*

⁵ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Burgh Records of Burntisland.

was paid out of the common good;¹ English and writing were taught in the grammar school of Perth in 1633;² of Jedburgh in 1649;³ 'Scots and writing' were taught in the grammar school of Peebles in 1655;⁴ in the grammar school of Paisley in the same year;⁵ in the grammar school of Dumfries in 1663;⁶ in the grammar school of Leith in 1681;⁷ Scots was taught in the grammar school of Stranraer in 1686;⁸ English, in the grammar school of Wigtown in 1686;⁹ writing, including English, in the grammar school of Dunbar in 1690;¹⁰ in 1693 it was ordained that the doctor in the grammar school of Kirkcudbright shall teach, 'according to former practice, English and the inferior children in lairning';¹¹ English was taught in the grammar school of Kirkcaldy in 1707;¹² English and writing, in the grammar school of Dysart in 1708;¹³ in the grammar school of Forfar in 1713;¹⁴ in the grammar school of St Andrews in 1714;¹⁵ in the grammar school of Selkirk in 1721;¹⁶ English was taught in the high school of Kilmarnock in 1727;¹⁷ English and writing, in the grammar school of Dingwall in 1730;¹⁸ of Haddington in 1731;¹⁹ writing, in the grammar school of Wigtown in 1730;²⁰ of Kilmarnock in 1745;²¹ English and writing, in the grammar school of King-

¹ Maitland Miscellany, ii., 43. In 1737 John Sloas, writing master of Stirling, presents the council 'with the ten commands, the Lord's Prayer, wrot on a sheet of peaper with a fine hand, and in a very curious manner;' next year he presents to them an 'alphabet of all the hands in Great Britain curious wrot.' Mr Sloas' caligraphy is ordered to be hung up in a frame in the council house: Burgh Records of Stirling.

² Burgh Records of Perth.

³ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

⁴ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁵ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁶ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, 502 (2d ed.).

⁷ Campbell's History of Leith, p. 317.

⁸ Burgh Records of Stranraer.

⁹ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

¹² Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

¹³ Burgh Records of Dysart.

¹⁴ Burgh Records of Forfar.

¹⁵ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

¹⁶ Burgh Records of Selkirk.

¹⁷ Burgh Records of Kilmarnock.

¹⁸ Burgh Records of Dingwall.

¹⁹ Burgh Records of Haddington.

²⁰ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

²¹ Burgh Records of Kilmarnock.

horn in 1746,¹ of Dumbarton in 1747;² writing, in the grammar school of Kirkcudbright in 1748,³ in the grammar school of Dunfermline in 1748;⁴ English and writing, in the grammar school of Fortrose in 1752,⁵ of Rothesay in 1762,⁶ of Banff in the same year.⁷ At last the large grammar schools followed the admirable example set by their lesser neighbours; writing was introduced into the branches of education in the grammar school of Glasgow in 1816, and English in 1834;⁸ English was added to the course of the grammar school of Aberdeen in 1834;⁹ not till 1866 was English—higher English—taught as a separate branch in the high school of Edinburgh.¹⁰

The inconvenience of teaching English and classics in the same school or schoolroom led several of the burghs to erect separate schools for the English department from the seventeenth century, if not earlier; and when the sang school formed a separate building, arrangements were sometimes made to teach English there. Thus, in 1583, reading, writing, and English, as well as music, were taught in the sang school of Ayr.¹¹ In Dunbar the English school was distinct from the grammar school from an early period; in 1679 the 'masters, according to the diversities of sciences, are to be diversely occupied in teaching the 'Latin and English schools.'¹² In the same year the council of Musselburgh decide that John Smyth shall be master of the Scots school, and teach as the late schoolmaster was in use to do.¹³ In 1713 the master of the grammar school of Forfar and his assistant, who had to teach writing, music, and arithmetic, were ordered to keep a separate school;¹⁴ to the same effect is a resolution of the council, in 1770, to procure another house for dividing the grammar from the English school.¹⁵ In 1750

¹ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

² Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

³ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

⁵ Burgh Records of Fortrose.

⁶ Burgh Records of Rothesay.

⁷ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁸ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 34.

⁹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

¹⁰ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 34.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

¹² Burgh Records of Dunbar.

¹³ Report on Burgh Schools, ii.

¹⁴ Burgh Records of Forfar.

¹⁵ Ibid.

an order to the master of the English school of St Andrews, with regard to the subjects of instruction, indicates this to have been separate from the grammar school;¹ in 1760 the town council of Forres advertise for a master of the English school as separate from the grammar school,² but it was not till 1812 that two separate class-rooms were built for the masters of the grammar and English schools.³

From the middle of the last century it was required of the English teacher that he should be able to teach his subject after the 'new method'—English against Scots, we suppose. Thus in 1738 the English teacher of Ayr is removed from office, he being 'not known in the new method';⁴ in 1746 a school-master of Irvine is elected to teach English after the 'modern way';⁵ in 1749 the teachers of Dundee are recommended to teach English after the 'new method,'⁶ and in 1761 the town advertises for two well-qualified English teachers 'after the new method';⁷ in 1760 the council of Forres want a teacher of English after the 'new method';⁸ in 1762 a teacher of English, 'after the new method,' is appointed in Banff.⁹ One burgh in particular, viz., Ayr, is conspicuous for the careful regulations made in it from a comparatively early period for supplying the scholars with an English education. In 1582 a statute indicates that the grammar school had a 'classical' as well as a 'modern' side: on 5th February of that year parents may send their children 'at their option and pleasure to English or Latin, or the common school';¹⁰ in 1673 it is ordained that the master of the Scots school shall teach the children to read, 'pant,' and write—instructing them also in arithmetic and music;¹¹ in 1755 the master of the

¹ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

² Burgh Records of Forres.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁵ Burgh Records of Irvine.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Burgh Records of Forres.

⁹ Burgh Records of Banff.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Ayr.

¹¹ Ibid. The spirit of protection common to the period finds expression in the order in 1675, in which the inhabitants of Ayr are forbidden to send their children to any other Scots school than the public Scots school, unless it be to learn the catechism and psalm book.

English school of Ayr was required to attend the public school every week-day from nine A.M. to mid-day, and from two to four P.M. from 1st March to 1st November, and from one to three o'clock in the afternoon from 1st November to 1st March; during these hours he was carefully to teach children to know the letters and syllables, and to read the English language;¹ in November 1762 the master represents to the council certain disadvantages, rendering it impossible for him to make the scholars as proficient as could be wished: the number of his pupils (between seventy and eighty), and the tender age at which they were generally sent to him, rendered it extremely difficult to bring them forward as their parents expected; and he desired the council accordingly to revise the fees, and ordain that none be admitted to the English school until five years of age;² in February 1769 this master has sixty scholars, including a 'class learning English grammar, which is a branch almost new.'³ The same records furnish the following interesting extracts regarding the construction of a schoolhouse for teaching English in the burgh: in November 1746 a committee of the town council of Ayr was appointed 'to look out the properest place they can for an English schoolhouse;' the English master, formerly a teacher of Irvine, addresses to them a missive, in which he advises that the 'nearer the schoolhouse is to the centre of the town the more convenient it will be for children;' 'if the town build a schoolhouse,' continues the sagacious and provident master, 'a little more expense would make it ane house for the master, which would contribute a great deal to the interest of the school;' thereby the master would have it in his power to prevent the abuse which usually happens in schools situate at a distance from the master's dwelling; he could not meet with any avocations in his way to the school, nor would his scholars have to wait at the door till he came; and in that season of the year which renders a fire requisite, it would be easy for the master to have it kindled when the school convenes; his scholars reaped another advantage in

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

the town of Irvine from his dwelling under the same roof, and which was more considerable than all the rest: it was that when he had a number of beginners that could not be classed, and were only diverting their schoolfellows, whilst they could do nothing themselves, his wife afforded her assistance, which she could not have done had the school been otherwise situated. A new English school was subsequently 'built to the Latin schoolhouse'—then situated near the present academy.¹ In March 1772 the inhabitants petitioned the council to erect a larger schoolhouse, the old one being 'by far too little for the number of children taught in it, so that both their own and the master's health is endangered;'² in April 1773 the council resolved to build two English schoolhouses—one of them fifty feet in length, twenty feet in width, the walls twelve feet high in the side walls, with four windows in front and five upon the back part thereof, with hewn stone in the corners, door, windows, settles, and tabling: the other, forty-nine feet in length, and of the same width; finished in the same manner, and with the same number of windows.³

English, which cannot be said to have formed a department in our schools till our own day, is now taught in all the public schools in burghs: in the lower classes, reading, spelling, and English grammar; in the higher, dictation, analysis of sentences, literature, and composition. The burgh school commissioners did not report favourably, in 1868, of the average of these departments; they give the following estimate of the different departments in the various schools: 15 per cent. good, 43 per cent. fair, 33 per cent. indifferent, and 9 per cent. bad. The numbers of scholars who were learning English on the roll of 54 public schools in burghs which they had examined, were 11,788 out of a sum total of 12,862 scholars on the rolls; 11,333 scholars attended the writing classes, or 74 per cent. of the total number on the rolls. The commissioners were of opinion that the older boys and girls, who were spending five or six hours

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

per week on writing, might have been more profitably employed in some higher work—say languages, science, or drawing.¹ But however important these subjects are, parents consider good handwriting an essential qualification for those of their children who are destined for a commercial life—the pursuit followed by the majority of children.

We have obtained returns from the most important secondary schools of the country, with regard to the work done in English in the highest classes during session 1872-73.² We are thus enabled to form a pretty clear idea of the subjects taught, though we have no definite information as to the time devoted to each. The course of study may be thus summarised: Besides the general history of English literature, portions of English classics (especially Scott, Milton, and Shakespeare) are read in most schools;³ one school returns Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, book i.,⁴ and another, Chaucer, *Piers Plowman*, and the elements of Anglo-Saxon.⁵ It is frequently stated that the authors are read critically and *analytically*, or with exercises in analysis;⁶ and in one case we find the return—'Milton for parsing.'⁷ In general it appears that great importance is attached to the analysis of sentences, and that this is the department of grammar to which most attention is paid: less is said about the historical treatment of the subject. Composition, English essays, essay and letter writing are set down without further detail. In many cases history and geography are not mentioned. The history is mainly that of England, and the geography is, in a few instances, specified

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 124, 254. Of the total 3343 pupils attending the 11 statutory higher-class schools (with the exception of the Haddington burgh school) at the end of 1874, the number of 2898 were returned as learning the English branches: Report of Board of Education, 154.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 341-583.

³ *E.g.*, Arbroath, Ayr, Dollar, Dumbarton, Dundee, Greenock, Irvine, Peterhead, St Andrews.

⁴ Ayr academy.

⁵ Edinburgh high school.

⁶ Aberdeen, Arbroath, Dumbarton, Peterhead, St Andrews, Stirling.

⁷ Annan academy.

as physical.¹ In one return we find physiology,² and in two cases, logic.³ From a consideration of this course of study, as well as from an examination of the text-books now in general use, we cannot fail to arrive at the conclusion that a very marked and very rapid advance has been made in the English department of our schools. Our teachers are aiming high; and where the aim is high, the needful restrictions and limitations will gradually make themselves felt. It will require longer experience and deeper reflection to enable the student of education to ascertain what is practicable, what is the best attainable in the time at his command, and under the conditions of his work. How to adjust the claims of *historical*, as opposed to what may be called *logical*, grammar; how much use it may be practicable to make of the new science of etymology; whether it may be possible to enter on the systematic study of early English; whether the study of Piers Plowman and Chaucer can be pursued with sufficient minuteness and accuracy to give it any great educational value, or whether it may not rather be found more stimulating to the intellect of the pupil to trace the connection between English and Latin and French on the one hand, and between English and German on the other—these are questions of deep interest, which will require for their satisfactory settlement the best efforts and the most anxious thought of the whole teaching profession. But while much remains to be done, there can be no question as to the progress already made; and it must be gratifying to all who have the true interests of education at heart to find that English has now a fair prospect of being established as a department in our schools on an equal footing with classics and mathematics.

§ 4. Geography, political and physical, now an essential branch of education in the humblest school, was not introduced into the schools of Scotland before the beginning of last century. Geography is first noticed as forming a part of the course of study in the high school of Edinburgh in 1715, when the treasurer was directed to buy geographical maps for the

¹ Arbroath, Cupar.

² Glasgow.

³ Glasgow and Irvine.

scholars, not exceeding in value £20 Scots.¹ In 1729 the doctor of the grammar school of Ayr 'being convinced that the council, with the wiser part of mankind, look upon the flourishing of liberal arts and sciences as a common interest,' prays their honours to procure a set of maps and globes, the knowledge of which, as their honours very well know, is highly necessary for forming the man of business;² in 1735 it is represented to the council that the boys who are taught grammar are much at a loss for not being instructed in geography; they desire the doctor to teach that subject at a fee of sixpence quarterly.³ In 1732 the council of Stirling appoint 'two geografixall maps to be put up in the grammar schooll for the edification of the youth, the expense not exceeding £24 Scots;'⁴ the grammar school having already two globes, ordered in 1755 that a 'sett of proper mapps' be provided for teaching geography.⁵ We find 'globes and maps' in use at Dunbar in 1734.⁶ The council of Dumbarton being sensible that geography may be useful to the children of the inhabitants of this burgh, and may also be an inducement to the gentlemen of the county to send their children to the school, if Mr Caldon, who understands this part of learning, were furnished with a pair of globes, authorise him to give for a pair advertised for sale by a bookseller in Edinburgh '£4, or as much under £5 as he can.'⁷ In 1765 a pair of globes was purchased for the public school of Kinghorn for £2, 2s., payable from the sinking fund.⁸ In 1766 geography was taught in Kirkcudbright,⁹ and in Greenock in 1772;¹⁰ in 1781 the teacher of the mathematical school was requested to lodge an inventory of the globes and other apparatuses of the school with the town clerk.¹¹ In 1776 the

¹ Steven's High School, 88.

² Burgh Records of Ayr. Their honours take the doctor's petition to consideration.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁷ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁸ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁹ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Greenock.

¹¹ Ibid.

council of Banff order £3, 3s. to be paid for two globes, for behoof of the education of the scholars;¹ in 1780 the council of Dundee authorise ten guineas to be expended for a pair of globes and a set of maps for the grammar school, and ordain geography to be taught therein.² Geography was not added till 1834 to the course at the grammar school of Aberdeen.³ Geography, a very difficult subject to teach, is, if properly taught, most interesting and instructive. In many schools it is at present made a mere exercise of the memory, the pupils learning by heart dry catalogues of names of places, and marking out their relative positions on the map or globe. Such an operation does not fructify the pupil's mind, and it appears to us that the name of a place is hardly worth remembering unless it has some interesting association—as being the birth-place of a celebrated man, the seat of some industry or manufacture, the habitation of people of peculiar laws, manners, or customs, or illustrating some phenomenon in natural history. Description, in short, should form a more prominent part in the teaching of geography than it does at present. History and geography are so nearly related that they should be taught, if possible, by the same master. The burgh school commissioners reported, in 1868, that history and geography were well taught in some schools; but the average was only moderately good. Physical geography is taught in a very elementary way, the scholars being rarely taught the physical nature of their own country or the effects of the physical condition of a country upon its history or its people.⁴

§ 5. Though we found indeed that the scholars attending the grammar school of Aberdeen, before the Reformation, had to acquire a moderate knowledge of ciphering—'artem numerandi'—it would appear that arithmetic—the science of number, the art of reckoning, and the oldest branch of mathematics—made little progress in our schools before the end of the seventeenth century. The earliest instance which we have

¹ Burgh Records of Banff.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 120, 121.

found—a special arrangement having been made for its being taught—occurs again in connection with the same grammar school: in 1628 a master, who is appointed to teach arithmetic in the grammar school, is ‘satisfied to refer the amount of his reward or salary to the discretion of the parents of his pupils.’ The earliest notices of it which we have found in the records are as follow: Arithmetic was taught in the grammar school of Irvine in 1665;¹ of Wigtown in 1686;² of Dunbar in 1690;³ of Stirling before 1697, when the council resolved to have a qualified man to teach arithmetic in the grammar school ‘as formerly;’⁴ of Dysart in 1708;⁵ in Dundee in 1712;⁶ in Forfar in 1713;⁷ in St Andrews in 1714;⁸ in Ayr and Selkirk in 1721;⁹ in Perth in 1729;¹⁰ in Dingwall in 1730;¹¹ in Haddington in 1731;¹² in Kilmarnock in 1745;¹³ in Kinghorn in 1746;¹⁴ in Dumbarton in 1747;¹⁵ in Kirkcudbright in 1748;¹⁶ in Banff in 1761;¹⁷ in Greenock in 1772.¹⁸ The observation made with regard to English and writing applies also to this branch of knowledge, which may have been taught in the schools under the management of the town councils long before they condescended to recognise it as a part of the curriculum of the school.

Mathematics, the science of magnitude and number, is a branch of comparatively modern growth in Scotland. The oldest notice of mathematics—pure mathematics—which we have found in the burgh records does not date so far back as the middle of the seventeenth century: in 1660 James Corss,

¹ Burgh Records of Irvine.

² Burgh Records of Wigtown.

⁴ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁶ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁸ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁹ Burgh Records of Ayr and Selkirk.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Dingwall.

¹³ Burgh Records of Kilmarnock.

¹⁴ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

¹⁶ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

¹⁸ Burgh Records of Greenock.

³ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dysart.

⁷ Burgh Records of Forfar.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Perth.

¹² Burgh Records of Haddington.

¹⁵ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

¹⁷ Burgh Records of Banff.

For some of the chief heads of arithmetic taught in the schools, *cf.* under Fees and Salaries.

mathematician, presents a supplication to the council of Glasgow stating that he was born and educated in the burgh, and made a study of mathematics and other kindred sciences, being 'naturally addicted thereto from his infancy;' he is resolved to teach these arts and sciences in his native burgh, in the vulgar native tongue, which has not been formerly done in this kingdom for want of encouragement; the ties of birth and education press him to make the first proposals to his native town; the council having well weighed the supplication, grant to him licence to open a school for teaching mathematics, and promise to give him their best encouragements;¹ in 1718 Patrick Stobbie was professor of mathematics in the grammar school of Perth at a salary of £3, 3s.;² in 1721 the doctor of the grammar school of Ayr was 'recommended to accomplish himself with all diligence in the mathematical sciences, that he may be capable to teach and instruct the youth of the town therein;'³ in 1729 it was represented to the council that, 'as the world now goes, the mathematical part of learning is a principal part of a gentleman's education;'⁴ mathematics was taught in the grammar school of Dunbar in 1734,⁵ in Dundee in 1735,⁶ in the grammar school of Kirkcudbright in 1765,⁷ in Banff in 1766,⁸ in Greenock in 1772;⁹ in 1776 there was presented to the town of Greenock an azimuth compass for the use of the mathematical school;¹⁰ in 1790 the council order a theodolite to be procured for the mathematical school.¹¹

The burgh school commissioners found in 1868 that mathematics was best taught at Dumfries, Ayr, and Perth academies, Madras college of St Andrews, Dundee high school, and Dollar institution, and they state that arithmetic and mathematics appeared to them to be the subjects which are

¹ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

² Burgh Records of Ayr.

³ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁵ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁶ Burgh Records of Perth.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁹ Burgh Records of Banff.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

best taught in the schools of Scotland. In these departments they estimated 29 per cent. of the scholars good, 27 per cent. fair, 33 per cent. indifferent, and 11 per cent. bad.¹

The work done at present in the mathematical department of our best secondary schools² shows that the modest programme of instruction which was sufficient a century ago would be far from satisfying the demands of our time. Even in the teaching of so elementary a branch as arithmetic, much progress has been made, and it is less common now than formerly to consider this subject merely in its commercial bearings. Dexterity in calculating is not the only object aimed at; the learning of rules or methods is always accompanied by some rational explanation, and, along with facility in the manipulation of numbers, a pupil gains also an insight into the principles of calculation. As evidence of this, one may mention the frequency with which 'Theory of Arithmetic' appears in the statements of work done,³ or refer to the text-books used,⁴ in our higher schools.

As regards geometry (or what used to be called mathematics in contradistinction to arithmetic and algebra), we still walk in the ways of our forefathers, and, notwithstanding the example of Continental schools, and numerous protests from mathematical masters at home, retain Euclid's Elements as a text-book. In some of the burgh schools,⁵ however, a course of Euclid is supplemented by instruction in the methods of modern geometry, which have already proved so fruitful.

With respect to mensuration and plane trigonometry, improvement has taken much the same course as in the case of

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 124.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 341-583.

³ *E.g.*, in Dumfries academy, Dundee high school, Edinburgh high school, Glasgow high school, Perth academy.

⁴ Colenso's Arithmetic, Barnard Smith's Arithmetic, Thomson's Arithmetic, Bryce's Theory of Arithmetic, Munn's Theory of Arithmetic.

⁵ *E.g.*, Edinburgh high school, Madras college of St Andrews.

arithmetic ; and the rote-learning of rules, apart from a knowledge of the process by which the rule is deduced, once so universal, is falling into discredit. This is evident on comparison of the newer text-books¹ with those of only a generation ago, and can be confirmed by abundant personal experience.

It is probable that the teaching of algebra has undergone less change than that of arithmetic and mensuration, as far, at least, as regards its disciplinary character. But there cannot be much doubt that more of the subject is taught than formerly, and that there is greater attention bestowed on incidental parts of it. The feature which is most characteristic of modern algebras,² and of modern mathematical text-books generally (and to them school teaching in a great degree conforms), is the large collections they contain of examples for exercise. These are the result of our extended system of competitive examinations, which seem to become severer year by year.

Considering how slender a stock of knowledge is required of a student when he enters the university, one would perhaps expect the higher branches of mathematics to be almost unknown in a burgh school. But it is satisfactory to find from authoritative reports that considerably more than the mere elements is taught, and taught efficiently. Although no single school professes to carry its pupils over a course of solid geometry, spherical trigonometry, geometrical and analytical conic sections, and the differential calculus, yet every one of these subjects finds a place in the schools collectively.³

Navigation, the science of sailing, was zealously taught in the grammar schools in the principal seaport towns from the beginning of last century. It was one of the subjects of

¹ *E.g.*, Todhunter's *Mensuration for Beginners*, Munn's *Mensuration*.

² Compare, *e.g.*, Colenso's, Todhunter's, or Hamblin Smith's *Algebra* with Bonycastle's.

³ Compare the returns from Ayr academy, Dumfries academy, Dundee high school, Edinburgh high school, Elgin academy, Forfar academy, Glasgow high school, Perth academy, Madras college of St Andrews.

instruction at Dunbar in 1721,¹ at Ayr in 1727,² at Dundee in 1735,³ at Banff in 1762,⁴ at Rothesay in the same year,⁵ at Kinghorn in 1763,⁶ at Kirkcudbright in 1765,⁷ at Wigtown in 1781.⁸ In 1867 it appears to have been taught in one school only—burgh school of Burntisland—the class consisting of one pupil!⁹ Different departments of natural philosophy, including astronomy, were taught in the grammar school of Ayr and in the Perth academy in 1761.¹⁰ The only burgh school in which astronomy was taught in 1867 appears to have been Kilmarnock academy.¹¹ In 1773 the council of Ayr pay 18s. 10½d. for a 'crystal receiver to the air-pump and tubes for mathematical demonstrations ;'¹² and three years later they paid £1, 15s. for two new wheels for the 'electorising machine, two horizontal and vertical axes, a pedestal for vertical axis screws and for repairing the same, furnishing a new intermitting fountain, tantubas cup to fit the side of the large conductor, and for soldering the spiers of the air-pump,' for the mathematical school.¹³ Science, physical and natural, which has not yet made much progress in the schools, is becoming better appreciated, and appears to be in repute at the Dollar institution, Edinburgh high school, Perth academy, and Madras college of St Andrews; in 1868 there were 545 scholars in physics, 165 in natural history, and 184 in chemistry, or about 5 per cent. of the whole pupils in 54 burgh schools.¹⁴

Bookkeeping, the method of recording business transactions, formed not an unimportant department in several of the grammar schools since the beginning of last century; we find it taught in the grammar schools of Ayr in 1721,¹⁵ of Dunbar

¹ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

² Burgh Records of Ayr.

³ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁴ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁵ Burgh Records of Rothesay.

⁶ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁷ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁸ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

⁹ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 254.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Ayr and Perth.

¹¹ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 255.

¹² Burgh Records of Ayr.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 124. ¹⁵ Burgh Records of Ayr.

in the same year,¹ of Stirling in 1728,² of Perth in 1729,³ of Rothesay in 1762,⁴ of Banff in the same year,⁵ of Kirkcudbright in 1765,⁶ at Greenock in 1772,⁷ at Dundee in 1773,⁸ in the grammar school of Wigtown in 1781.⁹ This branch has still an important place among the subjects studied in the schools: in 1868 we find that 758 scholars out of a total of 12,862 in 54 burgh schools were learning bookkeeping, while only 680 scholars were studying Greek;¹⁰ and the figures are instructive as showing that parents prefer bookkeeping to high scholarship, no doubt because it pays best.

§ 6. From the records of two or three burghs we learn that drawing, the art of delineating form, and painting, the art of delineating form and colour, were taught in schools so early as the seventeenth century: in 1673 the master of the Scots school of Ayr was required to teach the children to 'pant';¹¹ in 1774 the council of the same burgh employ a teacher of 'drawing';¹² there was a drawing master in the academy of Perth in 1777,¹³ and in that of Dundee in 1786.¹⁴ In 1867 there were 1505 scholars learning drawing in a roll of 12,862 in 54 burgh schools;¹⁵ and in 1874 there were 969 scholars of a roll of 3343 at the higher-class public schools who received instruction in this elevating art; three scholars only at Glasgow high school were instructed in painting.¹⁶ The importance of drawing as an instrument of education is not sufficiently recognised—a subject so well calculated to educate and develop the pupil's powers of discernment by the practice of representing objects as they are, and an acquirement of great value.

§ 7. The kindly relation which so long subsisted between

¹ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

² Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁴ Burgh Records of Rothesay.

⁶ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁸ Burgh Records of Dundee.

¹⁰ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 124.

¹² Ibid.

¹⁴ Burgh Records of Dundee.

¹⁶ Report of Board of Education, ii., 154.

³ Burgh Records of Perth.

⁵ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁷ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁹ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

¹³ Burgh Records of Perth.

¹⁵ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 255.

Scotland and France is shown by the fact that the language of France was pretty generally taught in Scotland from an early period, while no other modern language was introduced into our schools before our own time. We have already seen that French was one of the languages allowed to be spoken in the grammar school of Aberdeen before the Reformation.¹ In 1574 the council of Edinburgh authorised a Frenchman to open a school in the city for teaching his own language, and desired him to set up a sign for that end.² In 1635 the council of Aberdeen license Alexander Rolland to teach a French school in the burgh, and for that effect to put up a sign before his school door.³ French was taught in Haddington in 1731,⁴ and in Stirling in 1755;⁵ in 1761 the council of Ayr enacted that no French be taught in the public schools during the hours set apart for classics and mathematics; any scholars wishing to be instructed in that language might be taught in the interval betwixt public school hours.⁶ French was taught in the grammar school of Perth in 1769;⁷ in 1772 the English teacher of Greenock was allowed to teach French at hours not interfering with the public school hours;⁸ that town, in 1789, appoints a public teacher of French, who is allowed to exact for fees 10s. 6d. quarterly;⁹ in 1794 the council, considering that a French teacher is much wanted, authorise the magistrates to advertise for one; a teacher is employed at a yearly salary of £10, 10s.¹⁰ French was taught in Wigtown in 1781,¹¹ in the Dundee academy in 1786,¹² and in Kirkcudbright in 1789.¹³

The value of French to men of business, its use as an accomplishment, and the genius of its literature, have secured

¹ *Supra*, p. 61.

² Chambers's Domestic Annals, i., 95; Chalmers's Ruddiman, p. 91.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

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⁷ Burgh Records of Perth.

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⁹ *Ibid.*

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for it almost universal adoption as a branch of education at our higher schools,¹ and it is satisfactory to find from the returns made to the endowed schools commissioners that the courses of study, as appears from the grammars in use,² and the literature cultivated,³ are most commendable. If we had the statement of results instead of the studies professed, we should be able to form more definite conclusions as to the relative merits of the teaching in the different schools, always provided a greater uniformity were adopted in the method of examination;⁴ for this, the translation of a piece of ordinary English prose into French by the most advanced pupils would probably furnish the best test of the success of the teacher in conveying, and of the diligence of the pupils in acquiring, the greatest possible amount of knowledge of the language as used. With a view to practical usefulness and conversational power over the language, the reading of good modern authors—such as we find at Arbroath high school and Ayr academy, where the novels of Erckmann-

¹ The burgh [school] commissioners in 1868 found that, with the exception of the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, French and German were increasing in popularity: Report, i., 122. In 1874 French was taught in all the higher-class public schools proper: Report of Board of Education, ii., 154.

² *E.g.*, Hallard, De Fivas, Noel and Chapsal, Poitevin, Schneider.

³ Arbroath—Racine, Molière, and Corneille; Ayr—Le Conscriit; Cupar—Racine, Molière, Corneille, and Saintine's Picciola; Dollar—Corneille or Racine; Dumfries—Henriade, Racine, and De Vigny; Dumbarton—L'Avare and Le Misanthrope; Edinburgh—Les Fourberies de Scapin; Forfar—Molière and Racine; Forres—Charles XII.; Fraserburgh—Pierre-le-Grand; Greenock—Au Coin du Feu, L'Avare, and Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme; Inverness—Le Léon de Flandre; Irvine—Racine; Kirkcudbright—Voltaire; Lerwick—Télémaque; Peterhead—Charles XII. and Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme; St Andrews Madras college—L'Avare; Stirling—Jacques et ses Trois Voyages; Tain—Le Misanthrope and Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme.

⁴ The burgh school commissioners estimated in 1868 the quality of the teaching of French and German taken together thus: 10 per cent. good, 27 per cent. fair, 41 per cent. indifferent, and 22 bad: Report on Burgh Schools, i., 122. Had the estimates for each language been stated separately, the figures would probably have shown largely in favour of French.

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tant subject than their apparently more advanced or ambitious neighbours.¹

The Italian language has not obtained any footing in our schools, no doubt from the absence of such a direct want of it for practical intercourse as exists for French, and because its grammar, unlike the compact but difficult German grammar, is not well fitted for mental exercise. In 1868 Italian was taught only in one burgh school—Tain academy; and at Dollar institution there was a class of six studying it.² Of the higher-class public schools, it was taught in 1874 only at Perth academy to a class of four.³ In fact, the study of this language is pursued chiefly as an ornamental accomplishment principally of value in connection with Italian music.

§ 8. Gaelic—the language of the Scottish Gael spoken in the Highlands of Scotland, almost identical with Erse or Irish and Manx (the dialect spoken in the Isle of Man), and closely allied to the Cymric, comprehending Welsh, Cornish (died out about the middle of sixteenth century), and Bas-Breton—was even within the historic period the language of our court and people. Possessed of scanty literature, or rather of none worthy of that name,⁴ and ill-adapted for the pur-

¹ *E.g.*, Ahn's Course at Tain academy; Kehrein's Deutsches Lesebuch, Das Goldmacherdorf, and Liederbuch, at Forfar academy.

² Report on Burgh Schools, i., 122.

³ Report of Board of Education, ii., 37.

⁴ In the hope of inducing our Teutonic readers to make a study of Gaelic—a study which we venture to think will be found both interesting and profitable—we mention the following books, which we are sorry to confess exhaust the best part of the literature of this branch of the Celtic language: Dictionaries—The Highland Society's is the best, Armstrong's is highly recommended, and M'Alpine's is useful to students. Grammars—Munro's is considered the most practical, and Stewart's grammar the most philosophical; a Gaelic primer by Munro is of value to those commencing the study of the language. In poetry—Mackenzie's 'Beauties of Gaelic Poetry,' containing selections from the more famous poets; 'Heroic Gaelic Ballads, from 1512 to 1871,' arranged by J. F. Campbell; Dr Smith's 'Sean Dana;' 'Dargo and Gaul,' two ancient poems from Dr Smith's collection, edited by an Englishman, C. S. Jeram, M.A. The works of the follow-

Chatrian are read, at Greenock academy where Souvestre is used, and, perhaps still better, the French translations of Henri Conscience, which are not mentioned in any of the returns—might, without prejudice to the study of works of the older classical writers, be more largely favoured.

A knowledge of German is perhaps calculated to be more useful to the scholar than that of any other modern language. Its commercial usefulness, its fitness for disciplining the mind, and its profound literature, have made the 'German language' the educational demand of the day; accordingly it is satisfactory to find this branch well represented in our higher schools.¹ We have no means of estimating the quality of the instruction given in this subject at the different schools, or the progress of the pupils in the mastery of the language, which can best be ascertained by examiners causing the advanced classes to make written translations into German of a page of English prose. With regard to the literature read in the burgh schools, we find that the works of the great classical authors are professed at Arbroath high school,² Cupar Madras academy,³ Dollar institution,⁴ Dumbarton burgh academy,⁵ Dundee high school,⁶ Edinburgh high school,⁷ Greenock academy,⁸ and Irvine academy.⁹ Of course, the important question arises how far the pupils in these schools are able to prosecute reading of this kind independently of master and notes. Indeed, schools which lay less claim than these do to knowledge of the highest authors, should not perhaps necessarily be presumed to bestow less genuine exertion, or to make less real progress in this impor-

¹ In 1874 it was taught in all the higher-class public schools proper, except the Elgin academy, Irvine academy, and Stirling high school: Report of Board of Education, ii., 154.

² Schiller's Wilhelm Tell and Maria Stuart.

³ Schiller's Maria Stuart.

⁴ Goethe and Schiller.

⁵ Schiller's Der Parasit and Goethe's Egmont.

⁶ Play of Schiller or Goethe.

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poses of commerce, it has been unable to hold its own against the tide of modern civilisation; and, in fact, it must be regarded, we fear, as dying a natural death—destined in a short time to become simply food for the speculations of the philologist and antiquary. But it would appear that the study of this most ancient and venerable language—a language, if we believe the testimony of the passionate and imaginative Celt, only designed for the use of bards, heroes, apostles, gods, and other such celestials—was not so utterly unknown in the past at the burgh schools, as at this time which boasts of promoting liberal education. The scholars of the grammar school of Aberdeen, for example, were allowed before the Reformation to speak ‘Hybernice,’¹—meaning, we suppose, our own Gaelic—the Highland dialect, which at that time probably corresponded even more than at present in grammar, idiom, and vocabulary with the mother language of Ireland;² and, at a later period, Donald Duff taught a

ing Gaelic poets are to be had in separate volumes: Alexander Macdonald, Duncan Ban M’Intyre, Mackay (Rob Don), William Ross, Dugald Buchanan, and Peter Grant. There is a work on the language, poetry, and music of the Highland clans, by Donald Campbell; ‘Celtic Gleanings,’ by Rev. Dr M’Lauchlan; ‘Ossian’s Poems in the Original Gaelic,’ by Rev. A. Clerk. Dr Hateley Waddell has added his contribution to the Ossianic controversy, in a handsome volume. For early forms of idiom, the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots are valuable, and the Book of Deir may also be consulted. The most important work in the language is the Dean of Lismore’s Book, containing authentic specimens of old Gaelic poetry, with an Introduction by William F. Skene, and Translation by Rev. Dr M’Lauchlan. Mackay’s ‘Eachdraidh na H-Alba,’ Mackenzie’s ditto, M’Leod’s ‘Caraid na Gaidheal,’ and Macpherson’s ‘Duanaire,’ may also be added to the little Gaelic bookshelf.

¹ *Supra*, p. 61.

² The Scottish Gaelic was anciently known under the name of ‘Irish.’ John Elder, in his remarkable letter, dated 1542 or 1543, proposing to Henry VIII. to unite Scotland with England, assures the English king of the love and favour borne to him by the ‘valiaunt Yrishe lordes of Scotland, otherwayes callid Reddshankes [of whom the Earl of Argyll was one], and by historiographouris, Picts. Scotland,’ continues Mr Elder (who was a clerk and also a ‘redshanke,’ born in Caithness), ‘befor the incummyng of Albanactus, was inhabitede by a people who spake

'gaelic school' in 1789 in Perth, and received for his service from the town council a salary of £8,¹ which was paid out of the common good.

Scotland is famous for having provided an educational machinery admirably fitted for imparting to the great body of her children the blessings of education; but it is a matter of history that she has never made adequate provision for the education of that not least interesting portion of her people, the Highlanders, who could only be readily and efficiently educated by means of their own native language. No person, we presume, worthy of the name of educator would venture to doubt that it must take a much longer time to instruct our Highland youth in the English language, by speaking only in English, and teaching from books entirely English, than by using partly the mother tongue as a medium of communication. But the authorities, instead of cherishing the Gaelic tongue—the only one spoken in many places—as a means of promoting moral, intellectual, and æsthetic education in the schools under their charge, have generally discouraged the speaking of it by the children not only during play-hours, but while saying lessons—regarding, in fact, such a practice as an offence liable to be punished; and we are told that the teachers are few in number who explain the English lesson otherwise than in English to pupils, of whom a large proportion are utterly ignorant of the lan-

none other language but Yrishe, and was then called Eyryn veagg, and the people Eyrynghe.' We learn that in the correspondent's own day, the 'great courtieours of Scotland repute the Yrishe lordes as wild, rude, and barbarous, brought vp without lerning and nurtour.' But John Elder informs the Tudor king, that if ignorant of letters, the 'Yriah lordes' surpassed their calumniators in faith, honesty, policy, wit, good order, and civility; 'ffor wher the saide Yrishe lordes promise faith, they keipe it truely, be holdings vp of ther formest fyngar, and so will they not, with ther sealis and subscripcions, the holy Euangel twickide:' *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 23-32. In 1574 Allau M'Intosche was 'exhorter and reader at Brayevin [Cawdor] and Brachlie in the Irische toung:' *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, part v., p. 248, *et passim*.

¹ Burgh Records of Perth.

guage. Imagine the torture implied in the attempt to introduce in such fashion an English tongue into a Gaelic head! Let us hope, for the sake of the Highland youth who have been so long educationally neglected and cruelly tortured by ignorant teachers—teachers without wisdom, content to fill the poor pupil with dead words, not with the things signified—that the school boards will foster the mother tongue of the scholars as an instrument, the most potent within their reach, for conveying instruction.¹

§ 9. The art of dancing, ranked by Aristotle with poetry, which contributes so much to social amusement and healthy exercise, did not form a prominent part in the education of our youth, but the exercise was not altogether forbidden; nor was it considered an immoral excitement in the last century—at least for children. In 1711 the council of Dundee license a dancing-master to teach his art in the burgh.² In 1765 the council of Banff, considering that there is no one in the town for teaching the youth dancing, 'which they apprehend is a very necessary article of education,' write to the town's agent in Edinburgh to employ one, who shall receive a salary of £5, in addition to fees and perquisites, in the event of his 'capacities and conduct' satisfying the council, after a year's practice.³ In 1779 the council of Stirling, in answer to a petition from a respectable number of the inhabitants, appoint a dancing-master, and allow him a free

¹ The Gaelic language, hitherto so shamefully neglected, though spoken by probably half-a-million of people, and used in the public service of at least 400 out of 2000 congregations in Scotland, is not yet taught in any school or university in Scotland. A brave and patriotic Sassenach may be said to have wiped out this stain on our intelligence as a nation, by founding a Celtic chair in one of our universities. We are still not within sight of the position attained by Ireland, which has professorships for teaching the Irish language in Trinity college, Dublin, in the Queen's colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, and in the Roman Catholic colleges at Maynooth and Tuam.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Burgh Records of Banff. Notification to be made of Mr Stevenson's appointment to the inhabitants and all concerned.

hall for teaching his art.¹ In 1784 the council of Ayr allow two dancing-masters the use of the lower assembly room for teaching their scholars country dances;² in 1798 the council resolved to build a 'school for teaching the children dancing.'³

§ 10. Gymnastics, or athletic exercises, which are every day becoming more popular throughout the country, have hardly yet been honoured with a place among the subjects of instruction given at our schools. Muscular exercises, being so well fitted to promote the health, strength, and activity of the body, as well as order and physical obedience, should be made imperative at all schools. The different classes ought regularly to be drilled in fencing or gymnastic exercises and motions according to the age and strength of the pupils, including marching, running, jumping, climbing, lifting and carrying, pulling and pushing. At present gymnastics are only recognised as a branch of education at two of our burgh schools—Edinburgh high school, where the class consisted, in 1874, of nineteen scholars only, and Glasgow high school, where there were 195 scholars who paid a fee from 5s. to 10s. 6d.⁴ School boards should set apart a certain time for these exercises, and if the janitor happens to be an old soldier, he might prove a valuable addition to the staff of teachers by drilling the pupils in military exercises.⁵

§ 11. Plays, including tragedies and comedies, were acted from an early period in the schools under the administration of the councils, usually before the autumn holidays, or on festival occasions, or at visitations. These theatrical performances were introduced, not for the purpose of amusing but for edifying the scholars—for teaching imitation or impersonation of character, good elocution, confidence in public speaking, and, chiefly, for inculcating a moral. One or two of the entries quoted indicate that the scholars were provided with raised stages and appropriate costumes, but it does not appear that

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling. ² Burgh Records of Ayr. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Report of Board of Education, ii., p. 154.

⁵ For notices of Sports, see *supra*, § 7, p. 175.

there was scenic representation. In a plan of education drawn up for the scholars of the grammar school of Glasgow, before the end of the sixteenth century, it is ordained that when the scholars have committed to memory dialogues, speeches, and particularly comedies, they shall assume the characters of the speakers, rehearsing distinctly, in presence of the spectators, in order that they may thus acquire the art of good pronunciation and of good acting.¹ On 14th June 1574, the council of Haddington ordain the £10 formerly assigned to the master of the grammar school, to be delivered to the 'town players,' and the 'claythis to be delverit thaireftir to the toun.'² On 4th September 1579, the council of Edinburgh ordain Mr James Lowsoun, minister, and two others to visit the high school, and report with regard to the acting of the 'tragedies by the bairnis,' who are learning to perform a play on the occasion of a royal visitation of the school by James VI.³ We do not learn what 'tragedy was maid by the bairnis' on this occasion; but the propriety of the next theatrical display in the same school is questionable, though in keeping with the altered ecclesiastical current of the time. On 19th July 1598, the treasurer of the city was ordered to buy grey cloth sufficient for five 'frieris weids,' and some red cloth, resembling the dresses worn by the 'paip and his cardinellis, to serve the play to be playet be the principall and maisteris and his scholleris of the hie schole'⁴—the object of the performance being no doubt to ridicule Roman Catholicism. On 1st August 1616, the council of Perth ordained 20 merks to be paid to Mr Patrick Rynd, minister of Dron, and afterwards interim master of the grammar school, for his pains in making 'ane play agane Fryday next,'⁵ which was probably to be acted by the scholars. On 15th June 1659, the council of Aberdeen enact that, at every quarterly visitation of the grammar school, there shall be public acting, either of the colloquies

¹ From the Original in the archives of Glasgow.

² Burgh Records of Haddington.

³ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Perth.

of Erasmus, or some authors, such as Cato, Sulpicius; a psalm of Buchanan, an epistle of Ovid, a satire of Juvenal or Persius, or an ode of Horace, shall be repeated; or the highest class at the Lammas visitation shall give two short declamations and a 'palemone,' that by these exercises the scholars may learn boldness and vivacity in public speaking; some of these exercises shall be practised at every quarterly visitation.¹ Among the regulations made by the town council of Dundee, there is one in 1674 ordaining that the scholars in the grammar school attending the master's class shall 'harangue' monthly upon a subject prescribed by the master.²

A favourite play in the schools was the 'Bellum Grammaticale'—a serio-comic piece, in which the parts of speech are personified—pitted on opposite sides, each claiming precedence of the other. The play, founded on Guarna's work on the same subject, was revised and adapted for theatrical performance in the schools, by the grammarian, Alexander Home, master of the grammar school of Dunbar.³ In 1693 the council of Dumfries purchased '10 pair deals, at 14s. 6d. each, for a stage to the scholars when they acted Bellum Grammaticale.'⁴ On 17th August 1705, the council of Paisley voted to Mr George Glen and Mr James Alexander, master and doctor respectively of the grammar school, '£20 Scots towards the defraying of the expenses of their acting Bellum Grammaticale, and also for their further encouragement, promise to erect a theatre at their own expense.'⁵ On 5th August 1729, a stage was ordered to be erected for the rector of the grammar school of Haddington, as Mr Leslie's scholars are to act a comedy.⁶ The council of Aberdeen,

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Steven's High School, p. 37.

⁴ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, p. 504 (2d ed.).

⁵ Burgh Records of Paisley. As early as 1620 we read in the council records of £20 Scots being voted 'to keep and supply to a pleasant invention and play,' but whether this last had any connection with the grammar school is not stated—most likely it had. The £20 Scots was to be taken from the 'unlaws' gotten within the burgh.

⁶ Burgh Records of Haddington.

in 1711, enacted that, for the encouragement of learning, a 'public action be acted' yearly in the grammar school on the day following the general visitation, and ordained a public theatre to be erected in some public part of the town every three years, that a 'public action be acted on it by the scholars of the grammar school.'¹ On 7th August 1731, the council of Selkirk resolve to be at the expense of erecting a stage for acting a play by the boys at the grammar school.² In August 1734, the scholars of the grammar school of Dalkeith acted before a crowd of spectators the tragedy of Julius Cæsar and a comedy of Æsop, with a 'judgment and address inimitable at their years;' in the same month, the pupils in the grammar school of Kirkcaldy performed a piece, composed by their master, entitled 'The royal council for advice; or, the regular education of boys the foundation of all other national improvements;' the council consisted of a preses and twelve members, decently and gravely seated round a table like senators; the other boys were posted at a due distance in a crowd, representing people come to attend this meeting for advice; from whom entered, in their turn and order, a tradesman, a farmer, a country gentleman, a nobleman, two schoolmasters, etc., and last of all a gentleman who complimented and congratulated the council on their noble design and worthy performance; the whole exhibition is described as giving high satisfaction to the audience.³ On Candlemas 1734, the pupils of the Perth grammar school made an exhibition of English and Latin readings, in the church, before the clergy, magistrates, and a large miscellaneous auditory; the Tuesday after, they acted 'Cato' in the school (which is described as one of the handsomest in Scotland), before 300 gentlemen and ladies; the youth, though they had never seen a play acted, performed surprisingly, both in action and pronunciation, which gave general satisfaction; after the play, the magistrates entertained the gentlemen at a tavern.⁴

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Selkirk.

³ Chambers's Domestic Annals, iii., 584.

⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 1st February 1734.

At one time the church denied baptism to any one who was connected with the theatre, and her ill-directed zeal led her to fulminate against these exhibitions so long practised—advantageously practised—in the schools. On 30th January 1735, the kirk session of Perth declare that a great offence is given to religious persons in town and country by the tragedy to be acted in the grammar school of the burgh; the session accordingly appoint a committee to call on Mr Martine, master of the grammar school, and signify to him ‘that the said tragedy gives offence,’ and to report.¹ The scholars, however, on Candlemas acted ‘George Barnewell’ twice before large audiences, comprising many persons of distinction; on the succeeding Sunday a ‘very learned moral sermon, suitable to the occasion, was preached against converting the school into a playhouse, whereby youth are diverted from their studies, and employed in the buffooneries of the stage.’² The session having, on 13th February, called for the report, it is represented that the committee showed to Mr Martine that the tragedy which was to be acted gave great offence; and further, it was reported that the tragedy was acted twice over last week, on two different nights, notwithstanding of the communing, and that several of the spectators were offended. The session having taken the affair under their serious consideration, after long reasoning, appoint a committee to prepare an overture for suppressing stage plays in the school, and dancing balls in this place.³ This appointment was renewed from time to time; on 8th January 1736, the committee, after ‘long reasoning,’ agreed upon the following characteristic overture, which is approved by the session: The kirk session, seriously considering the sad and lamentable growth of the immorality of the age, even within the bounds of this town and parish, especially in the horrid violation and breach of the seventh command, the lust of uncleanness having become so common, and, notwithstanding the means

¹ Kirk Session Records of Perth.

² Chambers’s Domestic Annals, iii., 584.

³ Kirk Session Records of Perth.

used for suppressing the same, appearing still to be upon the growing hand, most seriously warn and exhort all the members of this congregation carefully to avoid all incitatives to that vile and abominable sin so hateful in the sight of an holy God, and the things so justly declared to be forbidden in this commandment by the compilers of our excellent catechism, particularly idleness, drunkenness, unchaste company, lascivious songs, books, pictures, dancings, stage plays, and all other provocations to or acts of uncleanness, either in ourselves or others.¹

§ 12. The Parliament, the Kirk, and the town councils earnestly endeavoured to educate the youth attending the grammar schools not only in learning, virtue, and morals, but also in religion. From the first Act passed on the subject of religious instruction by the Scottish Parliament, it appears that more than three hundred years ago our forefathers were of opinion that mere knowledge is worse than ignorance—that knowledge unsanctified was not a blessing, but a curse; that it was only an increase of power, but the power might be a bad as well as good thing. In 1567 Parliament asserts that all laws and constitutions provide that the youth be brought up and instructed in the fear of God and in ‘gude maneris;’ and declares that if God’s Word be not rooted in them, their instruction shall be ‘tinsell baith to thair bodyis and saulis.’² A few notices from the records of the church on the same subject may also be given: In 1592 Mr John Craig, at the special desire of the kirk, ‘kens’ a form of examination for

¹ Kirk Session Records of Perth. We have found no instances of the scholars acting ‘mysteries,’ ‘miracles,’ and ‘moralities,’ so common shortly before the period over which these notices extend.

² Acts of Parliament, 1567, c. 11, iii., p. 24. At the beginning of last century a zealous reformer in education, in recommending a certain course of study at the schools, says that scholars, from their first going to school till they leave the university, ought carefully to be instructed in the principles of religion, ‘nothing being more certain than that where there is not a well-directed conscience, men are rather the worse than the better for being learned in any science.’ From a rare tract in the Halkerston Collection, published in 1704.

the use of lecture schools in place of the 'little catechism ;'¹ in 1597 the Assembly ordain Mr Patrick Sharp's lessons upon the catechism and grounds of religion to be printed, thinking them very necessary for scholars and others ;² in 1616 the king's commissioner propones to the Assembly that, according to the act of council, all scholars shall be made to learn by heart the catechism entitled, 'God and the king'—a commentary, doubtless, on the doctrine of divine right of kings ;³ and on the representation of the high commissioner, the Assembly ordain a catechism to be 'made easy, short, and compendious, of which every family must have a copy for instructing their children and servants in the articles of religion ;'⁴ in 1705 the Assembly recommend all instructors of youth to be careful to instruct their scholars in the principles of the Christian reformed religion, according to the Holy Scriptures, our Confession of Faith, or such books only as are entirely agreeable thereto.⁵

A few extracts from the records of different burghs will serve to show the mind of the municipal authorities with regard to the imparting of religious instruction in the schools under their management: In 1592 it was reported that the schoolmaster of Musselburgh was careful in training up the youth 'not only in letters of humanitie, but also in catechising them according to Caluinyne and teaching of Buchanan's Psalms ;'⁶ in 1595 it was ordained that the master of the grammar school of Ayr should teach the youth weekly a lesson, introducing them to the principal heads of religion ;⁷ in 1597 the master of the grammar school of Glasgow was ordained to catechise his 'Irische scholleris' in the grounds of religion ;⁸ two years later the master is ordered to 'try the religion of the Irischemen' in his school, and to report his diligence to the presbytery ;⁹ the schoolmaster of Peebles in 1649, and again in 1655, swears to be diligent in instruct-

¹ Booke of the Universall Kirke, 788.

² Ibid., p. 947.

³ Ibid., p. 1123.

⁴ Ibid., 1127.

⁵ Acts of General Assembly.

⁶ Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 130.

⁷ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁸ Presbytery Records of Glasgow.

⁹ Ibid.

ing the 'youth in the grounds of divinity;' ¹ in 1650 the schoolmaster of Musselburgh taught the younger children in the lesser catechism, and the older ones in Ursin's, because it was in Latin; it was also proposed that the larger catechism should be translated into Latin for the use of Latin scholars; ² in 1653 the master of the grammar school of Paisley promised 'to use all his best endeavours to train up the youth in the school in the knowledge of God;' ³ in 1659 the council of Aberdeen ordained the visitors to try how the scholars profited in the grounds of religion, by asking some questions of the shorter catechism and their meaning; ⁴ in 1679 the council of Dunbar enjoined the schoolmaster to 'instruct the youth at all convenient seasons in the principles of Christianity;' ⁵ in 1700 it was ordained that once a week all the rules and questions of the shorter catechism should be repeated publicly in the grammar school of Aberdeen; ⁶ in 1716 the schoolmaster of Kirkcudbright promised to educate the scholars in the letters and principles of our holy religion as established by law; ⁷ in 1763 the council of Kinghorn ordained the master to ask once in the week a question in the shorter catechism at every scholar capable of repeating it; ⁸ 'what endears the masters of the grammar and English schools of Kilmarnock to the presbytery,' who have just examined these schools (9th June 1795), 'and ought to endear them to every friend of religion, law, and order, is, that they are most careful to enforce a due respect to the Sacred Scriptures, by making their scholars read them regularly, according to the recommendation of the last General Assembly, and doing everything in their power to learn them the foundation of their hope, as well as their duty to God and man;' ⁹ in 1800 the visitors of the grammar school of Aberdeen, considering

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 130.

³ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁶ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁷ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁸ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁹ Presbytery Records of Kilmarnock.

that nothing can be of greater importance in the education of youth than their being carefully instructed in the principles of religion, enjoin a special regard to this essential point in all the schools under their inspection; in the grammar school they appoint lessons to be prescribed on Saturday to the several classes, according to the respective progress of each, from the 'Rudimenta Pietatis,' from the Sacred Dialogues, and from Buchanan's Psalms, or Castalio's Latin Bible; the scholars shall give an account of these lessons on Monday morning; in the English schools, they appoint the forenoon of every Saturday to be employed in teaching the shorter catechism, or Watts's catechism; at the annual visitation, some specimen shall always be required of the progress of the scholars in religious knowledge from these sources.¹ We gather from these extracts that religious instruction formed a prominent, if not an essential, part of the course of study pursued in the old burgh schools from the Reformation to the end of last century, and in the opinion of many that custom has in no small degree contributed towards making our poor little kingdom not only one of the freest, most enlightened, and independent, but also one of the most prosperous and respected in the world.

Scotland, unlike England, has hardly had any practical experience of the 'religious difficulty' question. We have been noted, it is true, for our controversies with regard to Church government, but happily these have not affected or to any extent interfered with our national education. The burgh and parish schools of Scotland were never sectarian—at least in our day; they have been attended, without distinction, by children of all denominations—Presbyterians of the Established Church, as well as the different non-Established churches, Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, and even Jews; and we have no record of any instance of interference on the part of the managers or teachers with the consciences of those pupils who did not belong to the Established Church—in fact, of the smallest violence having been done or offered to their

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

religious persuasion. The patrons of our national schools, heritors as well as town councillors, held the religious convictions of parents and pupils so sacred, that it may truly be said that there was no religious difficulty in the way of passing *our* Education Act—an Act having a conscience clause like the English Act, but, unlike that Act, imposing no restriction as to the religious instruction to be given in our public schools.¹ The conscience clause provides that every public school shall be open to children of all denominations, who may, however, be withdrawn² from religious instruction without suffering disadvantage, and that the time for teaching religion shall be at the beginning or end of a meeting, according to a table approved by the Scotch Education Department.³ Parliament, in short, favours no denomination, and the school board elections appear to have made little difference with regard to the teaching of religion in the schools. Prayers are said,⁴ and the Bible and shorter catechism—the Scriptures accompanied with dogmatic teaching according to the Presbyterian standards of the Westminster Assembly—are not only as before almost universally used in the old parish schools,⁵ but likewise, with few exceptions, in the burgh or secondary schools. In 1873 the Scriptures, shorter catechism, and the evidences of Christianity were taught in the Annan academy; the Bible and shorter catechism were taught in Banff grammar school, Forfar academy, Forres academy, Lanark burgh school, Linlithgow grammar school, Perth academy, Renfrew grammar school; and, in the same year, general instruction in the Scrip-

¹ Elementary Education Act, 1870, forbids denominational standards or formularies to be taught in the school board schools.

² Not necessarily from the school. ³ § 68. ⁴ *Supra*, § 2, p. 159.

⁵ Judging from the returns given in the School Board Directory published in 1874—perhaps a doubtful authority on this point—religious instruction does not appear to be given in the schools under the following school boards: Auchterhouse, Auchtermuchty, Clarkston, Cumlodden, Falkirk, Forres, Gulberwick, Kilbarchan, Glassford, Kirkintilloch, Lerwick, Ruthwell, St Fergus, West Calder, Tingwall, Whiteness, Weisdale; the Bible only is taught in the schools of Longside, Newhills, Old Machar, St Ninians, Tillicoultry.

tures,¹ at least, was given in the following schools, in some daily, and in others weekly: Arbroath high school, Ayr academy, Bathgate academy, Burntisland grammar school, Cupar Madras academy, Dumbarton burgh academy, Dumfries academy, Edinburgh high school, Elgin academy, Forfar academy, Fraserburgh academy, Glasgow high school, Greenock academy, Hamilton academy, Inverness academy, Kirkcudbright academy, Leith high school, Moffat grammar school, Paisley grammar school,² Peebles grammar school, Madras college of St Andrews, Stirling high school, Tain academy.³ No formal religious instruction is imparted in the Aberdeen grammar school, in the Brechin grammar school, in the Montrose grammar school, in the Peterhead academy;⁴ and it may be mentioned that the privilege of the conscience clause has been claimed, and, of course, granted, in the following schools, the parents generally taking exception to the shorter catechism only:⁵ In the Annan academy, Arbroath high school, Ayr academy, Edinburgh high school, Forres academy, Hamilton academy.⁶ Exemption is seldom claimed from the class while receiving instruction in the Scriptures; few object to religious teaching so limited, and Roman Catholic children,⁷

¹ Particular passages of the Bible are selected, and the Scriptures are used more as a devotional exercise than as lessons, the teachers not generally entering into points of doctrine.

² In the School Board Directory, the schools under the school board of Paisley are not credited with religious instruction.

³ Cf. Report on Endowed Schools, ii., pp. 364-602; the tendency is to narrow the religious teaching, especially in burghs, to the Bible, which alone is used in the schools under the management of the school boards of Banff, Dundee, Galashiels, Hawick, Selkirk, as well as in several of those mentioned in the text: School Board Directory.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ The objections to the shorter catechism come chiefly from parents who are not Presbyterians.

⁶ Report on Endowed Schools.

⁷ Teachers find it not quite easy to teach history without reference to religion, for instance, where the class-book speaks strongly against Roman Catholics; but in such cases, masters of considerate feelings, knowing that they have Roman Catholics in their class, teach the facts without comments.

and even Jews, do not usually leave the class-rooms when the Scripture-lesson is said.¹

The necessity for continuing to impart religious instruction in the schools is becoming, it is believed, more imperative than ever, and that for several reasons. In the first place, the number of children who have no parents to guide them—who are orphans—especially in the larger towns, is rapidly increasing, while parents who are ignorant and careless, and lead a vicious life, are said not to be decreasing in number: for children of this class religious instruction is urgently demanded. Another reason is, that while a great majority of parents are willing and anxious to train their children in the truths of religion, the laboriousness of their daily duties prevents many of them from overtaking this important task—a task which requires high qualifications and a special preparation for its due performance. Further, such children are not generally advanced enough in intelligence and knowledge to get much advantage from the pulpit, and whatever argument may be urged regarding ministers in the less populous districts, it is hopeless to expect that ministers occupying charges in important centres, and who are already burdened with work, can obtain the necessary leisure to instil into the minds of children the principles of our holy religion. Lastly, our legislature, which in former times was regarded as the ‘nursing mother’ of the church and of religion, *appears* to be indifferent to the results of bringing up a population without religious principles—to attach little or no importance to the religious element in the education of the people. This conclusion may be reasonably inferred from the fact that no part of the money annually granted by Parliament ‘for public education’ is allowed to be given for proficiency of the scholars in religious knowledge, even limited to the Bible—the ‘book,’

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, iii., 207, 208. In large schools there may be children of persons professing Deism, Unitarianism, Rationalism, Positivism, etc., and, of course, no religious instruction can be unsectarian *qua* them, at least; but the sectarian difficulty does not extend to the playground.

according to M. Vinet, 'of the human race, in which the local and temporary disappear in the universal—a book containing the history of education, of a vast and sublime education, which the child, without being told, apprehends as his own education.'¹ A section of the Christian community holds, that for the violence which might be done to the consciences of a *few* persons by granting public money for a strictly Christian education—an education which would have no connection with any denomination whatever—equal violence is occasioned to the consciences of *many* parents by Parliament not recognising or countenancing religious education whether apart from or in connection with a sect. While it may be replied to this class that no man's conscience can be violated by what is *not* done, or is left undone, it must be admitted that they may fairly charge the Government with inconsistency in maintaining a church for the religious instruction of grown-up people, and making no provision for the religious education of the young, even in the broad and catholic doctrines of Christianity held in common by all denominations, the scholars more urgently requiring such instruction than old people who receive it from the church established and maintained by the State. There are not a few, however, who think that religion will not in the least suffer from the neutral position taken up by the Government, holding that, as long as it does not forbid the imparting of religious instruction in the schools, but leaves the school boards to do as they like in the matter, Christianity, instead of suffering, will develop itself more freely than if it were encumbered with public money, which would only be given under certain restrictions. For our own part, we feel confident that the cause of religion is safe in the hands of our local parliaments—the school boards, which, being at once local and representative in their character, must know the requirements, and may with reason be expected to supply the wants, both religious and secular, of the districts committed to their charge.

The statement that there has been no religious difficulty

¹ L'Education, La Famille et la Société.

in Scotland, while generally true, is liable to some exceptions. One phase of the difficulty is seen in the opposition of certain ratepayers to employing any part of the rates exacted from them for public education in giving religious instruction in the schools under the management of boards. These persons maintain that the public schools should be purely secular, but it may be answered that the school board elections have proved that the religious convictions of an overwhelming majority of the people everywhere would have been disregarded for the few cases in which consciences might have been relieved by establishing secular education, and until the small minorities shall have converted the immense majorities to their views, there is no probability of secular schools obtaining any root in our country. If the day should come when secular education will be the universal rule, 'knowledge may be increased,' but the result, we fear, may disappoint the advocates of secular education:¹

'Religion crowns the statesman and the man,
Sole source of public and of private peace.'

Other nations, including Egypt, Greece, and Rome,² have been distinguished for learning and civilisation, but they have perished; and the faith of thoughtful people in the stability of our own institutions rests mainly on the hope that we shall ultimately succeed in not only reclaiming, humanising, and civilising, but also in spiritualising our rising generations—a reformation which can never be accomplished without the help of the schoolmaster, who must be adorned with peculiar graces for so great a work.

¹ There were attending George Watson college school at Edinburgh, one of the Merchant Company institutions, in 1873, 1160 pupils who all, with the exception of a dozen, received religious instruction, which the head-master thought necessary not only for forming their character, but maintaining discipline in the school: Report on Endowed Schools, i., p. 116.

² The highest precept which Rome could give was: 'Live every man as if the eye of Cato were upon you'—a precept infinitely less sublime than those in Holy Writ.

‘ O’er wayward children wouldst thou hold firm rule,
 And sun thee in the light of happy faces ;
 Love, Hope, and Patience, these must be thy graces,
 And in thine own heart let them first keep school ;
 For as old Atlas on his broad neck places
 Heaven’s starry globe, and there sustains it ;—so
 Do these upbear the little world below,
 Of Education—Patience, Love, and Hope.’

§ 13. From the Reformation to the end of last century the Sabbath—

‘ Hail, Sabbath ! thee I hail, the poor man’s day ’—

was neither to the master nor to the scholars of the grammar school a day of quiet or rest, a period of mental relaxation and sweet communion—but one on which hard and difficult lessons were learned and said, and on which the conduct of the pupils was watched at church, at school, and at home, with a jealousy which might be supposed highly calculated to demoralise teachers and taught; the duties of the former consisting to a large extent in acting as detectives over the latter. But at whatever cost to the comfort, feelings, dignity, and character of the parties concerned, our forefathers were resolved that the youth attending the burgh schools should be thoroughly instructed in the principles of religion, and did not hesitate to adopt any measures, however rough or tyrannical, in order to attain this end ; and they utilised the Lord’s day to the utmost in training our youth in the paths of virtue and piety. The thoroughness of the work will sufficiently appear from a consideration of the means adopted on week-days,¹ and of the custom observed all over Scotland of compelling the scholars to undergo a course of severe religious exercises on Sundays. From the records of a dozen burghs, a fair estimate may be formed of the nature and extent of Sunday teaching, and of the inspection or surveillance exercised over the scholars during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. About three hundred years ago it was ordained that the catechism of the Christian religion should be taught

¹ *Supra*, § 12.

in the vernacular on Saturdays after mid-day to the first-year scholars attending the grammar school of Glasgow; but to the rest the catechism should be taught in Latin, and the argument thereof partly expounded—'ratio cujus exigatur,' on the Lord's day, at the public assembly, and also at the lecture on the same day;¹ in 1685 all the scholars in the same grammar school were required to convene on Sunday morning in the school after preaching in order to give an account of the sermon and to be examined in the shorter catechism and confession of faith in English.² In 1598 the regent of the first class in the high school of Edinburgh was ordained to teach the class on Sunday 'Catechesis Palatinatus,' while the second regent taught the catechism in Latin, and Ovid's *Tristia*, the third regent Buchanan's psalms, and the fourth regent the heroic psalms of Buchanan.³ In 1603 the masters of the grammar school of Aberdeen promise to the session to be diligent in exacting 'ane compt of everie one of the scholars of the grammar school particularly efter the sermones.'⁴ The commissary clerk of Aberdeen, in 1643, was breaking his loyal and episcopalian heart, in respect of the ascendancy of the Covenant and of Mr Andrew Cant in his good town, and recorded with a sigh the melancholy fact that the 'bairnis of the grammar school are forbidden to keep efternones sermonis, bot to keep scoolis, quhair the maister sall catechise thame vpone poyntis of religion.'⁵ In 1649 the schoolmaster of Peebles is directed, before dismissing the school on Saturday, to prescribe to the scholars who are learning Scots a portion of the psalms or catechism, of which they shall give an account on Sunday at the close of the afternoon sermon; each Sunday he shall convene the scholars at eight A.M.—teaching and catechising them in their Sunday lessons of Scripture till the second bell rings; when the afternoon sermon ends he shall convene them and take account of their notes of the preaching and of the Sunday lessons;⁶ in 1654

¹ Original document is in the archives of Glasgow.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁴ Session Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Memorials of the Troubles, i., 226.

⁶ Burgh Records of Peebles.

the master undertakes to attend the male children sent to school on Sabbath as well as on week-days, conform to the order of grammar schools.¹ An equally rigid course of studies was observed in the north of Scotland in the middle of the seventeenth century: in the directory of the grammar school of Elgin, dated 1649, the Sunday programme is as follows: upon the Lord's day, masters and scholars shall convene in school at eight o'clock in the morning, and after prayer in the English tongue, the several classes shall be exercised—the seniors in the exposition of a sacred lesson which has been taught betwixt one and two o'clock of the preceding Saturday out of Buchanan's paraphrases of the Psalms, or Ursin's or Calvin's catechisms, and the juniors in getting 'by heart' some select English psalms, or the ordinary catechism; they shall return to school in the afternoon at the first bell after sermon, and be exercised till the second bell in reading their sacred lesson; after the second service they shall return incontinent to school, when, after a short prayer by the master, thanking God for the liberty of His own day, and the use of His ordinances, and supplicating for His effectual blessing unto them, the master, settling himself in the desk—all the scholars observing deep silence, shall, according to his discretion, call up some of every class and require their observations of both the sermons, and enlarge points to them occasionally for their capacities as they have been taught, and after a large hour's space spent in exercise and exhortation he shall dismiss them with psalms and prayer;² in 1791 the council of Elgin approve of a representation made to them by the burgh, that the master should see that the teachers on each Sunday evening instruct the scholars in the principles of religion, according to their capacities, and that they read a portion of the Sacred Scriptures;³ two years later his duties are more precisely defined: in 1793 the master undertook, on every Lord's day and other holy days set apart for public divine service, to convene the scholars and cause them to read with

¹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

² Presbytery Records of Elgin.

³ Session Papers, No. 541, p. 24.

propriety and decorum certain passages of the Holy Scriptures and other devout authors in his hearing, and to repeat the lectures and texts given out by the preachers at divine service, with such inferences as the preacher may draw therefrom, so far as their memories and maturities will admit.¹

The schoolmaster of Jedburgh was taken bound in 1656 to enter the school with his scholars on Sabbath days at eight A.M., and to catechise them in the grounds of religion till betwixt the second and third bell.² The master of the grammar school of Dundee was instructed in 1674 to say prayers in the English tongue after the afternoon's sermons on the Lord's day; on that day the notes of the sermons by the scholars shall be exacted, and part of a psalm sung; the scholars shall be examined on the catechism either in Latin or English, as the master shall appoint;³ in 1712 the master of the English school of Dundee undertakes to attend in the church after Sundays for catechising the children.⁴ In 1679 the masters of the burgh schools of Dunbar were ordained after public worship to meet in their respective schools, and to take account from the scholars of what had been taught throughout that day.⁵ The scholars of the grammar school of Aberdeen, in 1700, were required to repair to school each Sabbath day after the afternoon sermon, there giving an account of what they had heard, and mentioning the church they attended;⁶ after prayers the several classes shall be examined, at the second ringing of the bell, on questions of the shorter catechism from the time of the ringing of the second to the third bell in the afternoon, the high class giving an account of the catechism, with the scriptural proofs, and an exposition of a chapter of the Latin New Testament; after sermon and prayer the classes shall meet and give an account of their *notes*, after which they shall

¹ Session Papers, No. 541, p. 24.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. The visitors, at their quarterly visitations, are enjoined to inquire strictly how far this regulation has been observed.

⁵ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

⁶ Ibid.

be dismissed with prayer;¹ it was reported in 1791 that it had been a practice many years ago for the masters of the grammar school of Aberdeen to cause the scholars to get by heart, and rehearse in the school on the Sabbath day, the Assembly's shorter catechism, and likewise to give an account of the sermons which the scholars had heard in the churches immediately after the preachings were over, and the scholars returned to the school;² reported to the town council in 1796 that a master attends regularly at the school every Sunday morning, says prayers in the public school, and attends the boys to church, but of late years very few of them have attended.³ That Sunday teaching had been in abeyance for years at this grammar school appears from the following entry: in 1826 the magistrates and visitors of the grammar school revive the ancient practice of assembling on Sunday in the school, perhaps in the rector's class-room, half-an-hour before the commencement of public worship, for the purpose of reading a portion of Scripture with those scholars whose parents wish them to attend church.⁴ The practice in other burghs with regard to Sunday teaching was similar: in 1703 the council of Banff ordain the schoolmaster to say prayers and read in the church on Sabbath days at certain hours in forenoon and afternoon, 'without prejudice to the scholars to repeat such part of the catechism as the master shall previously appoint.'⁵ The two higher masters of the Fortrose academy in 1791 were required alternately to keep a school open on the Sabbath afternoons, from beginning of June to the end of August, for instructing and catechising the inhabitants of the burgh in the principles of religion and morality, besides having a regular Sabbath school for their own scholars during all the other months of the year.⁶ In 1763 all the scholars attending the grammar school of Kinghorn, not under twelve years of age, were ordained to meet every Sabbath after public worship in the afternoon, for an hour, to be in-

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁶ Records of Fortrose Academy.

structed in religion from some proper catechism.¹ The following extract is the only instance which we have found in the records of a teacher having been rewarded for Sunday work: in 1755 the English schoolmaster of Ayr, after the congregation were dismissed from the afternoon sermon, had to attend the public school and instruct the children under his care in the principles of the Christian religion at the rate of 2s. sterling each for three months;² when the scholars enter and are dismissed on the Sunday afternoon, he shall publicly pray to God.³

As may be gathered from several of the foregoing references, the scholars were required to attend the church collectively, accompanied by the masters, who exercised strict supervision over their little flock. Compulsory attendance in church is shown more directly in some other instances like the following: the presbytery of Glasgow conclude, in 1597, that the bairns in the grammar school—all and every one of them—shall resort to the high kirk on the Sunday to hear God's Word preached and the sacraments ministered;⁴ in 1685 it was ordained that the scholars shall convene in the school, from which they shall proceed to church, in order, with their masters, forenoon and afternoon.⁵ The masters and scholars attending the Elgin grammar school were ordained in 1649 to march to church at the second bell in the morning and afternoon, in comely order, with the masters before and the doctors behind, returning to school in the same order.⁶ In the same year it was ordained that when the second bell rings in the morning and afternoon, the schoolmaster of Peebles shall go to church with his scholars, 'in comely and decent order'—noting, in the time of preaching, any disorder, and censuring disturbers.⁷ In 1656 the council of Jedburgh enact that the schoolmaster shall accompany the scholars to church in the morning and afternoon; he shall be

¹ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

² Burgh Records of Ayr.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Presbytery Registers of Glasgow.

⁵ Original in archives of Glasgow.

⁶ Presbytery Records of Elgin.

⁷ Burgh Records of Peebles.

careful lest any be absent or go out of church, or spend their time idly while in church, and that they shall hear reverently; account shall be taken of their conduct in the afternoon when the sermon is ended.¹ In 1679 the masters of the grammar school of Dunbar are ordered to accompany the scholars to church in the forenoon and afternoon in all decency.² The council of Dumfries, in 1724, required the teachers and pupils to be in the school each Sabbath morning at nine o'clock, and at the ringing of the steeple bells to repair to the church, the master going before, his assistant bringing up the rear.³ In 1700 the council of Aberdeen appointed the hebdomadar to sit every Sabbath in the little desk before the left door in the church to observe lest any scholar go out of the church without his leave; those making disturbance in church, and the absentees from the sermon, shall be called to severe account on Monday.⁴ Church attendance on the part of masters and pupils became voluntary only in the beginning of this century. In 1826 the council of Aberdeen make provision for 'those scholars whose parents wish them to attend church;' to ensure the attendance of at least one of the masters at the place appointed for the meeting, the hebdomadar is required to be present, though it is expected that the rector and the masters shall attend as regularly as possible, and always when they intend to be in church, a few minutes before the hour of public worship; all shall walk in procession to church, where the rector is always to take his seat first.⁵ In 1755 the rector and doctor of the grammar school of Stirling were required on the Sabbath to catechise and go to church with the scholars.⁶

The authorities made special provision for accommodating scholars by allocating to them a certain part of the church, from which they must 'hear the voice and see the face of the minister of the Word.' In 1603 two distinguished masters, Mr

¹ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

² Burgh Records of Dunbar.

³ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, 503.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Stirling.

David Wedderburne and Mr Thomas Reid, present a bill to the session of Aberdeen, mentioning that in the past the scholars of the grammar school, who should have been edified in godliness by the hearing of the Word, have been, against conscience, neglected in that point, because they sit in such a place that they cannot hear the voice of the minister; the masters therefore desire that, seeing they are the 'seminary of the kirk and commonweill,' a place be provided for them where they may hear and be instructed; it was ordained that the scholars shall sit in the new kirk 'on the degrees under the new loft, where they will both hear and see the minister of the Word.'¹ In 1644 licence was granted to two persons by the session of Dunfermline to fix seats for themselves 'under the schollers' seat';² in 1709 the council of Dunfermline ordain the 'scholars' loft' in the church to be built and repaired.³ A portion of Lady Yester's church was set apart in 1660 for the exclusive use of the scholars of the Edinburgh high school on Sunday, and at a little later period the east gallery of Trinity College church was allotted for the same purpose.⁴ David Haldane, weaver in Stirling, was paid by the council in 1739 for keeping the door of the scholars' loft in the East church.⁵ In 1758 the kirk session of Dumbarton acquired from the magistrates the church seats reserved for the school.⁶ The town council of Kinghorn, in 1763, appointed the scholars to be assembled both forenoon and afternoon every Sabbath in the school, to go regularly to church to the seats appointed for them, both master and doctor sitting with them.⁷ In 1783 the provost of Dundee reported to the council that he had conferred with the rector of the grammar school upon the absence of the scholars from the loft in the new church, according to old practice; the rector had represented objections made by the

¹ Kirk Session Records of Aberdeen.

² Kirk Session Records of Dunfermline.

³ Burgh Records of Dunfermline. The scholars' loft was in existence so late as 1821.

⁴ Steven's High School, pp. 69, 70.

⁵ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁶ Kirk Session Records of Dumbarton. ⁷ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

parents of the children to their going; the council instructed the kirk master to 'set' the grammar school loft in the new or west church; in the same year the council grant the rector of the grammar school a seat in the old church, and the two doctors a pew in any other of the churches between them, without rent, during the pleasure of the council.¹ In 1826 the scholars of the grammar school of Aberdeen attended church in the 'grammar school gallery.'²

The pupils were not learners merely; they were made to teach, after the following ingenious method, those who needed religious instruction but could not be pressed into Sunday classes: in 1604 the session of Aberdeen think fit, for the edification of the 'common ignorant people and servants' in the grounds of their salvation, that between the second and third bells every Sabbath day, two scholars of the English school shall stand up before the pulpit, the one demanding, the other answering, with a loud voice, in audience of the people, the short catechism and form of examination of children, in order that by frequent repetition the people may learn the same 'perqueir, and be brought to the knowledge thereof.'³ In 1616 Mr Thomas Hog, master of the grammar school of Leith, promises to obey the injunction requiring two bairns 'fra the gramer scooll' to repeat on every Sabbath day, after the prayers and before the blessing, Mr Craig's 'caritches openlie in the kirk, for the instruction of the comonnes.'⁴ Mr Thomas Walker, master of the grammar school of Dunfermline, is recommended to have his scholars in readiness to repeat the catechism every Sabbath betwixt the second and third bell before noon and afternoon—one proposing and the other answering—so that the people may hear and learn, it being used in other kirks; the questioning and answering to begin next Sabbath.⁵ In 1700 the council of Aberdeen order two scholars of the grammar school to go to each of the two churches every

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Session Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Steven's High School, p. 69.

⁵ Kirk Session Records of Dunfermline.

Sabbath day at the beginning of the second bell in the afternoon, and between the ringing of that bell and of the last bell to repeat such portion of the shorter catechism as had been prescribed to them from time to time.¹ In 1724 two scholars of the grammar school of Dumfries were selected each Sabbath to repeat or read the larger or shorter catechism in the church during the intermission to such of the congregations as chose to remain between the services.²

The following extracts further illustrate the surveillance to which the scholars were subjected, and, to some extent, old Scottish sabbatarianism: The masters of the grammar school of Elgin, before dismissing their Sunday scholars, were ordained in 1649 to tell them to keep within doors during the rest of that day—exercised in the study of their sacred lessons, and in meditation of what they have been hearing.³ The teacher was not only a religious drill-sergeant, but was frequently required to do the duties of a detective: the council of Jedburgh request the master, in 1656, to take care that on Sabbath days good order shall be kept when the scholars are out of the school;⁴ in 1711 the schoolmaster of Peebles promises to take particular notice that the children keep within doors on the Lord's day in the afternoon.⁵

The practice of masters and scholars marching to church in procession became less general towards the end of last century, when Sunday schools proper—schools intended to give religious instruction to other children as well as to grammar scholars—were originated by private persons, in a few cases as adventure schools, which were sometimes subsidised by the town councils; for example, in Greenock the council in 1789 supported a Sunday school in addition to the English school, mathematical school, and grammar school; on 14th July the council gave to the teacher for his encouragement £2, 2s.; his school was visited on Sunday last, when he was found employed in teaching a number of boys and girls;⁶ in the

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. ² M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, 503.

³ Presbytery Records of Elgin.

⁴ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Greenock.

following year £5, 5s. were voted by the council to the Sunday school teacher;¹ in 1792 they agrée to pay £10 sterling yearly towards so 'laudable an institution as long as the undertaking answers.'² The example of Greenock was very rarely followed by other burghs, but in some places Sunday schools continued under the patronage of town councils down to our own day; in 1835 a small salary was paid out of a mortification for a Sunday evening class taught in Culross;³ and in the same year the town of Hamilton contributed to Sabbath evening schools in the burgh.⁴ We are not aware that at present there is a school board in Scotland which has direction or superintendence over a Sunday school.

From these different extracts we gather that it was the universal custom for the teacher to take to church on Sunday those whom he instructed on week-days, and that his Sunday teaching—doctrinal catechising—was as regular and severe as the work which he performed on week-days. We have no desire to reintroduce into our schools these practices in religious exercises, but if Parliament and the school boards—in their wisdom—come to treat religion and education as two separate things and so disunite them, on the ground that they clog or embarrass each other, the Sunday schools of the future may become more important than they have been in the past, and consequently they will have to be better organised. The teachers must be selected with as great care as is shown in the choice of those who conduct our public schools; the managers must exclude many who volunteer to do that important work at present—among others, the Sunday teacher who has no other qualifications than good intentions; the teacher whose knowledge is confined to the answer and question book; the mercenary teacher, who goes to form connections; the teacher who does not duly prepare for his class; in short, only good teachers—those possessing superior knowledge, excellent parts, and are in love with their work—should be elected; only such persons should be eligible as can truly say:

¹ Burgh Records of Greenock.

² Ibid.

³ Municipal Corporations Report, i., 172.

⁴ Ibid.

‘Delightful task! to rear the tender thought,
To teach the young idea how to shoot,
To pour the fresh instruction o’er the mind,
To breathe th’ enlivening spirit, and to fire
The generous purpose in the glowing breast.’

§ 14. As a corollary to this important chapter, let us say a few words on the library—a valuable acquisition to any institution, but in a special way to the school, the improvement of which it promotes by unfolding and cherishing the genius of the pupils, storing their minds with knowledge, elevating their character, occupying their vacant hours, and producing a taste for reading and contemplation—the greatest treasure that they may find during their ‘weary pilgrimage.’ A school library will supply with books such children as otherwise might not get access to them, there being a vast majority of the parents in every parish, village, and burgh who are too poor, ignorant, or parsimonious to procure books for their children.

Judging from the entries in the records of a few burghs it would seem that the important subject of providing school libraries received more consideration two hundred years ago than it does in our own day, notwithstanding the immense facilities now enjoyed of procuring books—facilities such as were utterly unknown to our ancestors. In the year 1658 a library, for the benefit of the teachers and pupils, was established in the high school of Edinburgh, on the recommendation of the head-master, the council, as ‘fautors and favourers of nurseries of learning, approving of the good and commendable motion of Mr John Muir;’¹ this school library, one of the oldest, if not the oldest, in Scotland, is still the most valuable, and contains the ‘best Greek and Latin lexicons, the best editions of the classics, several encyclopædias, and a valuable collection of antiquarian, historical, and geographical authors;’² and there are nearly 7000 volumes in the

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Steven’s High School, 64. It also contains, we believe, a goodly array of the old classbooks, but they are not yet catalogued.

library. The nucleus of the library of the grammar school of Aberdeen was laid in the following year, when Mr George Robertson bequeathed a few books for that purpose:¹ in June 1826, at Mr James Melvin's urgent entreaty, the magistrates of Aberdeen ordered the library of the grammar school to be set in order;² this library did not grow like that of the high school of Edinburgh, being still a 'small library consisting principally of old classical works, and of no interest for boys.'³ In 1682 the council of Glasgow obtained the dean of guild and deacon-convener to take an inventory of the 'bibleothick' in the grammar school, and to order a press to be made for keeping the books, which they shall deliver to the master, taking his receipt therefor;⁴ there was a library connected with this school not many years ago, of which the janitor was guardian, but it is not now in existence or operation.⁵ The magistrates of Montrose in 1686 erected a library for the use of the grammar school of the burgh, and contributed £10 sterling in order to buy books;⁶ in 1699 it was appointed, 'for the encouragement of the schol librarie, that everie schollar in the first class should yearly (before their going off from school) give in something for buying books to it, and a record thereof to be kept;'⁷ in 1704 the council passed an act ordaining every person fined for 'bloodwit' to pay £6, 13s. 4d., and that 'batterie' should be fined at the discretion of the judge—'all quhich should be employed in buying books' for the grammar school library;⁸ in 1704 the

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Ibid.

³ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 341.

⁴ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁵ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 52.

⁶ The books bought and the prices paid with this subscription are entered in a Register preserved among the records of the burgh, and containing the names of those who mortified books to the school library.

⁷ In 1713, 'David Duncan, sailor, sent from London, as testimony of his veneration to this his quondam seminary (these are the words of his letter), Bailey's English Dictionary in a large octavo and one volume; his father delivered it with the letter to P. R.:' Register of Library.

⁸ Register of the Library. The last entry in this interesting little register is dated 1735, when the library consisted of about 600 volumes. In the inventory, which does not appear to contain any book of great

council of Montrose appointed a committee to inventory the books belonging to the library of the grammar school, to observe how the same agrees with the inventory left by the deceased master of the school, and to take receipt from the present master;¹ the magistrates, in 1710, appoint an inventory to be taken of the school library, from the last master, and to be given to the doctor till a master be settled.² In 1711 the council of Dunfermline, considering that it would tend much to the benefit of their grammar school, the encouragement of learning, and interest of the community, that a library were founded, contribute out of the common good £10 sterling for that end, and recommend 'all other persons who please frankly to contribute,' in order to make up such a sum as will buy a number of good books as a 'competent foundation for a library.'³ The council of Kirkcudbright gave £10, in 1782, towards founding a library of proper books; in 1786 a committee was appointed to confer with the schoolmaster as to the library, of which a catalogue is to be deposited with the town-clerk.⁴

At present, hardly in any of our schools is there a collection of books worthy of the name of library, with the exception of the high school of Edinburgh, as already mentioned, and the Dollar institution, which has also an excellent library, containing more than 5000 volumes, open *gratis* to all the pupils.⁵ The grammar school of Paisley has a 'pretty fair library' of history, travels, etc.;⁶ and there is a collection of books in the Arbroath high school which, however, 'has not been used for a number of years';⁷ there is also one at the Ayr academy, which 'is little used,'⁸ and one at the Greenock academy, which 'is of no value—at least, has not been put to use';⁹ and there are small libraries in the Bathgate academy, there are several old classical books, but the bulk of the library consists of theological or metaphysical treatises, many being in French and Latin.

¹ Burgh Records of Montrose.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of Dunfermline. ⁴ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁵ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 411.

⁶ Ibid., 549.

⁷ Ibid., 350.

⁸ Ibid., 358.

⁹ Ibid., 488.

demy,¹ in Burntisland grammar school,² in the Kirkcudbright grammar school,³ in Leith high school,⁴ and in Tain royal academy.⁵ But in the following schools there are not even 'small' or 'useless' collections of books: Annan academy, Banff grammar school, Brechin grammar school, Cupar Madras academy, Dumbarton burgh academy, Dumfries academy, Elgin academy, Forfar academy, Forres academy, Fraserburgh academy, Glasgow high school, Hamilton academy, Inverness royal academy, Irvine royal academy, Lanark burgh school, Linlithgow grammar school, Montrose grammar school, Peebles grammar school, Perth academy and grammar school, Peterhead academy, Renfrew grammar school, Madras college of St Andrews, Stirling high school.⁶ One of the greatest services which a school board could render to the little community under its charge is to establish for their use a library, which should be put under the guardianship of a person of intelligence, active habits, and possessing a natural inclination to oblige and help inquiring young spirits. Unfortunately, at present, pupils are obliged to resort for mental sustenance and recreation to the circulating library, containing little else than the frivolous and sensational literature of the day. The school library ought to consist chiefly of books calculated to convey useful instruction and amusement, including works of travel, biography, and science popularly treated; and the young scholar should be introduced to our grand old masters in poetry and romance, and to such histories as tend to foster the love of one's country, and the spirit of freedom and independence. Many have received more benefit from the perusal of a volume on which they have perhaps accidentally lighted than from all the drilling to which they were subjected at school. Communion with some rare spirit, whom the natural instinct of the schoolboy may thus have discovered in the pages of an old volume, has ere now proved in reality the turning point in his history, and even a landmark in the literature of his country.

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 364.

² *Ibid.*, 371.

³ *Ibid.*, 506.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 519.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 603.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 346-599.

Number of Pupils in each Subject at the Public Schools in Burghs in 1868.¹

SCHOOLS.			SCHOLARS ON ROLL LEARNING																		
NAMES.	No.	DESIGNATION.	Total Scholars on Roll.																		
				Greek.	Latin.	French.	German.	Italian.	Hindustani.	Arithmetic.	Bookkeeping.	Mathematics.	Physics.	Natural History.	Chemistry.	English.	Writing.	Drawing.	Music.	Mensuration.	Other Subjects.
Aberdeen, . . .	1	New Grammar, . . .	272	87	247	11	...	...	...	149	...	104	...	...	...	203	75	10	...	...	...
Do., . . .	2	Old Grammar, . . .	47	15	25	...	...	...	...	35	...	15	...	...	...	35	20	...	...	...	...
Ayr, . . .	3	Academy, . . .	405	12	137	71	8	...	...	262	40	54	...	...	...	362	351	138	...	...	...
Campbeltown, . . .	4	Burgh and Parochial, . . .	86	...	...	11	6	...	...	73	...	...	...	...	...	86	55	...	...	...	...
Irvine, . . .	5	Academy, . . .	160	6	33	22	3	...	...	113	18	29	...	...	...	144	97	10	...	...	...
Annau, . . .	6	Parish and Burgh, . . .	165	...	9	...	...	...	...	114	6	8	...	...	...	164	129	37	...	...	...
Do., . . .	7	Academy, . . .	135	1	46	26	...	...	...	106	7	...	...	...	...	135	125	...	...	...	...
Dumfries, . . .	8	Academy, . . .	230	13	71	43	4	...	...	170	...	35	...	...	...	194	170	35	...	...	...
Kirkcudbright, . . .	9	Academy, . . .	137	9	42	26	12	...	...	118	11	10	...	...	...	114	118	13	...	...	...
Dundee, . . .	10	High, . . .	802	17	137	132	38	...	...	597	119	164	80	...	...	549	533	181	...	...	...
Edinburgh, . . .	11	High, . . .	376	79	376	212	46	1	...	312	56	74	106	100	...	373	231	41	...	...	...
Do., . . .	12	Academy, . . .	377	190	377	377	105	...	...	368	91	152	...	...	...	377	331	13	...	...	...
Banff, . . .	13	Grammar, . . .	136	12	38	...	...	...	...	120	...	11	...	...	...	120	119	5	...	...	...
Elgin, . . .	14	Academy, . . .	137	3	40	16	2	...	...	84	6	11	65	...	...	121	74	2	20	...	...
Peterhead, . . .	15	Academy, . . .	126	3	26	...	2	...	...	115	...	18	...	...	...	120	110	...	...	...	...
Airdrie, . . .	16	Academy, . . .	342	8	33	15	...	...	...	...	11	12	...	...	...	342	342	17	...	...	...
Falkirk, . . .	17	Parochial or Grammar, . . .	280	8	39	30	2	...	...	257	75	6	...	...	...	280	257	217	217	...	...
Hamilton, . . .	18	Academy, . . .	286	4	26	37	...	...	...	177	...	24	...	...	...	285	203	45	...	...	...
Lanark, . . .	19	Burgh, . . .	116	2	22	7	...	...	...	103	10	5	...	...	...	116	103	10	...	...	...
Linlithgow, . . .	20	Burgh Grammar, . . .	70	...	7	1	...	...	...	37	2	10	...	...	...	65	48	...	...	...	...
Glasgow, . . .	21	Academy, . . .	710	62	336	207	62	...	...	438	26	137	145	...	...	710	600	...	...	...	...
Greenock, . . .	22	Academy, . . .	334	20	85	101	25	...	...	241	20	45	...	...	...	322	285	130	...	...	...
Dunbar, . . .	23	Burgh, . . .	142	2	16	27	...	...	...	139	...	4	...	...	...	142	136	...	...	...	...

Number of Pupils in Higher-Class Public Schools, 1874.¹

NAME OF SCHOOL.	No. of Scholars.		Number of Scholars receiving Instruction in each Subject taught.											
	On Roll at end of year.	In Average Attendance.	Latin.	Greek.	English Branches.	Natural Science.	Arithmetic and Mathematics.	Writing.	Modern Languages, French, German, & Italian.	Fencing and Gymnastics.	Drawing.	Bookkeeping.	Physical Science.	
Aberdeen Grammar School, . . .	208	211	190	67	195	...	198	112	F. 40 G. 13	...	21	...	...
Ayr Academy, . . .	420	354	108	23	310	...	A. 280 M. 75	288	F. 112 G. 23	...	135	13	...	
Dumfries Academy, . . .	216	210	90	16	222	...	A. 192 M. 46	187	F. 82 G. 6	...	25	3	29	
Edinburgh High School, . . .	336	299	254	80	336 ²	135 ³ 60 ⁴	A. 237 M. 124	243	F. 224 G. 89	19	73	31 ⁶ 7 ⁷	2 ⁸ 121 ⁹ 16 ¹⁰	
Elgin Academy, . . .	175	170	50	10	175	...	A. 157 M. 18	148	F. 27	...	130	...	...
Glasgow High School, . . .	644	540	434	70	546 ⁴	71 ⁵	A. 481 M. 96	494	F. 226 G. 16	195	220 ¹⁰	54 ⁹	24	
Irvine Academy, . . .	94	94	21	4	90	...	A. 74 M. 17	70	F. 38	...	16	4	...	
Leith High School, . . .	105	98	24	...	104 ⁸	10 ⁹	A. 90 M. 9	90	F. 33 G. 11	...	10	...	...
Montrose Academy, . . .	325	309	64	12	308	...	A. 174 M. 14	241	F. 38 G. 14	...	42	8	...	
Paisley Grammar School, . . .	237	226	45	10	218	...	A. 145 M. 16	175	F. 70 G. 16	...	114	31	...	
Perth Academy, . . .	281	280	43	4	152 ³	8 ⁴	A. 201 M. 50	179	F. 52 G. 21	...	11 ¹¹	96 ⁷	8	
Stirling High School . . .	302	...	72	9	242	...	A. 214 M. 10	214	F. 86 I. 4	...	90	8	...	
	3343	2791	1395	305	2898	...	A. 2443 M. 475	2441	F. 1028 G. 209	214	972	183	...	

¹ Report of Board of Education.² Botany and Geology.³ Chemistry.⁴ Singing.⁵ Pianoforte.⁶ Mining and Civil Engineering.⁷ Natural Philosophy.⁸ Mechanics.⁹ Mechanics and Physics.¹⁰ Painting.¹¹ Of these, 40 learn Painting.

CHAPTER XIV.—SALARIES, FEES, AND EMOLUMENTS.

§ 1. CHURCH LANDS.—§ 2. DILAPIDATIONS.—§ 3. ENDOWMENTS.—
§ 4. COMMON GOOD.—§ 5. PUBLIC MONEY.—§ 6. FEES: REGULATED; PREPAID; ENFORCED; COLLECTED.—§ 7. DUES AND CASUALTIES: CANDLEMAS OFFERINGS; BENT SILVER; COCK-MONEY.—§ 8. AUGMENTATION OF STIPEND.—§ 9. PAYMENT BY RESULTS.—§ 10. KINDLY PROVISIONS: DWELLING-HOUSES; FIRE; CLOTHING; BOARDING.—§ 11. POOR SCHOLARS AND FREE EDUCATION.—§ 12. COST OF EDUCATION AND SALARIES OF TEACHERS.

No office is more important or requires greater attainments than that of the Teacher. His duty consists in making our youth good and useful citizens—worthy members of this great commonwealth—in cultivating the understanding and improving the hearts of those who will soon succeed us in life. To be qualified for this great work, he must be possessed of high capacity and unfailing energy, and moved, as it were, by divine enthusiasm in the cause to which he has dedicated himself; he ought to have great skill in dealing with parents and pupils, special gifts for organising a school and managing scholars, many of whom are 'like a wild ass's colt'—untaught, disobedient, passionate, vicious. When we thus consider the importance of the teacher's trust, the laboriousness of his profession, and the accomplishments necessary for the proper discharge of his office, no one will doubt that his reward should be proportionate to the difficulty and responsibility of his task. But, unfortunately, it cannot be affirmed that in Scotland we have treated our teachers according to the importance and honourableness of their profession; neither the legislature, nor patrons, nor parents have ever fully realised that it was their highest interest, as well

as duty, to deal generously by their teachers—to make such a provision for them as would draw to the profession men of ability, graces, and learning—men so acquainted with human nature as to discover the special aptitudes and guide into a right channel the inclinations of their pupils. In electing teachers, it has too often been considered that any person was good enough for that office, more especially if he could be employed at a nominal price, or accepted service on any condition. We may pass Acts of Parliament for improving our educational machinery as often as we like, but till we raise the status of the teacher, and remunerate him according to his gifts and labours—till we endow him liberally and elevate him socially—till we raise him above penury, and enable him to support himself and his family in a manner worthy of his calling, we shall never have a high class of instructors, nor attain those great ends, whether for society or the individual, at which all education aims. The growth of public opinion is doing something to improve matters, but much yet remains to be accomplished, and we cannot repeat too often that the reforms really needed are those which make the hire worthy of the labourer, exalt the honourableness of the teaching profession, and place more confidence in the fidelity and ability of the teacher once chosen.

§ 1. We proceed now to consider the proper subject of this chapter, viz., the emoluments of teachers, derived (1.) from a stipend or salary payable from different sources; (2.) from school fees; and (3.) from certain casualties at first presented as free gifts. In the first place, we shall refer to the patrimony of the Old Church as one of the sources from which teachers' stipends were derived, though indeed the contribution to the cause of education under this head has been so small that it can hardly be said to have been one of any importance. Parliament seemed anxious that part of the ecclesiastical benefices should be applied to education: thus, in 1567, the Estates, on the preamble that the poverty of many is such that they cannot hold their children at letters, ordain patrons to present provostries, prebends, altarages, and

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chaplainries to poor scholars, so that they may 'study virtue and letters.'¹ The Act quoted, passed no doubt at the instance of the clergy, appears to have been virtually a dead letter, as may be gathered from the small number of endowments of this description mentioned in the records of the burghs, and also from the following Act of the church,² dated 1581: The Assembly, considering there is an Act of Parliament ordaining all provostries and prebends to be given to scholars, and yet that many of them are given to courtiers, desire another Act to be passed requiring prebends founded in favour of schools

¹ Acts of Parliament, 1567, c. 13, iii., 25. In 1571 the church lays down the manner in which these shall be disposed 'for support of the scoles and incres of letters:' *Booke of the Universall Kirke*, pp. 214, 238.

² The following are instances found in the records of such endowments having been applied according to this Act: In 1568 the prebend of St Nicholas in Crail was granted to the doctor of the grammar school: Burgh Records of Crail; in 1571 the schoolmaster was allowed to have the prebend of the Rood; in 1572 the annuals of chaplainries and altarages in Haddington were given to the schoolmaster of the burgh: Burgh Records of Haddington; in 1572 the annual rent of St Lawrence altar in Peebles was granted to the schoolmaster: Burgh Records of Peebles; in 1578 the public reader of Aberdeen received the whole teinds of the vicarage, lambs, geese, lent, eggs, wool, hemp, and other duties, and for every milk cow 12d. during his life: Burgh Records of Aberdeen; in 1582 the chaplainry of Allhallow altar was granted to a master of the grammar school of Glasgow; in 1600 the chaplainry vacant by the decease of Mr John Davidson was given to another master: Burgh Records of Glasgow. Sometimes the altarages were devoted to the education of poor youths aspiring to the ministry: Scrimgeour of Dudhope presents Robert Gray, a 'scholar of gud injine liable to encess in literature and sciences ciuile and divine,' to a benefice to 'support his burding and expenss at grammar scolis and scolis of vniversities, to the fine that he may set forth the Gospel of Jesus Christ:' Thomson's *History of Dundee*, 225. In 1636 the town of Dumbarton takes steps to protect the little endowment of their school against the minister of Bonhill, who is laying claim thereto: 'because the dewties belonging to the town's altarages is imployit to the use of the schoole and schoolmaster of the burgh, and the council, being informit the minister of Bonyll intends to pursue for the rest of the prebendarie, ratify the school's rights to the prebendarie, and ordain the same to be defended:' Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

and masters, to be given conform to the foundation for instructing the youth.¹ Charitable gifts to schools out of the rents of ecclesiastical benefices, including the small endowments of churches, such as altarages, etc., are far from numerous; and it does not appear that the impropiators of churches and church property allocated even a fraction of the plunder gotten at the Reformation to the cause of education. Indeed, our sovereigns appear to have been almost the only benefactors who contributed to any extent towards the support of schools from the revenues of the Old Church, and their contributions were far from royal. We quote a few of such pious acts: Queen Mary grants a stipend of £10 yearly to the master of the grammar school of Dundee from the revenues of the hospital of the burgh.² In 1572 James VI., because of his zeal to promote policy and knowledge of letters, especially at Irvine, disposes to the council of that burgh, for the support of their grammar school, the chaplainries, altarages, or prebends situated within the burgh; also six bolls of multure belonging to the Carmelite friars of the burgh, and other annual rents which they have in the burgh; the founder commands an account to be rendered yearly to the exchequer of these annual rents, in order that it may be understood if the same are duly applied;³ four years later, in order to promote education and keep himself in lasting remembrance, he disposes to the council of Paisley certain altarages, etc., with the pittances of money, obit silver, and commons possessed by the abbots of Paisley, for erecting a grammar school and supporting a master to instruct the boys and youth of the burgh, and of the country adjacent; if the town council shall not apply the same in the way mentioned, the grant

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirke*, pp. 536, 538.

² *Report on Endowed Schools*, ii., 425. In 1567 the queen also granted to the town of Ayr, out of the mills of the burgh, a small annual rent for the support of the schoolmaster, from which the academy receives at present £100: *Ibid.*, ii., 30.

³ The Original, which is in the charter chest of Irvine, was confirmed in 1601 and 1641.

shall be rescinded; ¹ he had also endowed before 1609 a music school at Musselburgh, 'quhairvnto' he 'giftit 300 merkis money furth of the yeirlie dewtie of the erectit lordship of Newbattle; ² in 1614 he granted the lands of the hospital of Renfrew for the better support of the grammar school of that burgh; ³ in 1620 the same king bestowed the lands of the Maison Dieu of Elgin on the burgh for behoof of the common good, taking the town bound to give the office of preceptor of the hospital to a schoolmaster fit to teach music. ⁴ Our James's liberality was imitated to some extent by his consort, who made an interesting bequest to the town of Dunfermline: Queen Anne, lady of Dunfermline, in 1610 commanded her chamberlain to pay to the council of Dunfermline £2000 Scots out of the readiest of her rent of the lordship of Dunfermline, the current annual rent, of which they became bound to pay to the instructors of the youth in the burgh as a common benefit to all—to wit, £100 to the master of the grammar school, and £100 to the master of the sang school, and to their successors for ever. ⁵ Another royal foundation was made in 1703 by her namesake in favour of the grammar school of Renfrew: for the education of the youth of the burgh in virtue and learning, Queen Anne of new suppressed

¹ The Original is in the archives of Paisley. The grammar school was not built until 1586, as appears from the tablet stone which adorns the entrance to the present school. It was opened in that year with a master having a salary of £150 Scots, and a doctor £75; it was afterwards raised to £200 Scots and £100, with a house for the master, which continued to be the salary till the passing of the Education Act.

² Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 130. Charles I., in 1630, disposed to the patrons of this music school a yearly pension of £200 Scots furth from Newbattle.

³ *Infra*, p. 449.

⁴ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 332. The annual revenue of this grant now amounts to about £170, of which £60 are paid to the classical, £40 to the English, and £20 to the mathematical master. The preceptory of the Maison Dieu of Brechin was granted in 1634 for the maintenance of the master of the grammar school of that burgh: *Ibid.*, 331.

⁵ The Original is in the charter chest of Dunfermline. From this mortification there is now paid to the master of the grammar school £11, 2s. 2d., and £5, 11s. 1d. to the master of the sang school.

the hospital of the burgh, and disposed to the magistrates and council its whole rents and pertinents for the use of their school, ordaining it to be called, in all time coming, the grammar school of Renfrew.¹ The only foundation by a churchman for support of a burgh school after the Reformation appears to have been made by the bishop of Aberdeen in 1585, who set apart certain teinds for endowing a school at Banff: David Cuninghame, bishop of Aberdeen, founds a grammar school in the royal burgh of Banff, in order to increase the orthodox faith, to amplify pure religion, to administer rightly laws and civil offices, to promote manners, faith, and religion, to enlarge the republic of letters, particularly in Banff, to requite the good services rendered to him by the burgesses of that town, and to incite the pious feelings of other individuals to confer more extensive aids on literature; for the fee of the master, the bishop disposed, in annual payment for ever, the tithes of certain rents within the sheriffdom of Banff formerly pertaining to him and his predecessors—the same to be held in pure and perpetual alms, for the foresaid use alone.²

§ 2. The few schools which were actually endowed out of church property appear to have received little or no benefit from such endowments in consequence of the dilapidations, misapplications, and perversions to which all mortifications, especially those made out of the benefices of the old church, were at that time subject or liable: dilapidations of school endowments were becoming so manifest and indeed notorious, that Parliament, in 1594, passed an Act 'to remedy the corruption and manifold disorders entered in schools,' by which their buildings are become ruinous and their revenues dilapi-

¹ The Original, which is in the charter chest of Renfrew, ratifies charters granted to the burgh by Robert III. in 1396, confirmed by James IV. in 1542, and by James VI. in 1575 and 1614.

² The Original, in the charter chest of Banff, was confirmed by James VI. in 1592. The royal rents payable to the king from the lands, thanedoms, lordships, baronies, and villages specified, amounted to £463, 4s. 4d., and the funds appropriated to the school as tithes were £44, 10s. 6d.

dated, 'to the great decay of learning;' the Estates, therefore, appointed the chancellor to take order for repairing the buildings, recovering the rents, and appropriating them to their right use according to the foundations, so 'that the schools may be brought to better perfection, and, if possible, to their former state and integrity.'¹ At a later period, Parliament passed another Act for preventing the trustees of mortifications from using the funds at their disposal according to their own judgment—depriving them, to some extent, of the liberty of acting as seemed good in their own eyes: certain persons, it is narrated, piously disposed, having of late bestowed certain gifts in lands and money on colleges, schools, and hospitals, which are 'inverted,' upon some specious pretences, to other uses than the will of the disponent, 'to the evil example of others and the hindrance of the like charitable works, against all reason and conscience,' it is statute that it shall not be lawful to change such gifts to any other use than that destined, under pain of making those entrusted with the management liable for the inversion.² A few instances of actual dilapidations, or loss of property or income bestowed on schools, may be cited: the General Assembly of the kirk, in 1593, supplicated Parliament to reform the dilapidation of the living founded in the grammar school of Kirkwall, and in the meantime ordained the commissioner of the kirk to deprive the dilapidator of the said living;³ what is at present appropriated to educational purposes at the academy of Irvine⁴ amounts to a very small part of the revenues bestowed in 1572 by the founder, and there is no record preserved of the history of the alienation;⁵ James VI. endowed the grammar school of Paisley⁶ with, it is calculated, thirty-five acres of land in the neighbourhood of the town, yielding at the date of the charter £300 Scots; the council appear to have allowed the endowment to merge into the common good, keeping no

¹ Acts of Parliament, 1594, c. 98, iv., 94.

² Ibid., 1633, c. 6, v., 22; ratified 1696, c. 29, x., 64.

³ Booke of the Universall Kirke, 801.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 447.

⁵ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 501.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 447.

special account of their intromissions—conceiving that they discharged their obligation by furnishing the schoolrooms, the master's house, and paying the £300 Scots for salaries; there can be no doubt that this ample endowment forms a considerable item in the common good of Paisley, but its value cannot now be ascertained, and the property of the grammar school, like that of so many others, has been all but lost to it;¹ the stipend granted by James VI. out of the lordship of Newbattle to the master of the music school of Musselburgh,² was also alienated; 'sua,' says Mr Adam Colt in 1627, that 'the parochine and the schooll is frustrat of his majesties gift;'³ from Queen Anne's charter of 1703 to the burgh of Renfrew,⁴ it appears that King James VI. mortified £100 Scots to a chaplain of St Thomas for the support of the grammar school, and bound the burgh to maintain at least one master in that school; what has become of this grant no one now knows;⁵ another endowment which suffered dilapidation, or rather was appropriated, apparently by the patrons, was that of the bishop of Aberdeen, granted for the support of the grammar school of Banff;⁶ there is no evidence that it ever became available, though from the following extract it appears that an attempt was made as late as 1683 to recover it: the presbytery of Fordyce, considering that a mortification was left to the grammar school by Bishop Cuninghame, 'which the magistrates of Banff have and for aught is known was never paid,' desire the minister of Banff to give my lord bishop a full account thereof.⁷ Private benefactions made for the support of schools also too frequently suffered, alas! in the plunder and wreck which had overtaken the few crumbs set apart for their use from the property of the church: in 1676 Mr John Drysdale left to the burgh of Dunfermline 500 merks, the town paying to the kirk session the annual rent for the use of poor scholars at the school;⁸

¹ See extract of charter, p. 447.

² *Supra*, p. 448.

³ Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 130.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 448.

⁵ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 119.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 449.

⁷ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁸ Session Records of Dunfermline.

in 1709 the teachers of the grammar school complained to the council that the session refused to pay the annual rent of the 500 merks; the council certify to the session that they are resolved to adhere to the ancient custom of applying half thereof to the masters of the grammar school;¹ Mr Drysdale's bequest for the use of the poor has long ago disappeared, and no trace of the transaction by which it was lost can now be discovered.² Parliament laid no impious hands on these foundations; the Act of Annexation, which did so much to unsettle the security of property in Scotland, specially excepted from its operation 'lands, profits, tenements, annual rents, teind sheaves, and other emoluments granted for the support of masters and students in colleges erected for the exercise of learning and for grammar schools.'³ Parliament not only did not appropriate endowments granted to schools, but conferred important privileges on such foundations by exempting from taxation all lands, annual rents, and duties mortified for the cause of education.⁴

§ 3. Schoolmasters' salaries were derived in some instances partly from endowments made by a few private persons who were wise long before their time, though, unfortunately, the contributions from this source towards our grammar schools have been very slender. The following are examples of benefactions for increasing the salaries of teachers: in 1616 James Hereot, merchant in Edinburgh, mortified 2000 merks for behoof of the four doctors of the high school of Edinburgh;⁵ in 1627 a 'neighbour of the burgh of Aberdeen, who conceals his name, out of his zeal for the godly and virtuous education of the youth in the grammar school,' mortified 500 merks, the annual rent of which he ordered to be given to a doctor in the

¹ Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

² Chalmers' History of Dunfermline, p. 447; Fernie's History, p. 50.

³ Acts of Parliament, 1587, c. 8, iii., 433.

⁴ Ibid., 1580, iii., 190; 1583, iii., 330; 1621, c. 2, iv., 600; 1643, vi., Part i., 27; 1644, c. 285, vi., Part i., 259; 1649, c. 285, vi., Part ii., 502; 1655, vi., Part ii., 844; 1656, vi., Part ii., 856; 1702, c. 6, xi., 20; 1704, c. 4, xi., 138; 1705, c. 53, xi., 296; 1706, c. 2, xi., 317.

⁵ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

grammar school of Aberdeen; ¹ in 1631 Dr Thomas Cargill of Aberdeen mortified his lands of Ferryhill 'for the maintenance of the four masters of the grammar school;'² in 1651 the daughters of John Twedie, sheriff-clerk of Peebles, moved by godly zeal, piety, and conscience, mortified certain lands and houses for the augmenting the stipend of the burgh schoolmaster;³ in 1684, Aytoun of Inchdairny mortified certain lands for behoof of the grammar master of Burntisland.⁴ The commissioners appointed in 1691 by the convention of burghs to inquire into the state of the royal burghs, mention the following burgh teachers only, as deriving their stipends from endowments: The masters of the grammar school of Aberdeen;⁵ the schoolmasters of Ayr were paid out of the mills mortified by Queen Mary: the master of the grammar school, £200; the doctor, £100; the Scots schoolmaster, £52;⁶ the masters of the grammar school and music school of Elgin were paid partly out of mortifications;⁷ the schoolmaster of Queensferry received £12 from a mortification.⁸ In 1801 an annual sum of £50 sterling was bequeathed for maintaining an additional master at the grammar school at Montrose.⁹ The commissioners appointed by Parliament to inquire into the state of our municipal corporations, reported in 1835 that an annual sum of £10 was paid from a mortification towards the salaries of the teachers in the burgh school of Dumbarton;¹⁰ £33, 6s. 8d. were paid to the grammar master of Dumfries from the interest of a fund subscribed towards the academy;¹¹ two annual sums of £5 and £4, 3s. 4d. were paid from a mortification for the support of the grammar school of Inveraray;¹² the sum of £22, 12s. 6d. was paid from Queen Anne's mortification to the grammar master of Dunfermline, and £8, 6s. 8d. to the sang master;¹³ and the masters in the Elgin academy derived

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 330.

³ Burgh Records of Peebles. ⁴ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 331.

⁵ Municipal Corporations Report, i., 28.

⁶ Ibid., 34.

⁷ Ibid., 61.

⁸ Ibid., 76.

⁹ Ibid., 334.

¹⁰ Ibid., 206.

¹¹ Ibid., 214.

¹² Ibid., ii., 82.

¹³ Ibid., 261.

a slender part of their salaries from the royal foundation by James VI.

Property has been mortified to an extent which is remarkable in a country so small and poor as Scotland; from the report of the endowed schools commissioners it appears that the total revenues from endowments left for educational purposes, exclusive of university endowments, amount to the enormous sum of £145,532 yearly; a still more remarkable fact is that the burgh or grammar schools receive only a fraction of this huge sum.¹ There are in all about fifty higher-class public schools in Scotland—schools giving the higher instruction—which have only among them endowments yielding £16,550, 10s. 4d. yearly, of which sum £14,143, 9s. 6d. are applied towards increasing the salaries of teachers, and £2407, 0s. 10d. for bursaries, scholarships, and prizes. Only one-third of that total amount belongs to burgh schools proper, the remainder belonging to schools established by private benefaction, in which the higher branches of knowledge are taught. The number of teachers, including assistants and visiting masters, in these fifty schools, of which thirty-six are burgh schools, is calculated to be 342, a proportion allowing only the miserable salary of £42 on an average to each teacher irrespective of fees. From the report of the Board of Education we learn that the total revenues from endowments belonging to the higher statutory schools—the higher-class public schools proper—apart from the common good, amount only to £980, 17s. 10d. yearly, or a hundred and seventy-eighth part of the total revenues from endowments left for educational purposes. Our elementary schools and our universities are more or less endowed, but the burgh schools—the schools which would be best fitted for raising the standard of education throughout the country, and should connect the primary or elementary schools with the universities, preparing our youth for all higher examinations—may be said to be almost destitute of endowments, of which at present they

¹ The poverty of this class of schools had long ago attracted the attention of Ninian Winzet: *Certane Tractatis*.

stand extremely in need. Suggestions for promoting efficient teaching and improving the higher education cannot be carried into effect until the burgh schools are to some extent at least endowed. Without endowments it is impossible to introduce the necessary reforms in their organisation, whether as to reducing the size of the classes, promoting the boys according to proficiency, paying the teachers according to qualifications, establishing classical and commercial sides. We are assured by distinguished teachers that there is not at present in Scotland a single school having an organisation similar to the gymnasium in Germany, and that, while we have an admirable system of primary and university education, our apparatus for connecting these two systems, for lack of endowment, is perfectly inadequate. If we continue to retain this class of schools—schools which had an important place in the system of the national education projected by our wise and large-hearted Reformers more than three hundred years ago¹—the practical question for solution is, how are we to maintain them—how are funds to be provided for their establishment and support? There are three or four sources from which aid might be received: imperial grants, local rates, old endowments, or private subscription or donation. Many people entertain little or no hopes of getting assistance from Parliament for our higher education, because, among other reasons, England and Ireland would claim grants on a much larger scale; the local rates are already grievous enough to be borne without the laying on of an additional impost; and few think it just or strictly honourable to meddle with endowments which were not originally destined for the purpose of higher instruction. The only source therefore remaining of which we may reasonably have some expectation for assistance is subscription, legacy, or bequest—an agency which has already done good work in the cause of education within the last few years: the university of Glasgow has been rebuilt on a magnificent scale with voluntary contributions; funds have been largely collected for endowing and extending the university

¹ *Supra*, p. 77.

of Edinburgh, and an enlightened and patriotic Scottish professor has, single-handed, gathered funds for establishing a new chair in the university of Edinburgh. With such examples of private munificence and noble zeal in the cause of education, it is believed that if an influential association were formed for endowing, in the first place, our secondary schools proper, its success would be probable;¹ and thus 'an addition would be made to the educational machinery of the country, which would tell powerfully on the standard of attainments in schools; and if, in addition to these schools, similar centres of secondary instruction could be multiplied, so that a good higher-class school should be established in each important town, Scotland would no longer be exposed to the reproach which has been cast upon her that she has failed to supply her sons with the means of obtaining a superior education in their own country.'² A beginning should at once be made in this good cause, and he who pleads the cause of our poor secondary schools—schools at present fewer and inferior to similar institutions in other countries—until he so endows them that Scotland will hold the same place in higher that she has long done in elementary education, shall earn for himself a name that will be 'dear to God and famous to all ages.'

§ 4. The stipends of schoolmasters were chiefly derived from the common good—that is, the common property of the burgh—usually consisting of lands, houses, mills, fishings, feu-duties, customs, feudal casualties, entry-money of burgesses, fines, and casualties. In many instances a special branch of the common good was allocated to defraying the teachers' salaries: thus in 1576 and 1578 the salary of the schoolmaster of

¹ See an instructive Lecture delivered at Oban by Mr A. C. Sellar, one of the endowed schools commissioners, reported in the *Edinburgh Courant* of 5th November 1875.

² Report on Endowed Schools, iii., 110. The want of efficient middle-class schools is in a large measure the cause of the English schools and universities receiving large accessions to their numbers annually from the most talented of our youth, as well as from the sons of the wealthier classes,

Kirkcudbright was paid by the tacksmen of the 'ferry bote';¹ in 1591 the salary of the master of the grammar school of Dundee was paid out of the superplus of the burgess-ship;² in 1628 and 1630 the doctors in the grammar school of Aberdeen derived their stipends from the accidents of the deanery of guild;³ in 1680 the council of St Andrews allocated the tack duties of the customs of the city towards paying the schoolmaster's stipend *pro tanto*;⁴ Fortrose paid the schoolmaster's salary in 1691 from the custom of two markets, 'having no other common good under the sun to walk and work upon';⁵ in the same year the salary of the schoolmaster of Dingwall was paid out of the 'æques and missive dues';⁶ in 1696 the schoolmaster of Kirkcudbright received £7 as part of his harvest salary from a fine imposed for blood and battery;⁷ in 1762 the schoolmaster of Banff derived part of his salary from the town's bells and mort-cloth;⁸ in the following year the rent of the mills was assigned to the master of the grammar school of St Andrews for his stipend.⁹

The student of burghal history is familiar with the old dilapidations of the common good, and the wholesale alienations which gradually diminished the original endowments of several burghs, until at last there was only left a wreck hardly sufficient for paying the salaries even of the common officers. A few extracts will show how the teacher's salary was paid when the possessions of the burgh were no longer available—when, in fact, the burgh's exchequer was reduced to insolvency. All other sources of revenue failing, the

¹ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright. In 1696 the tacksman of the 'ladle' was ordered to pay to the schoolmaster £15, 2s. 4d., which shall be allowed to him in the 'fore-end of his rent:' Ibid.

² Burgh Records of Dundee.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁴ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁵ Municipal Corporations Report, i., app., 77.

⁶ Ibid., 75.

⁷ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁸ Burgh Records of Banff. His salary continued to be derived for many years from these sources.

⁹ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

authorities had recourse to assessment, direct or indirect, which was generally imposed by stentmasters appointed for the purpose: in 1600 the salary of the schoolmaster of the good town of Dysart was raised by taxation, 'for of other common good they have none';¹ in 1612 certain persons in Inverurie compeared before the bailies and council, and rated themselves for paying to the schoolmaster certain sums of 'silar and victual,' the common good being exhausted;² in 1675 the council of Ayr 'condescend' that there be a yearly tax of 100 merks laid on the community towards making up the sum of 400 merks, the amount of the stipend of the master of the grammar school, of which 300 merks only can be contributed from the common good;³ the common good being exhausted in 1691 in the following burghs, the deficiencies for paying the schoolmasters' salaries were imposed by way of stent: Banff, Dumfries, Elgin, Fortrose, Inverurie, Montrose, Pittenweem, and Whithorn;⁴ in 1704 the council of Campbeltown raised the schoolmaster's salary by stenting the burgesses at 8d. in the pound;⁵ in 1710 the council of Dingwall appoint stentmasters for raising the schoolmaster's salary.⁶ Other contrivances for raising the teacher's stipend besides assessments were often devised: thus in 1690 the council of Ayr having no common good for paying the schoolmasters' salaries, request the treasurer to borrow money for that effect, or to give bonds to the master;⁷ in 1693 the council of Cupar desire the treasurer, if he fails to raise money

¹ Burgh Records of Dysart.

² Burgh Records of Inverurie. One person gives a peck of meal; another, a firloft; another, 20s.; another, 4s.; another, 6s. 8d.; another, 10s.; another, 26s. 8d.; another, two firlofts of meal; another, two pecks; another, 6s.; another, 12s.; another, a free house; another, a peck of meal and 10s.; another, a peck of meal; another, 13s. 4d.; another, 10s.; the next three in the list, 6s.; another, a firloft of meal; another, a boll; and the last, 'ane bol meill.'

³ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁴ Municipal Corporations Report, i., app., 65, 43, 61, 77, 78, 40, 53, 67.

⁵ Burgh Records of Campbeltown. ⁶ Burgh Records of Dingwall.

⁷ Burgh Records of Ayr.

from the town's tenants for paying the schoolmaster's salary, to borrow it 'if possible;' ¹ in 1699 the council of Kirkcudbright grant a bond to their schoolmaster as security for what remains unpaid of his salary; ² in 1745 the council of Crail grant a bond of £226 Scots to the schoolmaster of the burgh, being the balance of bygone wages due to him. ³ The conduct of the magistrates of Jedburgh was as generous as it was rare in 1664, when for the encouragement of the master they unanimously augmented his salary by £80, of which £60 shall be paid from the common good, and £20 yearly 'off the forend of the magistrates' fees.' ⁴ Less honourable and patriotic was the procedure of the council of Aberdeen, who in 1691 confessed that when the common purse was empty, the salary of the music master was made up by intromitting with mortifications. ⁵ Many of the burghs, at some time or other, found their revenues insufficient for paying their teachers, but, notwithstanding, entries like the two following are extremely rare: in 1700 the council of Burntisland declare their school vacant, because they had not funds to pay the stipends of the master and doctor; ⁶ in 1707 the council of Linlithgow, considering that the salary of 400 merks payable to the schoolmaster is a heavy burden on the town, tried if he would 'give down' any of his salary, and he having declined to do so, the school was declared to be vacant at Candlemas. ⁷

The provision made by the burgh of Dundee to protect their teacher, when the affairs of the town became embarrassed, is worthy of an enlightened community: in 1705, heavy debt having compelled the town to allow its creditors to intromit with the funds of the burgh, they made a special

¹ Burgh Records of Cupar.

² Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

³ Burgh Records of Crail.

⁴ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

⁵ Municipal Corporations Report, i., p. 28.

⁶ Burgh Records of Burntisland. It is gratifying to know that the school was *not* closed, the two teachers having offered to 'serve without stipend till Martinmas:' these were *true* educators, who conceived it their function to teach, whatever money reward they received.

⁷ Burgh Records of Linlithgow.

agreement that the two doctors of the grammar school should receive their salaries out of the first and readiest of the rents. An appeal to the whole people would not be made in vain when there was no common good, on behalf of a teacher who had faithfully served the community: the council of Peebles statute and ordain that one of the bailies, accompanied by two honest men and the officer and clerk of the burgh, shall call upon the honest men of the town, with the view of ascertaining what they will give 'benevolently' to the schoolmaster until the common good be free, or at least until they have as much common good as will satisfy him for a yearly fee; at a much later date, the council of St Andrews having no other means for augmenting the salary of the master of their grammar school, resolved, in 1727, to ask a voluntary contribution throughout the city for augmenting his salary.³ The result of the solicitation was most satisfactory.

We gathered some learning, showing the amount contributed from the common good at different periods to the salaries of teachers and for the erection and maintenance of the school buildings, but want of space prevents us from recording our investigations, which are not without value to those interested in the history of burgh schools as managed by the town councils; it is even important to know the names of the burghs which supported schools from the burgh's property as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From the accounts of the common good of various burghs extending from 1557 to 1634, preserved in the General Register House at Edinburgh, it appears that payments were made during that period for the support of the schools of the following thirty-nine burghs, these schools being probably under the administration of their respective town councils—being in fact, what we call burgh schools: Aberdeen, Aberbrothock, Annan, Anstruther Easter, Ayr, Banff, Burntisland, Crail, Cullen, Cupar, Dumbarton, Dumfries, Dunbar, Dundee, Elgin, Forfar, Forres, Haddington, Inverkeithing, Inverness, Inver-

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee.

² Burgh Records of Peebles.

³ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

urie, Irvine, Jedburgh, Kinghorn, Kirkcudbright, Lanark, Lauder, Linlithgow, North Berwick, Peebles, Perth, Renfrew, Rothesay, Rutherglen, St Andrews, Selkirk, Stirling, Tain, and Wigtown.¹ Coming still nearer our own time, the amount of the yearly stipends payable to teachers of certain burghs out of the common good, and from no other source, appears from a report on the state of the royal burghs made by commissioners appointed for that effect in 1691 by a General Convention; a comparison of the two lists shows that in 1691 the schoolmasters of the following burghs, which appear in the first list, were not at that time in receipt of salaries from the common good: Aberbrothoc, Anstruther Easter, Ayr, Cullen, Elgin, Wigtown; but in that year the teachers of the following burghs, which have no place in the old list, received their salaries from the common good: Anstruther Wester, Brechin, Dysart, Dunfermline, Edinburgh, Fortrose, Glasgow, Kintore, Montrose, Pittenweem, and Stranraer.²

Until recently, the contributions or annual grants made from the common good towards the maintenance of schools and support of teachers were entirely voluntary—that is, they were made spontaneously by the magistrates and council, who were under no legal obligation—at least not longer than the incumbency of the master for the time—to contribute anything to the cause of education. On looking back from our own time to the Reformation upon the relations between those two parties—the councils and the burgh schools—we think that one of the most useful and most honourable features in the character of our municipal authorities as administrators of the affairs of the community, is the anxiety shown always on their part to make the burgh school a blessing to the whole inhabitants—the zeal and love with which they cherished the grammar school, and the wisdom and liberality with which they managed its affairs. What-

¹ Maitland Miscellany, ii., 39-50.

² Municipal Corporations Report, i., app., 28-52. The salaries of some of the teachers which appear in the first, but are not mentioned in the second list, were paid from mortifications.

ever was the financial state of the burgh, however embarrassed was the town's exchequer, however improper was the management of the common good, ways and means were invariably provided for raising the teacher's salary. In the course of our examination of the burgh records—and we know them pretty well—we have hardly met with an instance during that long period in which the authorities repudiated that obligation—an obligation voluntarily imposed—viz., the payment of the master's salary from the property of the burgh; we find, on the contrary, that they discharged it for more than three hundred years with marvellous uprightness and regularity until 1872, when the contribution so long voluntarily made was made compulsory by Act of Parliament. It would, we believe, be difficult, if not impossible, to get a parallel to conduct so patriotic and generous as that of our own town councils in their relation to the burgh school during that long period, and it should be observed that the liberality with which they pecuniarily supported the grammar school was not equal to the time, thought, and trouble which they bestowed on the management of its concerns, as is evidenced by the mass of legislation recorded on educational subjects in the burgh registers.

The common good is now, as we have said, a source of income rendered perpetual by the Education Act.¹ Section 46 provides that the council of every burgh shall, at the term of Martinmas yearly, pay to the school board thereof such sum

¹ The following is the amount which each burgh is bound to contribute from the common good: Aberdeen, £668; Annan, £65; Anstruther Easter, £10; Arbroath, £75; Banff, £130; Burntisland, £30; Campbeltown, £20; Crail, £12; Dysart, £50; Dumbarton, £100; Dumfries, £81, 8s. 10d.; Dunbar, £60; Edinburgh, £791; Forfar, £90; Forres, £95; Glasgow, £730, 6s. 7d.; Greenock, £145; Haddington, £45; Inverness, £97, 14s. 4d.; Irvine, £115; Kirkcaldy, £114; Kirkcudbright, £195; Lanark, £40; Linlithgow, £50; Montrose, £50; Musselburgh, £46, 10s.; Paisley, £25; Peebles, £100; Perth, £200, and £10 to each of the 'National Schools;' Port Glasgow, £35; Renfrew, £141, 17s. 11d.; Rutherglen, £40; Stirling, £237, 11s. 2d.; Tain, £25; and Wigtown, £50.

as it has been the custom of such burgh prior to the passing of this Act, to contribute to the burgh school out of the common good of the burgh, or from other funds under their charge, and the same shall be applied and administered by the said school board for the purpose of promoting higher education. This sum does not nearly represent the liberality of the burghs to the schools under their administration before the passing of the Education Act; they also paid for prizes, feu-duties, erection and repair of the buildings, and school expenses generally—which amounted to a considerable sum; but being a variable quantity, it was not made permanent by the Act.

§ 5. Another source of the schoolmaster's income has of late years arisen from the money annually granted by Parliament for public education; the object of the grant is to aid local exertion,¹ and is given conditionally according to the attendance and proficiency of the scholars, the qualifications of the teachers, and the state of the school, the education consisting chiefly of elementary instruction. With some important exceptions, nearly all the burgh schools participated, more or less, in 1873 in this public money: the exceptions, and the reasons for their exclusion, being the following: Dollar institution and Kirkcudbright academy, as not being under Government inspection;² Forfar academy, some of the teachers not being holders of Government certificates;³ Greenock academy, being a proprietary school;⁴ several of the schools were excluded because they did not apply for the grant: *e.g.*, Annan academy,⁵ Forres academy,⁶ Fraserburgh academy,⁷ Hamilton academy,⁸ and Linlithgow grammar school;⁹ Madras college of St Andrews was excluded as the

¹ Where there is little ability for local effort, and no desire for education, there is no public assistance given, and the people remain partially or totally uneducated—a serious defect of the system: See a letter on National Education by Mr John Hope, W.S.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 407, 506.

³ *Ibid.*, 461.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 484.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 344.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 465.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 470.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 492.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 524.

funds of the school were sufficient; ¹ Cupar Madras academy receives only grants for pupil teachers; ² Bathgate academy did not participate in the grant before 1871 as being supported entirely by endowment; ³ Peterhead academy, the teachers being paid from endowment; ⁴ the Inverness and Tain academies excluded as not being elementary schools; ⁵ and the following are excluded, because their fees exceeded ninepence a week for each child: Arbroath high school, ⁶ Ayr academy, ⁷ Irvine royal academy, ⁸ Leith high school, ⁹ Paisley grammar school. ¹⁰ The 67th section of the Education Act provides that no grant of the public money shall be made for the higher-class public schools, which include, among others, the last four schools. It is not easy to comprehend the principle on which this class of schools is excluded; Parliament annually grants a large sum of money for 'public education in Scotland:' the universities, on the one hand, and the elementary school, on the other, partake, most righteously as we think, of this public money, but the secondary schools—those schools which should form the link between the elementary schools and the universities, and are the proper feeders of the latter—receive nothing at all! This dealing being not only unjust in itself but highly injurious to the best interests of our country, we humbly think it is the bounden duty of every patriotic Scotsman, and especially of Scottish members of Parliament, to solicit urgently and incessantly the House of Commons to allocate a fraction of the immense revenue annually raised in but not spent on Scotland, in aid of one of our most important institutions, viz., higher-class public schools. Such a grant would be a wise and beneficial investment of public money elevating the standard of education in the secondary schools—that is, throughout the country—and improving, at the same time, the quality of instruction given in the universities, for the benefit of which there is already some outlay of the public money. The class of schools to which we have just

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 579.

² Ibid., 395.

³ Ibid., 363.

⁴ Ibid., 570.

⁵ Ibid., 496, 601.

⁶ Ibid., 348.

⁷ Ibid., 354.

⁸ Ibid., 504.

⁹ Ibid., 517.

¹⁰ Ibid., 547.

referred is supported by contributions payable from the common good of their respective burghs, from endowments applicable to the general purposes of these schools, from endowments for promoting instruction in particular subjects, or for the benefit of particular branches in these schools; and lastly, from the fees paid by the scholars.¹ At present they are maintained chiefly by the school fees,² which the boards have been compelled to raise very considerably in order to maintain their efficiency; accordingly the fees now charged are so high that poor people cannot afford the expense of educating their children there,³ and are thus debarred for the first time in the history of their country from taking advantage of the grammar schools founded and maintained by their forefathers for giving instruction in the higher branches to all classes of the community at fees which immemorial usage imposed at very moderate rates. The Education Act has, in fact, destroyed the admirable feature which characterised our higher schools; they are not now national schools—open to *all* classes; they are indeed upper middle-class schools—select schools, in which the poor and rich do not mix now as they did in the past, and still do, we are thankful to say, at the universities. We trust Parliament and private munificence may do something to restore our burgh schools to their former accessibility and integrity, placing them within the reach of the poorest boy or girl of merit in the country, as our forefathers did.

¹ 35 and 36 Vict., c. 62, § 62, subsection 3.

² The total revenue of these schools during last year from fees, common good, and endowments, was £22,432, 15s. 3d., of which, from common good, endowments, and all other sources, except fees, there was only £4042, 6s. 11d., so that nearly five-sixths of their revenues is derived from fees: Report of Scotch Board of Education, p. xxxvi.

³ Last year the average fees per annum paid by each scholar attending this class of schools were as follow: Edinburgh high school, £11; Glasgow high school, £8, 12s. 7d.; Ayr academy, £5, 9s. 2d.; Aberdeen grammar school, £4, 17s. 4d.; Leith academy, £4, 13s. 1d.; Perth academy, £4, 6s. 9d.; Irvine academy, £4, 5s. 6d.; Dumfries academy, £3, 16s. 3d.; Montrose academy, £3, 4s. 9d.; Elgin academy, £2, 19s. 4d.; Stirling high school, £2, 14s. 7d.: Report of Board of Education, ii., p. 36.

§ 6. In enumerating the different sources from which the schoolmaster's income was derived, we have now come to the most constant and important, viz., the school fees, payment of which was the sole condition of admission to the burgh school, the general rule being that *every* scholar who was not too indigent¹ paid in full, without distinction, but landward children—children beyond the jurisdiction of the town—paid larger fees than those of burgesses, because their parents did not contribute anything towards the master's salary, which was payable from the common fund of the burgh. The scale of fees was invariably regulated by acts of the town council,² the leading exception being in the case of landward scholars, who paid according to the determination of their parents and teachers. Rarely were the fees laid or adjusted with the solemnity observed at Peebles in 1638, when the council convened 'all the inhabitants of the burgh' to obtain their vote and consent towards establishing a maintenance for the schoolmaster; the meeting, consisting of the council and many others, of whom there is a record of twenty-two, agree that he shall have 5s. quarterly of fees, in lieu of all dues; 'and all the other honest men and honest women agreed in one voice, except Paul Robeson.'³ At present the school boards fix the amount of the school fees, but at the higher-class public schools they are determined from time to time—at intervals of not less than three years—by the principal and the ordinary teachers, with the approval of the school

¹ *Infra*, p. 493.

² One extract may serve to show the care with which the fees were regulated: In 1762 the council of Banff appointed a committee to acquire information from other places with respect to tables of fees: Burgh Records of Banff.

³ Burgh Records of Peebles. An entry in the Burgh Records of Jedburgh, dated 1649, mentions the different authorities by whom the emoluments of a master of a school, partly burgh and parochial, might be regulated; the town undertakes to assist the schoolmaster in obtaining augmentations granted to him either by visitations, Acts of Parliament, General Assembly, or any other Acts passed for the welfare of the school.

board, subject to the review of the Board of Education, in the event of difference of opinion.

In many, we might almost say in most, instances the fees appear to have been, from an early period, paid in advance. A few entries will illustrate how general was this practice: In 1582 the council of Kirkcaldy order the scholars of the grammar school to begin always their yearly payments at entry;¹ four years later, the township ordains the bairns to pay their fees quarterly 'before the termes';² in 1595 and 1605 the scholars at Ayr are commanded to pay their fees quarterly, in advance; in 1607 the inhabitants are warned to send their children to school, 'bringing with them their quarter's scholage';³ in 1735 the council order each scholar entering the grammar school in June to pay his wage on the first Tuesday after the Midsummer Fair, and so quarterly on the first Tuesday after the other three fairs;⁴ in 1746 the council enact that the fees shall be paid quarterly on each Thursday of the four fairs of Ayr for the current quarter.⁵ In 1619 the magistrates of Aberdeen ordain that in all time coming the scholars of the grammar school shall quarterly pay their scholage within fifteen days after the beginning of the quarter, any one opposing this ordinance shall be expelled from the school;⁶ in 1700 every scholar was ordered to pay his dues at the beginning of each quarter.⁷ At the head court of Jedburgh it was appointed in 1626 that the master of the school should be paid his quarterly fees within fifteen days after the beginning of the quarter.⁸ The council of Cupar, in the same year, ordain all neighbours who send their children to the grammar school to pay their fees on the first week of the quarter.⁹ In 1661 the yearly salary of the Latin doctor of the grammar

¹ Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy. ² Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

³ Burgh Records of Ayr. In 1649 the stipend of the master was ordered to be paid weekly or quarterly.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

⁹ Burgh Records of Cupar.

school of Stirling was appointed to be paid 'be way of advance before hand';¹ in 1755 the council ordain the quarterly fees in the English school to be paid at the beginning of the quarter, as is the practice already in the grammar school.² In 1679 the town council of Dunbar ordain the parents of scholars attending the schools of the burgh to pay the quarterly wages at the beginning of the quarter; a child once entering the school shall pay his fees, as well as those entering on a new quarter, and afterwards deserting the school;³ in 1753 the council of Forfar ordain the scholars to bring their quarter payments with them to the school on the quarter-day precisely.⁴ The council of Kinghorn ordain, in 1763, that the school fees shall be paid on the first day of every quarter—the first Mondays of May, August, November, and February.⁵ The fees of the English and mathematical masters of Kirkcudbright, in 1765 and 1770, were paid in advance.⁶ In 1772 the council of Greenock order the children attending the English school to pay their 'school wages at their entry to the next quarter-day.'⁷ In 1779 the town council of Crail appoint the schoolmaster to collect his quarterly payments at the children's entry to the school each quarter.⁸ In 1781 the council of Wigtown resolve to find no fault with their schoolmaster for turning such children out of the school whose parents do not punctually pay the fees at the beginning of the quarter;⁹ in 1786 the scholars of the grammar school of Banff were ordered to pay their fees at the beginning, or at least before the end, of every quarter.¹⁰ In 1802 the council of Forfar adopted a table of fees, which they ordered to be paid in advance by the scholars;¹¹ in the following year the magistrates of Elgin fixed also a table of fees, which

¹ Burgh Records of Stirling.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁴ Burgh Records of Forfar.

⁵ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁶ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright, *et passim*.

⁷ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁸ Burgh Records of Crail; this has since been the custom at Crail.

⁹ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Banff.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Forfar.

they likewise ordered to be paid on the entry of each scholar.¹ The practice at present with regard to the time of paying the fees is different in different parts of the country, but the common rule is, that in burgh schools they are paid in advance, sometimes monthly, but generally quarterly, though the time is not always the same, even in the same school: thus, in 1868, the rector of the grammar school of Perth collected his fees at the beginning of the second and fourth quarters, the rector of the mathematical school and the drawing master collected *theirs* near the end of the session, and in the English and writing schools prepayment was not enforced.² Among the other questions to which the Education Act has given rise is one with regard to the time of payment of school fees. The school board of Kilbirnie having resolved to adopt the system of monthly payment in advance, some parents refused prepayment, other parishes followed the example, and parochial boards also objected to pay in advance. In these circumstances the school board asked counsel whether it was competent for them and other boards to insist that the school fees shall be paid in advance before the children are admitted to the school; counsel gave it as their opinion that every school board might determine at their discretion the time and place of payment of school fees.³

The old quarterly terms for paying the school fees were Lammas, Hallowmas, Candlemas, and Beltane. An attempt on the part of the town council of Dundee to introduce five quarters in each year into their burgh was very properly defeated: the act of council of date 8th December 1739, which ordained five quarters yearly for making payment of fees to the masters of the Latin school, being 'thought to be a hardship on the inhabitants,' the council in 1747 rescind it, and appoint only four quarterly payments to be made yearly to the masters, but authorise them to uplift the small dues as

¹ Elgin Case (Session Papers, 541).

² Report on Burgh Schools, i., 66.

³ Report of Board of Education, ii., 326, 327.

before.¹ We need hardly state that the teacher, whose income chiefly depended on his fees, usually demanded payment on the quarter-day; in the event of parents failing to satisfy his just demands, payment was stringently enforced, the methods of execution being pointing, fining, and lastly, the expulsion of defaulting children. A few extracts will illustrate the steps adopted for the recovery of bad debts: in 1585 the bailies of Kirkcaldy undertake to 'point the bairns whoever of them refuses to pay;'² in 1595, 1605, and 1612 respectively, the council of Ayr statute that an honest man shall be chosen as visitor in each quarter of the town, to see that the master shall be thankfully paid his scholage; any person falling in arrears, and suffering himself to be pointed, shall pay double;³ in 1619 the council of Aberdeen ordain, that any scholar failing to pay his fees at the proper time, shall be liable for the double;⁴ in 1623 the master of the grammar school of Perth was ordered to give in quarterly a roll of the bairns from whom he received no payment, to the bailies, who shall direct officers to point for the same, 'albeit the parentis abstract thair children in his defraude befor it be exactit;'⁵ in 1625 and 1626 the schoolmaster of Jedburgh, if not thankfully paid, shall give a roll of the defaulters to the bailie of the quarter who shall point for the same;⁶ in 1710 the council of Dingwall ordered diligence to be made against such as have not paid the last tax imposed for

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee.

² Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

³ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁵ Burgh Records of Perth. Provision was made against receiving scholars into other schools who did not pay their last bill; thus, in 1589 the bailies, council, and court of Dundee statute that no master or doctor within the burgh, from this time forth, shall presume to receive in his schools any bairns who have been in Mr Thomas MacGibbon's school, without a testimonial from Mr Thomas, that he has been thankfully paid his fees; if any master receive into his school children who have not satisfied the lawful demands of Mr Thomas, he shall be compelled to pay their debt: Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁶ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

paying the schoolmaster's salary.¹ All other methods failing to recover thankful payment, recourse was had to expelling the innocent children: thus, in 1586 the council of Kirkcudbright enact that if the bairns pay not their fees at the proper time the 'schullmaster shall expell them furth of the scule';² the master of the grammar school of Kinghorn was authorised in 1763 to expel from the school on the first day of the ensuing quarter any scholar who shall then be owing the preceding quarter fees.³ Since the recent Act came into operation, school boards have, in some instances, proposed to exclude from schools the children of parents failing to pay the fees at the time appointed, and to proceed against them as defaulters, in terms of the compulsory clause; in other cases, school boards have proposed to sue the parents directly for the amount of fees.⁴

It was formerly almost the invariable practice that the teacher acted as his own collector—gathered what belonged to himself; but there are instances in the old records of the master's fees and emoluments having been collected by persons sometimes unconnected with the profession. Thus, in 1612 the money and victual payable to the schoolmaster of Inverurie were ordered to be collected quarterly by the bailies of the burgh; who shall deliver the same to him;⁵ in the following year the council of Stirling appointed a collector of the master's and doctor's scholages; if any person refuses to pay the collector, it is ordained that a bailie shall assist him; the tax-gatherer shall be rewarded for his trouble and appointed an officer.⁶ The records now and again afford a glimpse of the teacher in the act of collecting his dues, which, we regret to say, were not always thankfully paid; the earliest instance of a decree occurs in 1579, when Janet Chapman is decerned to pay 12s. to Mr Henry, the schoolmaster of Dysart, for learn-

¹ Burgh Records of Dingwall.

² Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright. ³ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁴ Report of Board of Education, ii., 336.

⁵ Burgh Records of Inverurie.

⁶ Burgh Records of Stirling.

ing her bairns 'as for fee and bounty;'¹ in 1588 there is a summons, at the instance of David Maxwell, master of the grammar school of Crail and prebendary of the Holy Rood service founded within the collegiate church of Crail, against David Monerieff and others, for payment of certain farms due to him as prebendary;² in 1594 he prosecutes John Borthwick of Gordonshall for payment of certain duties belonging to him as prebendary of the altar of St Michael.³ In 1592 the schoolmaster of Musselburgh was authorised to go and remonstrate with Sir Henry Ker of Kirsall for neglecting to pay the board, clothing, books, and scholage due to him for his son; he undertakes not to 'eit nor drink, nor stay long' with his debtor.⁴ For the sake of the 'poor dignity' of the schoolmaster of Wick, it would have been desirable that a provision had been made in his burgh similar to that at Inverurie in 1612 for collecting his stipend, which consisted partly of 'bear;' on 6th June 1710, when the master's *bear* was in arrears, Alexander Dunbar, merchant in Wick, is 'taken up' before the bailies for 'beating and blooding of Alexander Sutherland, schoolmaster;' the defence set up is the provocation given by Mr Sutherland, who had 'violently abused the merchant in bad dishonour on the Loan of Wick, where he used aggravating words, saying, he must have the bear due to him presently, and wagged the staff he had in his hand in his face, and again said, I must have it;' to this peremptory way of asking for his own, the 'merchant' replied to the man of letters in a fashion not yet out of date, by 'striking him upon the mouth with his hand, to the lowsen of his tooth, and the blood spued out and fell down upon his barb.'⁵ The Education Act, already so fruitful of litigation, has given rise to a lawsuit with regard to this very subject of the collection of school fees. The schoolmaster of Tulliallan, having been requested by his school board to collect the fees, directed the board's attention to the provision of the 53d section of that

¹ Burgh Records of Dysart.

² The Original in the charter chest of Crail.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 130.

⁵ Burgh Records of Wick.

Act, which requires that the fees shall be 'paid to the treasurer,' and refused to admit that they had power to require him unconditionally to collect them; the case having been appealed to the First Division of the Court of Session, six judges decided against the schoolmaster, holding that a school board can compel a master in office, at the passing of the Education Act, to collect the school fees; Lord Deas dissented from this judgment, contending that there was no law or paction quoted for holding the schoolmaster bound to collect the fees, and that the policy of the statute was, that beyond receiving his emoluments from the board, the schoolmaster should have nothing to do with money matters; that he should devote his time and attention to teaching, and that all financial matters should be managed by the board.¹

§ 7. Another source of revenue to the teacher, at one time not unimportant, remains to be noticed, viz., certain dues or casualties presented to him by the scholars at particular seasons of the year, the principal period for such gifts being Candlemas, when, in all the schools, great and small, free-offerings were made to the masters. On that day—2d February, a national holiday within living memory—each boy

¹ Scottish Law Reporter (11th June 1875). The Education Act provides that each school board shall appoint a treasurer, whose duty it will be to keep an account of the school fund, and of the expenditure of the board; once in each year, an account, showing the money receipts and payments of the board, and the state of the funds and property under their charge, shall be transmitted by him to the accountant of the Board of Education, who is to audit and report on the same, retransmitting it to the treasurer, to be preserved as the school board may direct; this account will be patent to any member of the school board, or to any ratepayer, who demands inspection, on the written requisition of not fewer than five ratepayers; the Board of Education, or any person they may authorise, will be entitled to inspection of the account and vouchers, and also of the books, of the treasurer; the treasurer shall transmit annually, on the first day of January, his account, made up to the term of Whitsunday preceding; any treasurer failing to do his duty in this respect may be compelled to do so by order of the Court of Session, on the petition and complaint of the accountant: 35 and 36 Vict., c. 62, §§ 48, 49.

and girl, when called, presented a gift to the master,¹ who sat in his 'desk, exchanging for the moment his usual authoritative look for placid civility,' the sum being generally proportioned to the abilities of the parents; sixpence and a shilling were the most common sums, but a few gave half and whole crowns, and even more.² When the offering was less than the quarterly fee, little or no notice was taken of it, but when it was equal to that sum, the master shouted 'vivat,' to twice the fee, 'floreat bis,' for a higher sum, 'floreat ter,' for a guinea, and upwards, 'gloriat;' the highest donor was publicly declared 'victor,'³ or 'king' or 'queen.' In 1782 the council of Glasgow resolved that the Candlemas offerings should be continued, but that the words 'vivat,' 'floreat,' 'gloriat,' and the custom of cheering the boys, according to the extent of their offerings, should be discontinued.⁴

At the conclusion of the ceremony of presenting the free-offerings, the children, being dismissed for a holiday, proceeded along the streets, carrying the 'king' and 'queen' in state, who was exalted upon the seat formed of crossed hands which is called the *king's* chair.⁵ To the worthy commissary clerk of Aberdeen we are indebted for having preserved an account of a Candlemas procession, of which he was spectator, in 1643: 'Upon the second of Februar,' says the quaint and picturesque annalist, 'being Candlemas day, the bairns of the Old Town grammar school, at six hours, cam up the gate, with candles lichtit in their hands, crying, rejoicing, and blythe eneuch; and being six hours at nicht, cam thus up to the cross,⁶ and round about goes diverse times, climbs to the head thereof, and sets on a burning torch thereupon. I marvellit, being at sic tyme,⁷ and whereof myself had never seen the like.

¹ Steven's High School, p. 67.

² The Book of Days, i., 214.

³ Steven's High School, p. 67.

⁴ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁵ The Book of Days, i., 214.

⁶ The Aulton Cross, of which a relic is preserved in the University of Aberdeen.

⁷ The time of the Covenant, when all demonstrations 'smelling' of Popery were sternly suppressed.

Atour, they went down from the cross, convoying John Keith, brother to the Earl Marischal, who was their king, to his lodgings in the Chanonrie, with lichtit candles.¹ Pageantries more solemn and triumphant took place in other parts of the country: thus we are told that within the last fifty years the 'king' at the grammar school of Lanark walked on Palm Sunday in procession with his lifeguards and sergeants, whilst the great and little palm branches of the *salix capræa*, in flower, decked with daffodils, were carried behind him; there was also used on the occasion an embroidered flag, the gift of a lady in the town to the boys.² The latter part of the day was usually devoted to what was called the Candlemas 'bleeze' or blaze, namely, the conflagration of any piece of furze which might exist in the neighbourhood, or, were that wanting, of an artificial bonfire;³ in some schools it was customary for the teacher, on the conclusion of the offerings, to make a bowl of punch, and regale each urchin with a glass, to drink the 'king and queen's' health; and the day usually concluded with a ball.⁴

Another casualty due to the master was 'bent silver,' so called after the old custom of laying bent or rushes on earthen floors, for keeping them warm, and protecting the children's clothes against the filth accumulated thereon. All the scholars received a holiday for gathering the requisite bent; but it was found that in their excursions they not unfrequently injured themselves or their neighbours by the hooks which they carried for cutting the bent;⁵ accordingly, the practice of sending the scholars to gather bent was discontinued, but the town councils being unwilling that the scholars should lose the 'former liberty' of a holiday, enacted

¹ Memorials of the Trubles, i., 229 (Spalding Club).

² New Statistical Account, *voce* 'Lanark.'

³ The Book of Days, i., 214.

⁴ New Statistical Account, *voce* 'Lanark.'

⁵ In 1629 the town council of Aberdeen forbid the master of the grammar school to give his scholars leave to the bent, because of the inconvenience which falls out frequently on such occasions: Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

that every scholar shall at least bring 12d. to the master on the first Mondays of May, June, and July, commonly called the bent silver play, in order to buy bent or other things needful for the school,¹ the scholars continuing to have, as formerly, their customary play on these days.

The following extract will suffice to show the nature and extent of school dues, which long before this time ceased to be voluntary contributions: in 1604 the master of the grammar school of Aberdeen was convicted of the following acts of extortion: taking from each bairn, on every Sunday, 2d. for the poor, they having no silver, unless they make a 'wrangschift;' causing 'ilk seige' every day in winter to furnish two candles, one being given to the master contrary to all reason; taking eight pennies monthly from each scholar for 'bent silver;' exacting from every scholar, when commencing a new book, 12d.; causing bairns to pay silver at Candlemas for their Candlemas candle against all good order, the old custom being to take a candle only, but no silver; the council, however, find that some of these abuses proceeded on an old practice, and were not introduced by the present master. The council pass the following act for regulating the dues and offerings: they discharge the weekly contribution for the poor, and the two candles taken nightly of each class, which is required to furnish only one candle in the night, the 'fabulator' bringing his candle with him, and no other extraordinary candle to be taken; once in the month, during May, June, July, and August, the scholars that go not to the 'bent' shall pay each eight pennies to the master for buying 'bent;' the scholars shall pay nothing when beginning a book, but only their quarter stipend as prescribed; at Candlemas the scholars need only bring each two candles at pleasure; but the taking of silver in any time coming from any of the bairns for their Candlemas candle, except from him who shall be king, who may give what he pleases, is discharged; for eschewing emulation and contention among the scholars, two

¹ This act was passed by the council of Dunbar in 1679: Burgh Records of Dunbar.

of the council shall be present in the school on Candlemas even, to see that this act be observed.¹ The Candlemas offerings continued to form an important part of the teacher's salary until our own day. In 1755 the 'Candlemas blaze or offering and compliment' formed part of the incomes of the master and doctor of the grammar school of Stirling;² in 1772 the Candlemas offerings were reckoned as an important part of the emoluments of the English teacher of Greenock;³ and in 1776 we learn that they were inconsiderable;⁴ in 1775 the town council of Stirling authorise the treasurer to pay £1 sterling to the English teacher in lieu of the Candlemas gratuity due to him of the poor scholars in his school;⁵ in 1781 the rector of the grammar school of Paisley was required to pay to the doctor one-half or one-third—at the option of the council—of whatever sum shall be paid by each scholar at Candlemas yearly, in name of Candlemas offerings;⁶ the third of the Candlemas offerings were paid in 1788 to the rector of the grammar school of Kirkcudbright;⁷ 'Candlemas bleeze' is reckoned as forming part of the money levied from the scholars attending the grammar school of Peebles in 1811.⁸ These offerings, at first, as already mentioned, voluntarily made, were latterly exacted as rights, and led to so much abuse and oppression that councils long sought to abolish them: in 1629 the council of Aberdeen forbid the masters to exact bent silver from the scholars in time coming;⁹ and in 1667 the master of the grammar school is taken bound not to crave any exactions, such as candle, bent silver, or any other due;¹⁰ the council of Edinburgh frequently forbade their teachers to 'crave and resave any bleyis sylver or bent sylver of their bairnes and scholars, exceptand four pennies at ane time allanerly';¹¹ on 20th January 1660, the same council

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁶ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁷ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁸ Report on Burgh Schools, ii., 148.

¹⁰ Ibid.

² Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁴ Ibid.

⁶ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

¹¹ Steven's High School, 67.

intimated to the doctors of the grammar school that the 'casualty called the bleis silver be delayed till the first day of March next;' ¹ but notwithstanding acts of council, these imposts continued in the schools till almost our own day; Candlemas offerings were only abolished in Perth about 1800; in 1802 the council of Forfar abolished the gratuities made to the masters of the burgh school at Christmas, Candlemas, and Shrove Tuesday; ² in 1817 the master of the grammar school of Greenock craves of the town council permission to abolish the Candlemas gifts, and to add, in lieu thereof, one shilling quarterly to the fees: the council grant his prayer, and allow him 1s. 6d. in place of the 1s. proposed; ³ the Candlemas offerings in the grammar school of Paisley were only discontinued in 1821; ⁴ in 1827 the council of St Andrews authorised the master of the grammar school to increase his fees, on the understanding that the Candlemas donations should be discontinued; the master informs the council that the addition of 3s. quarterly to the fee was, upon an average of thirteen years, not more than what he otherwise received gratuitously; ⁵ Candlemas offerings were not abolished in Campbeltown till about 1835. ⁶

A considerable part of the master's emoluments was derived from the proceeds of the ancient and exciting game of cock-fighting, which was the common sport in all our schools on Shrove Tuesday—Fastern's E'en, when the master received from the boys a small contribution under the name of cock-money. In some places the cocks were supplied by the master, who presided at the battle, and enjoyed the perquisite of all the runaway cocks, called *fugies*. ⁷ In 1693 the council of Kirkcudbright ordained that the doctor in the

¹ Steven's High School, 67.

² Burgh Records of Forfar. For Shrove Tuesday gratuities, see *infra*.

³ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁴ Burgh Records of Paisley. The historian of this school has estimated that they were worth at least £40 yearly.

⁵ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁶ Municipal Corporations Report, i., 150.

⁷ The Book of Days, i., 238.

grammar school should have the 'cock-money at fastern even, conform to use and wont.'¹ An account is preserved of the manner of conducting the sport at a later date in the burgh records of Dumfries: the council, in 1724, made the following regulation with regard to this pastime in the school under their charge: At Fastern's E'en, upon the day appointed for the cocks fighting in the schoolhouse, the under teacher shall keep the door, and exact no more than twelve pennies Scots from each scholar for the benefit of bringing a cock to fight in the schoolhouse; no one shall be suffered to enter that day to the schoolhouse but the scholars, except gentlemen and persons of note, from whom nothing is to be demanded; and what money is to be given by the scholars, the under teacher is to receive and apply to his own use for his pains and trouble; no scholars, except those who please, shall furnish cocks; but all the scholars, whether they have cocks or not, shall get admission to the school—such children as have none paying 2s. Scots by way of compensation.² In 1755 'cock money' was calculated in providing salaries for the doctors of the grammar school of St Andrews; the first doctor receiving half the money, and the second the other half;³ on 18th November 1767 the schoolmaster of Kinghorn proposes to the council to abolish cock-fighting, and that the two days or holiday formerly allowed at the coming off of that event, shall be given about 1st March; the council undertake to write to the kirk session for their opinion in the matter;⁴ the kirk session, on 5th February 1768, considering that it is very improper to continue cock-fighting as being inconsistent with humanity, approve of the proposal to abolish it.⁵ Cock-fighting continued to be the sanctioned sport of the schools till the beginning of this century; in 1790 the minister of Applecross in Ross-shire, in the statistical account of his parish, states that the school-

¹ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

² M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, 504.

³ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁵ Kirk Session Records of Kinghorn.

master's income consists of 200 merks, of 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. quarterly from each scholar, and the cock-fight dues, which are equal to one quarter's payment, for each scholar.¹ There are persons still living who remember this sport being regularly practised at our public schools, and we have been told of schoolmasters, eminent for piety and devotion to the duties of their profession, who not only profited largely by the custom, but were opposed to abolishing it—at least seemed to take pleasure in perpetuating it.

§ 8. The poor teacher had no remedy at law analogous to the 'process of augmentation' competent to the clergy for procuring an increase of stipend, but usually obtained it by a very humble supplication, magnifying the liberality of their honours his good patrons in the past, the laboriousness of his own duties, the expense and difficulty of living, occasioned by various circumstances—the scarcity of provisions, the increased costliness of the means of subsistence, and last but not least, the additions which are being made to the members of his family, who some way or other are arriving more rapidly than the 'flowing fees;' a few cases will illustrate the grounds on which the master's income was increased. Augmentation was granted to the schoolmaster of Dumbarton in 1577, 'becaus all things ar dar nor in tymes of auld, and that he could nocht be better schape conduit;'² to the master of the grammar school of Aberdeen in 1579, because he had to support a family, and all things are dearer than usual—'vivars as well as the exercetation of all crafts;'³ to the master of the grammar school of Edinburgh in 1588, because the fees are 'verray inconstant,' and diminishing 'be

¹ The Book of Days, i., 238. Cock-fighting is now punishable.

² Maitland Miscellany, ii., p. 42. This year was marked by great dearth of victual, and in 1578 there was 'ane great dearth of all kinds of victual through all Scotland, that the like was not seen in man's days afore:' Domestic Annals, i., 117.

³ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. In this year Parliament forbids the manufacture of *aqua vitæ* on account of the scarcity of victual: 1579, c. 56, iii., 174. In 1586 there was great dearth of people for hunger: 'Historie of King James the Sixt.

occasiouns of bruits of pest and weir, and of the derth quhilk is incressing daylie;¹ to the masters and doctors of the same school in 1594, because of the 'increase of the dearth of all kinds of provisions, and that they may attend more diligently to their calling;² to the master of the music school of Glasgow in 1594, in respect of his service in the new kirk, and of the great dearth at present (8th February) in the country;³ to the reader of Aberdeen in 1595, because the year is 'evil;⁴ to the master and doctor of the grammar school of Ayr in 1596, in respect of the 'great dearth' of the year and other considerations;⁵ to the masters in 1603, 'there being a great dearth at this time;⁶ to the master of the grammar school of Dundee in 1607, in respect of his indigent state caused by the 'visitation of the plague of pest.'⁷ Mr David Wedderburne, master of the grammar school of Aberdeen, supplicates, on 10th February 1620, the provost, bailies, and council of the burgh for an increase of salary: he states that 'quhairas thair wisdomes exactis a dewtie of him on the ane pairt, so it will not offend thame on the vther pairt that he be parti-

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh. Parliament passed several measures for 'staunching the increase' of this dearth: forbidding the exporting of victuals, the keeping of horses at hard meat after 1st June, the eating of flesh in 'lentron' and other forbidden days, the indiscriminate slaying of deer and other wild beasts: c. 36-43, 51, iii., 451-453.

² Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

³ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁴ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. This year was characterised by a dearth of extraordinary severity, the 'like whereof was never heard tell of in any age before, nor ever read of since the world was made:' Dom. Ann., i., 266.

⁵ Burgh Records of Ayr. This was also a year of famine in Scotland: the Covenant was renewed with fasting and humiliation; after this exercise, says Mr James Melville, 'God extraordinarily provided victuals out of all other countries, without which thousands had died for want of hunger;' two years later there was great dearth of all kinds of 'pultrie and other vivres,' followed, as the Chronicle of Perth tells us, in 1599 by 'ane great died among the people;' in 1600 there was dearth and heavy death-rate in almost all the parts of the country: Dom. Ann., i., 272, 318.

⁶ Ibid. The good town also gives four bolls of meal to Mr John Welsh, assistant minister.

⁷ Burgh Records of Dundee.

cular in regrating his estate, the treuth quhairroff is, he hes not ane stipend quhilk may encourage ane honest man to walk in sic a toillsum callin with chearfulness; the multitude of schooles everequhar, the burdine of a familie (unknawin to him of befoir), the darth of the tyme, cutting away any litile thing that is gotten, that or the twa pairt of the quarter be expired, he seis evidently no correspondense betwist his extraordinary paynes and the ordinar reward;¹ the reasons for augmentation were conclusive, and it is gratifying to know that the council liberally responded to the appeal of this accomplished master. In 1650 an augmentation was granted to the school doctor of Dunfermline 'because of this dear year';² to a doctor of the grammar school of Paisley in 1703, 'to buy him the necessaries of life';³ to the usher of the grammar school of Crail in 1757, because his present salary

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. On 21st July 1622, because of the 'felt wrath of God by this present plague of dearth and famine, and continuance thereof threatened by the tempestuous storms and inundations of weets likely to rot the fruits of the ground,' a fast was ordered at Aberdeen: Kirk Session Records of Aberdeen. In June of the following year we are told that numbers of the poor will 'betake themselves to live by stouth, or they will starve through want, whilk will not only produce a foul imputation agains the whole land, but the wrath and anger of God will be waken.' In July the famine was so severe that many both in burgh and land died of hunger: Dom. Ann., i., 535. In 1634 the bishop of Orkney and Caithness informs the privy council that in these districts multitudes die in the open field from the scarcity of victual, and that there is none to bury them except the minister and his man; some devour sea-ware, some eat dogs, etc.: Ibid., ii., 74, 75.

² Kirk Session Records of Dunfermline. At this troublous period of Scottish history food was unusually scarce; Parliament, 'in consequence of the sad condition of the poor from the dearth of victual,' passed two Acts prohibiting exportation: 1649, c. 32, 73, vi., Part ii., p. 409.

³ Burgh Records of Paisley. The seventeenth century closed with a dreadful famine; the scarcity of food had prevented the collection allowed in 1696 for the repairs of the harbour of Banff from being made: Acts of Parliament, x., 338; in 1698 a national fast-day was ordered on account of the great scarcity and dearth of victuals for some years past: x., 142; there was frightful suffering in consequence of the failure of this year's harvest; people were reduced to eating

scarcely affords him 'subsistence in that straitening time';¹ to the schoolmasters of Kirkcudbright in 1757 and 1770, because 'provisions are much dearer' than they used to be;² to the schoolmaster of Banff in 1762, because his present salary is not adequate to the 'support of his character nor the expense of the times';³ to the schoolmaster of Wigtown in 1773, because, owing to the high price of provisions, the wages being not now adequate to what they were when first fixed;⁴ to the master and usher of the grammar school of Stirling in 1796, 'on account of the late high price of provisions';⁵ to the schoolmaster of Kinghorn in 1800, in consequence of the 'high price of every necessary of life';⁶ to a master of St Andrews in 1802, on account of the 'high price of all kinds of provision';⁷ to the schoolmaster of Wigtown in 1813, 'owing to the high price of living and rise in house rent.'⁸

A frequent cause for granting augmentation is the determination of the teacher to resign his office on account of the inadequacy of his salary. In 1643 a doctor of the grammar school of Aberdeen desires the council to augment his salary,

'wild runches, draff, and similar kinds of food never before used in this country,' says the record of Parliament; in some parishes, we learn from the same high authority, in several corners of the kingdom 'half of the inhabitants had died of want;' the famine continued unabated from March 1699 to March 1701; Parliament declares what constitutes a famine: when the prices of victuals are far above the ordinary rates that most of the yeomanry cannot purchase it for their support: xi., 163, 166, 167, 238. These years of famine were, as in the case of another great historical famine, followed by such years of plenty as to give rise in the Highlands to the phrase 'Chad' thainig a leithid bho linn Baurigh Anna' (Queen Anne reigned from 1702 to 1714). Periods of intestine wars were invariably followed by great sufferings: thus the ravages of the Duke of Cumberland after the battle of Culloden were followed by great severity in certain districts in the Highlands—a fact still preserved in memory by the term 'Bliadhna a' chomhaich' (1746).

¹ Burgh Records of Crail.

² Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

³ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁴ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

⁵ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁶ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁷ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁸ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

or to permit him to remove at Whitsunday next;¹ in 1659 steps were taken to augment the salary of the master of the grammar school of Dunfermline, who had resolved to remove to another place for lack of maintenance;² in 1738 the master of the grammar school of Crail having been offered a situation as schoolmaster in Dundee, the council 'being nowise inclined to part with him, for certain grounds and reasons,' augment, for his further encouragement, his former salary by £12 Scots;³ in 1751 the salary of the master of the grammar school of Dumbarton, on threat of demission of his charge, was increased;⁴ in 1788 the council of St Andrews augment the salary of their schoolmaster, he having been offered by the council of Stirling the office of master of the English school of that burgh;⁵ in 1795 the schoolmaster of Forfar having got a 'call' to Cupar-Fife, the magistrates considering that he has the approbation of the public, and of the children under him, and the difficulty and uncertainty of getting such a master, agree to give him an augmentation.⁶

The instances of the town councils realising that they were promoting their own highest interest by treating their teachers with some liberality are few; entries in the records like the following are not numerous: in 1588 the council of Edinburgh grant augmentation to Mr Hercules Rollock, master of the grammar school, lest he be 'constraynt throu cairfull indigence to mix any uther industrie with his vocation, quhilk in deid craves the hail man's consideratioun';⁷ still less numerous are acts like the following: in 1747 the town council of Dumbarton, being greatly concerned that the youth resorting to the grammar school may be under the instruction of a person sufficiently qualified for so great a trust, resolve to grant an augmentation to the master to be appointed.⁸

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. The council, understanding that he has behaved dutifully in his calling, grant the petition.

² Kirk Session Records of Dunfermline.

³ Burgh Records of Crail.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁵ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁶ Burgh Records of Forfar.

⁷ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁸ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

§ 9. The grant of augmentation, and sometimes even of any salary, is not uncommonly coupled with a conditional clause; payment conditional on the efficiency of the school, in fact, 'payment by results,' was a common practice. In 1600 the council of Glasgow augment the stipend of the master of the grammar school, on compearing the first Saturday of every month in the council house, and there offering himself 'ready to abyde tryall of his instructing and of his doctoris, vtherwyse the augmentatioune to be dischargeit;'¹ in 1677 the council of Pittenweem promise an augmentation of £33, 6s. 8d., beside the benefit of the school, to their schoolmaster, if they 'find him deserving;'² in 1730 the bailies of Kilmarnock were appointed to visit the English school, and to report its condition, in order that the council may consider whether the salary paid to the schoolmaster shall be continued or not;³ in 1765, owing to the inattention of the schoolmaster of Kirkcudbright, and that the children are not making progress under him, the council reduce his salary;⁴ in 1781 the council of Greenock, after full reasoning, are of opinion that the annexing of salary to the mathematical school has not been attended with the good effect expected, and in order to the acting as a spur to the master chosen, resolve to give him no salary, but at the end of the year undertake to make to him such a present as his merits and attention to the school deserve;⁵ in 1786 they adopted a similar resolution with regard to the English school;⁶ in 1789 it was resolved that the master of the grammar school should have no salary further than what the council chose to give him after the yearly examination of the school by way of present, as a testimony of their being satisfied with him;⁷ the granting of salaries having become once more customary, the council in 1808 considering the apathy to which the payment of

¹ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

² Burgh Records of Pittenweem.

³ Burgh Records of Kilmarnock.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright. ⁵ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁶ In 1783 the mathematical master received a present of £15.

⁷ Burgh Records of Greenock.

fixed salaries gives rise, resolve to give only such gratuities as the abilities, exertions, and success of the teachers deserve ;¹ in 1805 the council of Forfar reserve the power of recalling at any time one-third of the salaries of the rector and assistant of the grammar school if they be dissatisfied with the success of the school.²

§ 10. As might naturally be expected from the small circulation of money during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the payments made to teachers in money were comparatively trifling ; but, as a set-off to services unrequited in a pecuniary point of view, the patrons seem to have taken much more interest than is done in our day in the wants and comforts of their teachers, whom they regarded not merely as educators, whose business it was to improve and reform a band of rough boys and girls, but as members of society—of the social system—whose hard and laborious life it was their duty to make as smooth, easy, and comfortable as possible. A few extracts will show how they endeavoured to accomplish this object : from the Reformation till the end of last century, it was as common a practice for the burghs to provide dwelling-houses for their teachers as for the heritors in landward parishes to furnish their country ministers with manses, the former supplying of their own accord what the latter were obliged to do by law ; and it is not unimportant to know that this was for a long time a general practice in Scotland. In 1574 the sum of £6, 16s. was paid for 'house maill' to the master of the school of Crail ;³ in 1577 'ane free chalmer' was provided for the master and doctor of Haddington ;⁴ in 1578 a house maill was paid to the schoolmaster of Kirkcudbright ;⁵ in 1581, £26, 13s. 4d. were paid as rent of the 'chalmer' of the master of the grammar school of Cupar ;⁶ in 1612 the sum of 20 merks was paid as 'chalmer maill' to

¹ Burgh Records of Greenock.

² Burgh Records of Forfar.

³ Maitland Club Miscellany, ii., 42.

⁴ Burgh Records of Haddington ; Maitland Club Miscellany, ii., 45.

⁵ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁶ Maitland Club Miscellany, ii., 41.

the master of the grammar school of Banff;¹ in 1612 a dwelling-house—maill free—was provided for the master of the grammar school of Stirling;² and in 1613 the sum of 20 merks was given for house maill to the schoolmaster;³ in 1604 the sum of 10 merks was granted for house maill to the master of the sang school of Ayr;⁴ in 1620 a dwelling-house was provided for the master and doctor of the grammar school of Burntisland, and in 1656 a free house for the schoolmistress;⁵ in 1621, 1622, 1628, and 1634, house rents were paid for the masters of the grammar school and music school of Dundee;⁶ in 1622 the sum of 20 merks was given for the rent of the house of the schoolmaster of Forfar;⁷ in 1623 'chalmer maill' was paid to the master of the grammar school of Perth;⁸ in 1634 the council of Cupar grant 'chalmer maill' to the master of the grammar school for six years;⁹ in 1636 the council of Dysart ordain the doctor to have a 'chalmer' for his residence, the rent to be paid out of the common good;¹⁰ in 1647 the doctor of the grammar school of Paisley was provided with a dwelling-house;¹¹ in 1653 the master was provided with the 'sang school' for his residence;¹² in 1649, 1664; and 1668 a 'competent chamber' or rent was ordered to be given to the schoolmasters of Jedburgh;¹³ in 1654 the town of Peebles undertakes to 'provide righteously' a chamber for the accommodation of the master of the grammar school;¹⁴ in 1663 a house was provided for the master of

¹ Maitland Club Miscellany, ii., 40.

² Burgh Records of Stirling.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁵ Burgh Records of Burntisland.

⁶ Maitland Club Miscellany, ii., 44.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Burgh Records of Perth.

⁹ Burgh Records of Cupar.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Dysart.

¹¹ Burgh Records of Paisley.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

¹⁴ Burgh Records of Peebles. Inventory of the plenishing of the schoolmaster of Peebles, 7th March 1688: One bed, with a bottom; one vessel 'ambrie' at the bedside; one shelf betwixt the 'ambrie' and chimney; one table; one pantry beneath the stair, with lock and key; one little 'ambrie' above the pantry door, with bands; one shelf within the chamber; one door on the chamber with 'snack' and lock; one door on

the grammar school of Aberdeen;¹ and in the same year £7 were ordered to be paid yearly for house maill to the schoolmaster of Pittenweem;² in 1670 a house was provided for the schoolmaster and doctor of Linlithgow;³ in 1685 a 'chamber maill' was furnished to the schoolmaster of Wigtown;⁴ in 1693 the town council of Paisley rent a house for the master of the grammar school of Paisley at £36 Scots,⁵ and for his successor in 1695 at £22 Scots;⁶ in 1694 a free dwelling-house was provided for the schoolmistress of Stirling, and in 1695 the sum of £12 was paid for 'chamber maill to the doctor';⁷ in 1704 the sum of £6 was ordered to be paid to the schoolmaster yearly, until 'provided in a yaird'; in 1711 he is supplied with a coal-house; in 1717 he receives £4, 15s. for repairing his 'byer'.⁸ From 1718 downwards the schoolmasters of Kinghorn appear to have been provided with a house rent or manse;⁹ in 1726 the council of Selkirk make an allowance to the master of the grammar school for house rent;¹⁰ in 1736 the burgh buys a house for the master at 1350 merks Scots;¹¹ in 1727 the schoolmaster of Dunbar was ordered to have the house, yard, and pertinents belonging to the former schoolmasters;¹² in 1747 the council of Dumbarton, for the encouragement of the master of the grammar school, agree to pay him £20 Scots for house rent yearly;¹³ in 1748 a school-house was provided for the writing master of Kirkcudbright;¹⁴ in 1747, £40 were paid for house rent to the master of the grammar school of St-

the loft with lock and key; a partition wall coming into the hall; a lock, 'snack,' and 'shot' on the outer door; sufficient glass windows in the hall and chamber.

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

² Burgh Records of Pittenweem.

³ Burgh Records of Linlithgow.

⁴ Burgh Records of Wigtown, *et passim*.

⁵ Burgh Records of Paisley.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Burgh Records of Kinghorn, *passim*.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Selkirk.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Burgh Records of Dunbar.

¹³ Burgh Records of Dumbarton. ¹⁴ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

Andrews;¹ in 1762 the town council provide a house and garden for the master of the grammar school;² the magistrates in 1789 borrow £60 sterling for building additional accommodation for the use of the rector, in the shape of a dining-room, and resolve not to 'cloag' him with interest for such advance;³ in 1790 the magistrates gave instructions to cause cast with lime the south dyke of the garden of the rector, on both sides, as soon as lime can be obtained;⁴ in 1797 a dwelling-house was provided for the master of the public school of Rothesay.⁵ These entries show that the practice of providing teachers at the expense of the burgh with places of abode was almost universal in Scotland for centuries, but we regret to notice that this ancient and admirable custom has nearly died out. At present houses are attached only to the office of teachers of the endowed schools at Dollar, Fochabers, St Andrews, and Newton-Stewart, and at a few burgh schools.⁶

The interest taken by the councils in the welfare of their teachers appears also from the provision made by them to supply their wants in a homely and useful manner like the following: In 1623 the council of Perth undertake to provide for the master of the grammar school chalmer mail and 'coillis';⁷ in 1625 the town council of Jedburgh ordain that every gentleman who has bairns at the school shall set down yearly 'ane kairtfull of turffes,' at the master's door *gratis*—persons refusing shall be compelled by a bailie to obey these orders; in 1626 it was ordained that the 'elding' shall be paid before Martinmas, or else 10s. to the master as the price, and 2s. to the officer;⁸ in 1711 the town council of Peebles appoint a schoolmaster of the burgh at a certain stipend, with 'twenty loads of peats and ten loads of coals to be laid into his chamber';⁹ in 1701 the town council of Paisley agree to supply the master of the grammar school with 'twelve loads

¹ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Burgh Records of Rothesay.

⁶ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 70.

⁷ Burgh Records of Perth.

⁸ Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

⁹ Burgh Records of Peebles.

of coals at his dwelling-house yearly;'¹ in 1791 the council resolved to discontinue the old practice of giving a certain quantity of peats to the schoolmasters of the town; in lieu of the rector's six carts, the council compounded with him by giving him 14d. in place of each cart;² in 1833 the rector of the grammar school received 5s. yearly in lieu of peats.³ The councils' benevolence sometimes takes the form of making contributions to their teachers' wardrobe, which was probably often scanty enough even as regards the necessary apparel:

'A civil habit
Oft covers a good man.'

In 1561 the council of Haddington ordain £4 to be paid to the 'skoillmaster to support him in his claythis;'⁴ in 1577 the council of Aberdeen grant to the master of the sang school, for his good services, £4, to 'buy him clothes;'⁵ in 1597 the council of Ayr ordain £10, besides his stipend, to be given to the master of the school, who was also reader, to buy for him a gown;⁶ in 1613 the same council engage a 'musitioner' at a yearly stipend of £40, with his chamber maill and a 'stand of clayths;'⁷ the council of Paisley grant to Mr James Alexander, doctor of the grammar school in 1703, 'half-a-guinea in gold, to buy him ane new hatt.'⁸

Another illustration of the kindly relations which subsisted between the teachers and parents is furnished by the general custom so long prevalent of providing the teachers, particularly the under teachers, with their food, supplied in a certain ratio carefully defined: In 1571 the doctor of the school of Crail was ordered to have, in addition to the fees, his 'meat and daily sustentation of the bairns, as use is;'⁹ in 1577

¹ Burgh Records of Paisley.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Haddington.

⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

⁶ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Burgh Records of Paisley. Down to our own day it was quite common to pay the teacher partly in kind, or to present him with useful articles like the following: *e.g.*, a piece of linen for shirting, of web for clothing, of tanned hide for shoeing, etc.

⁹ Burgh Records of Crail.

the doctor of the grammar school of Haddington received, besides the quarterly fees, his 'meit of all the bairns day about;' ¹ two years later persons boarding scholars, as well as the parents of town scholars, were held liable for the 'meat' of the doctor; ² in 1582 the doctor in the grammar school of Kirkcaldy was authorised to go from house to house 'for ane day's meit;' ³ in 1596 the 'honestest men' in Burntisland were required to lodge the schoolmaster in their houses by turns; ⁴ in 1602 the doctor of the grammar school of Stirling, besides his salary and fees, had his 'goodly entertainment of all honest men's bairns in the school,' of whom a roll was appointed to be made; ⁵ the provost, bailies, and council of the burgh, for the better flourishing of the grammar school, modify for the 'bairde and entertenement in meitt' of the Latin doctor, 6s. to be paid by the parents of the town bairns quarterly besides the scholage; if any parent prefer to give the doctor his board quarterly, 'as it sal happin to cum athorte,' he shall be freed of the modification, every bairn giving two days' 'meitt' in lieu thereof; if there be three bairns in one house, board shall be exacted from two only; if four, from three, and so forth; and they who board outland bairns are required to give one day's meat every quarter to the doctors 'by and atour' the foresaid modification; ⁶ in 1616 it was ordered that the doctor of Peebles shall have his meat daily with the bairns, through the town, as use is; ⁷ in 1648 the council of Ayr resolved that their school doctor shall have, along with the regulated fees, his 'meit about of ilk barne ane day successiue;' ⁸ in 1661 the doctor or janitor of the grammar school of Cupar had from every bairn at the school his meat day about, or 2s. daily; ⁹ in 1691 the schoolmaster of Sanquhar was partly maintained

¹ Burgh Records of Haddington.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

⁴ Burgh Records of Burntisland.

⁵ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Burgh Records of Peebles.

⁸ Burgh Records of Ayr. The town drummer was also fed by the inhabitants in rotation.

⁹ Burgh Records of Cupar.

by weekly entertainment from the respective parents of his scholars.¹

There are indeed indications that the poor doctor was not always a welcome visitor, or so hospitably entertained in his 'progresses' as might be wished. Thus in 1580 a fine of 8d. was ordered to be levied from any parent sending his children to the grammar school of Haddington who refused to board the doctor;² in 1602 the council of Stirling enact that a bailie shall advertise the parents who are liable for the entertainment of the doctor, that if 'he be neglected,' there shall be uplifted from each of them 6s. 8d. for his use;³ instead of boarding the doctor, the councils sometimes preferred to grant to him augmentation of salary, discharging him at the same time from claiming board: in 1588 the schoolmaster of Dysart was ordered to have a certain quarterly fee from every bairn, but 'na met, only good will,' and the master binds himself to receive no meat except at the pleasure of the giver;⁴ in 1626 the doctor of the grammar school was ordered to have 4s. quarterly in lieu of his meat from every one sending children to the school, seeing that 'universally throughout Scotland doctors are entertained in their diet by their scholars' parents successively;⁵ in 1638 the council of Peebles resolved to give higher fees to their school doctor, 'in full satisfaction of his meat with the children in rotation.'⁶

The poor teacher was not in the 'good old times' left, as he is to a large extent at present, to lead a solitary life—to live a stranger in a strange place—but he had the opportunity of associating with the parents—of becoming a member of the family, and forming ties which might be of great service to him in after-life—making himself, no doubt, useful in other things as well as in teaching to the children their letters. This arrangement could not fail to be of mutual benefit to teacher, parents, and scholars—the former, by his constant change of residence and the part he took in their employ-

¹ Municipal Corporations Report, i., app., 75.

² Burgh Records of Haddington. ³ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dysart. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Burgh Records of Peebles.

ments and amusements, becoming acquainted with the varied characters and dispositions of his constituents, while the latter naturally had their interest in the work of the school intensified by frequent intercourse with the master.¹

§ 11. Our examination of the records, from the sixteenth century downwards, has led us to the conclusion that the town councils most earnestly endeavoured to make their schools not limited, select, or exclusive, but really national, adapting them to the best of their ability to the varied circumstances of the different grades into which the inhabitants were socially divided. The burgh schools were attended by the children of burgesses and unfreemen—unconditionally open to all, rich and poor alike, without respect of persons, on payment of small fees. A few extracts from the records of different burghs will show the provision made by the magistrates and councils to enable the children of all classes to take advantage of the school established in the burgh for their use, frequently by reducing the fees, or exacting only such scholage as the poor scholars were able to pay: thus in 1579 the scholage of every town bairn attending the grammar school of Aberdeen was augmented to 3s. 4d. quarterly, but the 'purell' were excepted from the increase of fees;²

¹ The practice of boarding the teacher, long ago extinct in the towns, prevailed till recently, at least in some of our rural districts. A group of families, living in some sequestered spot too distant from the parish school, having secured the services of a lad possessed of the requisite modicum of 'schooling,' a schoolroom was fitted up in some central place, while the teacher himself was boarded and lodged at each house in the hamlet or clachan in regular rotation for a week, fortnight, or month at a time, as might be arranged; we remember two of the occasional or itinerant teachers who shared our family meal in the Davoch of Inchbraon, and they assured us that they liked their wanderings immensely, notwithstanding the frequency of the flittings.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen. The following act is of interest as showing that the poor scholar, who was ambitious of obtaining a higher education than that available at the grammar school, received assistance from the common good for prosecuting his studies at the university: James Brown craves the town council of Dumbarton, on 22d December 1666, that for his 'better attaining to literature and learning in the

in 1720 the council of St Andrews ordain their treasurer to pay to their schoolmaster £12 during pleasure, in respect of the small quarterly payments which he receives from poor children;¹ in 1767 the schoolmaster of Banff craves augmentation of stipend, because 'the school fees have been wisely settled by the council to make the school accessible to the children of the meaner sort';² in 1800 the council of Kirkcudbright augmented the salary of their English teacher, but continued the fees in the school as they were, because the 'poor children generally attend that school';³ in 1805 the council of Forfar reserve, till further consideration, the regulation of the school fees for teaching English, writing, and arithmetic to those children whose parents cannot well afford the fees formerly established for those branches of education;⁴ in the same year reduced fees were fixed for the children of poor farmers, mechanics, and day labourers attending the Fortrose academy, and children of very poor people received their education *gratis*;⁵ the fees in the school of Wigtown were reduced in 1822 at least one-third to meet the distressful impoverished circumstances of the burgesses;⁶ in 1826 the council of Elgin frame a table of fees, in fixing which they have been careful not to increase the fees of branches necessary to the education of the lower classes.⁷

But instead of exacting reduced fees or partial payments, the general custom was to dispense altogether with fees—giving instruction to the poor 'without money and without price:' thus, in 1654 the council of Glasgow give warrant to certain persons to keep Scots schools in the burgh, on the condition that they 'instruct all poor children whomsoever, college of Glasgow, the town would grant him a sum of money for his subsistence and entertainment;' the treasurer is ordained to pay to the supplicant £20 yearly during the will and pleasure of the burgh: Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

¹ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

² Burgh Records of Banff.

⁴ Burgh Records of Forfar.

⁶ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

³ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁵ Records of Fortrose Academy.

⁷ Elgin Case (Session Papers, 541).

who, or their parents or friends, shall require the same of them, without any kind of payment or scholage whatsoever;'¹ in 1656 the poor of the burgh and parish of Jedburgh, on producing a certificate that they could not pay fees, received free education;² in 1743 the schoolmistress of Burntisland was required to teach a certain number of poor scholars free;³ in 1739 Robert Burn, son of Peter Burn, weaver, Stirling, having petitioned the council to 'put him to school,' as his father was unable to bear his expense, they ordain him to go to school instantly, and provide for paying his fees;⁴ on 20th July 1754 the same council paid £1 sterling to John Burn, English teacher, for teaching poor scholars from 1st May last;⁵ it was stated in 1775 that a 'great many poor orphans are sent to the English school at the expense of the town';⁶ in 1759 the master of the grammar school of Haddington was requested to teach a certain number of poor scholars without exacting fees;⁷ in 1763 the council of Kinghorn appointed £24 to be paid out of the sinking fund for teaching poor children in all parts of education, including navigation;⁸ in 1770 the Latin and English masters of the grammar school of Forfar were required to teach *gratis* a certain number of poor scholars presented by the magistrates;⁹ in 1748, 1770, 1787, and 1812 respectively, the schoolmasters of Kirkcudbright undertook to teach *gratis* a certain number of poor scholars;¹⁰ in 1779 the council of Greenock paid £2,

¹ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

² Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

³ Burgh Records of Burntisland. In this and similar cases, the free education was really given at the expense of the common good, from which augmentation was granted to the teacher on condition of giving gratuitous instruction to a certain number of poor scholars presented by the council.

⁴ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. In 1776 ordained that in future the poor scholars educated at the town expense shall only continue at the school during two years.

⁷ Burgh Records of Haddington.

⁸ Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁹ Burgh Records of Forfar.

¹⁰ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright, *passim*. In 1814 the rector of the grammar school petitions for augmentation, and proposes that the burgh should send as many poor scholars as it pleases.

3s. 9d. to the English master for teaching poor scholars of the town;¹ after this date the town appears to have supported a charity school, where poor children received free education;² in 1781 the schoolmaster of Wigtown was required to teach a certain number of poor children English free of wages;³ in 1835 the magistrates and council of Sanquhar set apart one-fifth of their whole revenue for educating poor children;⁴ in the same year the council of Lauder paid to their schoolmaster £5 for educating indigent children.⁵ One or two more recent instances of municipal charity may be mentioned. The burgh of Rothesay in 1868 granted £360, of which the interest was ordered to be applied to educating six poor children for three years each;⁶ the town of Dysart paid in 1874 £50 to the schoolmaster for educating the same number of poor children.⁷

The efforts of the municipal and ecclesiastical bodies⁸ to provide instruction at the grammar schools for *all* classes, were to a certain extent seconded by private persons, whose benefactions, however, have not been so liberal in this direction as the friends of higher education could have wished. A few instances of acts of personal piety may be mentioned: in 1616 Dr James Cargill of Aberdeen, of worthy memory, ordains the interest of a bequest of 500 merks made for the use of the grammar school, to be applied towards paying the scholage and books of the children of his 'poor friends,' at the grammar and English schools of Aberdeen;⁹ at different periods, extending from 1629 to 1746, various bursaries were established in connection with the same school for maintaining poor scholars;¹⁰ in 1873 five scholars received gratuitous instruc-

¹ Burgh Records of Greenock.

² *Ibid.*, *passim*.

³ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

⁴ Municipal Corporations Report, ii., 392.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii., 200. See also Compulsory Education, Chapter XI.

⁶ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 56.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁸ For the part taken by the Church in providing education for Poor Scholars, see Chapter I., pp. 81, 82.

⁹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen; Report on Endowed Schools, ii., p. 337.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 320.

tion at this school, five paying part of the fees.¹ In 1631 Dame Margaret Kerr mortified a sum for educating poor children at the Latin school of Jedburgh.² A letter of dotation, dated 1640, and confirmed in 1648, provides for giving free education and clothing to fourteen poor scholars at the grammar school of Lanark; in 1662 eight other bursaries were founded there, and in 1720 twenty more were added, to be held 'from the time these poor male children are capable of learning to read, until they can exactly read the Scriptures';³ forty scholars receive at present gratuitous instruction at this school.⁴ In 1658 an annual rent was bequeathed for 'helping some poor honest man's bairns at the grammar school of Brechin.'⁵ In 1661 three bursaries were founded at the grammar school of Banff, each bursar receiving free education, and £2, 10s. yearly for maintenance;⁶ in 1740 another was established, and in 1787 a sum was mortified, of which the yearly interest, amounting to £20, was paid to the master in lieu of the fees of ten poor children; at subsequent periods, several other endowments were made for the benefit of poor scholars at this school; in 1873 ten scholars received free education, others were paid for through bursaries, of which there are between forty and fifty.⁷ In 1684 certain lands were assigned for teaching poor children at the grammar school of Burntisland,⁸ at which, in 1873, from four to seven children were taught gratuitously.⁹ In 1695 provision was made for maintaining and educating two children from the age of nine to fourteen years at the grammar school of Dundee.¹⁰ In 1722 Bailie Paterson of Dumfries bequeathed a sum of money to maintain a schoolmaster for 'teaching children in this burgh the Latin rudiments, grammar, rhetoric, and classic authors;' and another sum for 'teaching children of the poorer sort of merchant-burgesses in the arts of writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and navigation;' ¹¹ in the following year was be-

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 338.

² Ibid., 185.

³ Ibid., 328.

⁴ Ibid., 514.

⁵ Ibid., 323.

⁶ Ibid., 320.

⁷ Ibid., 360.

⁸ Ibid., 369.

⁹ Ibid., 370.

¹⁰ Ibid., 324.

¹¹ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, pp. 504, 505.

queathed a sum for teaching destitute fatherless boys English, Latin, and arithmetic, at the same school;¹ in 1862 a large bequest was made for educating ten boys, elected by competition, at the academy.² In 1731 the provost of Musselburgh mortified a sum of money for 'furnishing cloths to backfallen burgesses' sons, who should be educated at the Latin school of the burgh;³ in 1764 and 1811 sums were mortified for educating at the burgh English school poor children in the Fisherrow.⁴ In 1733 a sum was mortified for paying the fees of poor children at the parish or burgh school of Culross.⁵ In 1790 Ferguson of Doonholm bequeathed £1000 for behoof of the public masters of the burgh of Ayr, on condition of their teaching their respective branches to a certain number of 'orphan boys, or the sons of persons who are of necessitous circumstances';⁶ twelve pupils were educated in 1873 gratuitously at the academy.⁷ In 1794 the earl of Crawford mortified half of the vacant stipend of the parish of Crail for the year 1789, towards educating poor scholars at the grammar school.⁸ In 1799 and 1844 different sums were bequeathed for clothing and educating poor boys at the grammar school of Kirkcudbright.⁹ In 1801 eight bursars were provided for at the grammar school of Montrose, they also receiving free education in Latin;¹⁰ the only pupils who were taught gratuitously in 1873 at this school were these eight Erskine bursars.¹¹ In 1802 a sum was bequeathed for maintaining a boy at the royal academy of Inverness, and in 1803 a munificent bequest was made to the same school, which now maintains in a liberal manner seventeen bursars.¹² In 1821 provision was made for educating poor children at the grammar school of Selkirk; in 1831 a sum was destined for

¹ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, p. 506.

² Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 324.

³ Ibid., 76.

⁴ Ibid., 76.

⁵ Ibid., 162.

⁶ Burgh Records of Ayr; Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 320.

⁷ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 354.

⁸ Burgh Records of Crail. The burgh still pays £1 a year in interest.

⁹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 327, 328.

¹⁰ Ibid., 328.

¹¹ Ibid., 529.

¹² Ibid., 327.

educating at the same school six poor boys, providing them with books, and a suit of clothes annually, and instructing them in psalmody.¹ The rector of the Arbroath high school supplies, for three years, in accordance with the terms of the Gibson bequest, free education and books to eight boys, in consideration of a trust fund of £100 set apart for him in 1869, and paid to him annually.² At the Bathgate academy sixteen pupils received in 1873 gratuitous instruction.³ At the Greenock academy there were in 1873 ten bursaries for the purposes of free education.⁴ Twelve pupils were taught gratuitously, and twenty partially, at the Moffat grammar school in 1873.⁵ At St Andrews Madras college the number of pupils receiving gratuitous instruction averages about 180, whilst about 110 others pay reduced fees for the elementary branches.⁶ In several schools there is a scheme of abatement of fees where more than two or three pupils attend from one family;⁷ in some schools a certain percentage of the fees is remitted voluntarily, or otherwise;⁸ in others, the children of the masters, and of parents who are not in affluent circumstances, or have met with reverses, are taught gratuitously, or quietly admitted at reduced rates.⁹ With the exceptions above alluded to, however, little or no gratuitous instruction has been given at the burgh schools; and generally in the following schools the pupils pay in full: Annan, Brechin, Elgin, Forfar, Forres, Fraserburgh, Hamilton, Paisley, Renfrew, Stirling, Tain, Thurso.¹⁰

Altogether, it is calculated that in connection with this class of schools—those giving the higher instruction—there is an annual revenue of £2407 in the form of bursaries, scholarships, and prizes. The endowed schools commissioners recommend that the bursaries should be awarded upon an open competition, which, in their opinion, would

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 188.

² Ibid., 362.

³ Ibid., 483.

⁴ Ibid., 527.

⁵ Ibid., 320.

⁶ Ibid., 579.

⁷ Fraserburgh, Cupar, Greenock.

⁸ Forres.

⁹ Edinburgh and Glasgow.

¹⁰ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 344-604.

confer a greater benefit on the community than the restricted system now so common. On the other hand, there is a strong and patriotic party, consisting not merely of such as have a direct interest in those endowments, including the working classes, but also of some of the recognised guardians of the common weal, who hold that, high as the educational results of competition undoubtedly are, the law should give effect, if possible, to the thing desired by the founder—protecting trustees in carrying it out in a rational and consistent manner. If a person establishes a foundation, however restricted as regards name, locality, or patronage, he is a benefactor of the cause of education, and his rights and wishes should be respected, even though the limitations introduced into the deed of endowment produce fewer educational advantages than might be obtained by an absolutely open competition. When such foundations are thrown open to unrestricted competition, we are more or less ignoring the intentions of the founder, and at the same time diverting the benefit from the poorer classes to those who have had superior advantages in early life, and for whom the provision was not intended. It would be unfair to oblige a poor scholar, one of a class or name for whose benefit a bursary may have been left, but who had not perhaps the advantage of early training, to compete with those who have been instructed at our public schools; there should, in short, in allocating this class of bursaries, be some principle of selection exercised in favour of poorer persons of merit, who, from the circumstances in which they are placed, would have no chance at a public examination with boys more favoured. Several patrons, when some years ago asked to abandon their patronage in order to introduce competition for the bursaries in their gift, refused to comply, because by so doing they believed they would be robbing the poor, though perhaps less talented youth, for the sake of advancing the clever who needed less assistance. They in turn took the liberty of asking the educational reformers what they proposed to do for stupid people if they took away all good things from them and gave

them to abler and more fortunate boys. Mere open competition, in short, is by no means admitted to be an infallible, or even, in the generality of cases, the best guide towards discovering the worth or true merits of a candidate for an office or benefice. Indeed, many enlightened public men look forward with grave apprehension to the effects of the system of competitive examinations, which are every day becoming more and more frequent, as well as more severe; the system is calculated, in their opinion, to stimulate the intellect when young, but to exhaust it prematurely, rendering it unfitted for protracted or sustained work; whilst, at the same time, the physical health of many breaks down under its pressure.¹ In adjudging bursaries of this description, the plan which recommends itself most to those who, while alive to the importance of adapting the benefaction to the circumstances of the time and the exigencies of society, at the same time desire special regard to be had to the pious objects of the founder, is that the patrons should, first of all, take into consideration the circumstances of the claimant—the poverty of his parents, the advantages or disadvantages attending his early life and education, and whether he is likely to turn the benefit to good account; and then introduce a restricted competition, limiting the number of candidates to be presented—thus combining, as far as possible, the principles of patronage and competition. By such a method preference would be given to the most deserving of those contemplated by the donor, ‘et inter hos illis qui indigentiores fuerint.’ But at the present time, the prevailing tendency would seem to be to confer the benefits of endowments on a higher class of the community than that generally in view of the founders, who invariably regarded poverty as a necessary qualification.²

The State now requires that her children should be edu-

¹ Cf. Evidence of Dr Lyon Playfair, M.P., and Professor Fleeming Jenkin in Report on Endowed Schools, i., pp. 279, 334.

² When the charters of endowed schools are examined, it will be found, as a general rule, that the foundations were originally destined for the education of the poor.

cated to a point which she considers sufficiently high to enable them to discharge their duties as citizens, and, as a rule, contributes from the public revenues part of the expense necessary to this standard being attained. If the parent cannot afford his share of the expense of providing the education of his child, the State has made some provision, often far short of the necessities of the case, for supplying the deficiency. No parent is relieved of the legal responsibility of educating his child unless he be very poor, and there be clear necessity for supplying gratuitous education; and it is not doubted that where the parent is destitute, or really unable to pay the school fees, it is necessary to exempt him from paying, and to provide the means of free education; indeed, the compulsory clause in the Education Act has made such a provision absolutely requisite. Many who have considered the subject of free education in its moral bearings regard the system, when applied indiscriminately, and without due regard to circumstances, as injurious to the best interests of those who are more immediately concerned, as well as of the community at large, and that for several reasons: it relieves the parent of a privilege and duty, and diminishes his feelings of self-respect and independence—in many cases paving the descent towards pauperism—taxing the provident for the improvident by making others pay for what people should pay themselves. It has, further, the effect upon the child of blunting his sense of obligation to his parents, thus removing a strong stimulus to work; it also inspires him with so little filial affection, that in after-life, while spurning the moral restraints which those feelings impose, he may not feel it his duty to assist those who did not discharge their duty to him; in short, free education is calculated to loosen and destroy the family tie, the most sacred element of the social fabric. Apart from such mischievous effects of the exemption of parents from the discharge of so manifest a duty, teachers tell us that the system works badly in the daily practice and management of the school: gratuitously-educated children attend less regularly than those who pay,

and thus seriously impede the regular progress of the class. It is contended that parents value so little the education they get for nothing, that they take no trouble to make proper use of the privilege they enjoy; also, it is said that those who receive free education make worse use of it than those who are educated at the expense of their parents. Further, it has been remarked that teachers exert themselves more, and produce better results, when the prosperity of the school wholly or chiefly depends upon the amount of fees realised. Of course there are many cases in which education is greatly valued though given for nothing, and turned to admirable account—*e.g.*, it may be an immense help to a poor widow to get her children taught *gratis*. While a system of free instruction is necessary only for the very poor, every effort should be made to supply cheap schooling to those who are somewhat less needy—the industrious working classes, who form a very large proportion of our people. Social reformers, who have carefully inquired into the condition of those classes, are of opinion that, considering the high prices at present of the necessaries of life and the excessive rents of houses, few of the artisans are really able to pay school expenses in full without pinching economy. If after careful inquiry it should be ascertained that the fees are too high for working men—those living by the sweat of their brow—should not the balance of what they cannot comfortably pay be also contributed from the public revenue, imperial or local, in the absence of other funds? It may be added that the demands of the *doctrinaire* for free, secular, and compulsory education, have not received any countenance in Scotland.

We have hitherto spoken of education provided or aided from the imperial or local rates, but there is another source from which, it is urged, aid might be obtained for reducing the fees of those who are still not in a position to pay them in full, however economically they may live. Many recommend that school endowments should be applied towards reducing the fees paid by parents who are not in affluent circumstances—burdened with large families, employed at irre-

gular work, or afflicted with sickness. It is also thought that it would be making a good use of such endowments to apply them so that the fees charged in any school for the higher branches should be such that needy and deserving parents, who, on account of sickness, reverse of fortune, small wages, or large families, cannot bring up their children decently and honestly—in such a manner as they could reasonably wish to do—might have them educated in those branches which are beyond their reach at present; and further, that children of the poorer classes might, to a certain extent, be clothed at the expense of such endowments. Of course when a school is already provided with endowments specially designed to diffuse the benefits of education among the poor, this class has already a moral, if not a legal right to assistance, and any radical deviation of funds originally designed for orphans—‘faitherless and mitherless bairns’—children of parents who are not ‘wiell and sufficiently able to maintyne thame,’ or for poor, indigent, or destitute children—‘pauperes et indigentes scholares,’¹—cannot be too strongly deprecated. It is, at the same time, the duty of trustees and administrators of such funds to exercise careful supervision over the distribution of eleemosynary funds set apart for education, taking every means to insure that the proper beneficiaries shall really profit by the charity left for their use by pious persons who were wise long before their day and generation.

Bursaries and scholarships wisely administered and distributed will do much to extend the blessings of education, to encourage children of merit, and to develop the talent of the country; and in order to improve the secondary education of the country, the endowed schools commissioners strongly urge that after high-class schools are established and properly equipped in each important centre of population, a system of open bursaries or scholarships should be instituted, rising from the public elementary to the secondary

¹ In the charters or statutes of endowed schools, the scholars are sometimes called ‘pauperes,’ and it is directed that in choosing them, the ‘inopes’ shall be preferred where other merits are equal.

class, and from the latter to the universities.¹ The question of providing the ways and means is at present attracting the attention of several of our more enlightened and public-spirited countrymen,² and let us hope that the time is not far distant when the burgh schools shall be so improved and endowed as to be able to send to our universities a class of pupils worthy of the grand old conception of a *studium generale*.

§ 12. The burgh school commissioners estimated in 1868 the cost of education in the elementary department of the burgh schools to vary from 4s. to £1, 1s., and to be on an average 10s. 6d. quarterly; they calculated the cost of education in the higher department on three separate scales: the average of the lowest class of schools is 17s. 6d. quarterly, of the second class—the most numerous—£1, 15s. 8d. a quarter, and of the third class, £3, 6s. 9d. a quarter; they calculated, in addition to this, the public cost from all sources in both the elementary and higher department at 18s. 10d. a head.³ Further, it appears from the report of the Board of Education for the year ending 1874, that the expenditure on teachers and school board officials for that year shows an average of £1, 3s. 11d. for each scholar on the roll of public schools.⁴ The burgh school commissioners also endeavoured to estimate the emoluments of the masters; the highest income which they found, after paying assistants, was £1000 a year, and the lowest £41. These cases, however, were extreme, and they concluded that the scale of emoluments ranged from £120 to £300.⁵ The Board of Education reported in 1874 that the salaries paid to the masters of the higher-

¹ Report, iii., 119.

² 'I know of no more useful manner in which a capitalist could dispose of superfluous wealth, and, at the same time, preserve his name in honourable remembrance,' than by providing 'ladders' for 'young men unfriended, but of intellect and ability,' to the higher education: Lord Derby's Rectorial Address, Edinburgh, 1875.

³ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 69.

⁴ Report of Board of Education, xxxviii.

⁵ Report on Burgh Schools, i., 70.

class public schools proper are for the most part very moderate, with but few exceptions. The English master in the Glasgow high school drew, in 1874, £1177 from fees, of which he paid £100 to his predecessor as retiring allowance; the rector of the Edinburgh high school drew £759; and there are perhaps a dozen cases of salaries ranging from £400 to £500 a year, but the rest are from £100 to £300, or less.¹ In the burghs the Board of Education estimated the average annual salary to be £119, 2s., and in the parishes, £108, 11s.² The total amount paid in 1874 to teachers and school board officials, including the burgh and parish, was £317,824 to teachers, and £30,000 to officials, being in the ratio of 8·6 per cent. to officials, and 91·3 to teachers.³

¹ Report of Board of Education, xxxvi.

² Ibid., xxxviii.

³ Ibid., xxxviii.

Average Amount of Fees paid by each Scholar in 1868.¹

DISTRICT.	Name of School.	Amount of Fees.	No. of Scholars on Roll.	Average rate per Scholar.
Aberdeen, .	Aberdeen New Grammar, .	£1,139 3 3	272	£4 3 9
	Do. Old Grammar, .	60 0 0	47	1 5 6
Ayr, . . .	Ayr Academy, . . .	1,476 0 0	405	3 12 10
	Campbeltown Burgh and Par., .	60 0 0	86	0 14 0
	Irvine Academy, . . .	460 0 0	160	2 17 6
Dumfries, .	Annan Parish and Burgh, .	60 0 0	165	0 7 3
	Do. Academy, . . .	132 0 0	135	0 19 7
	Dumfries Academy, . . .	650 0 0	230	2 16 6
	Kirkcudbright Academy, .	212 5 0	137	1 11 0
Dundee, .	Dundee High, . . .	2,305 3 9	802	2 17 6
Edinburgh, .	Edinburgh High, . . .	3,817 8 0	376	10 3 0
	Do. Academy, . . .	4,661 12 6	377	12 7 3
Elgin, . .	Banff Grammar, . . .	134 0 0	136	0 19 8
	Elgin Academy, . . .	232 6 6	137	1 13 11
	Peterhead Academy, . . .	126 16 0	126	1 0 1
Falkirk, .	Airdrie Academy, . . .	354 12 6	342	1 0 9
	Falkirk Parochial or Grammar, .	270 0 0	280	0 19 3
	Hamilton Academy, . . .	360 0 0	286	1 5 2
	Lanark Burgh, . . .	90 0 0	116	0 15 6
	Linlithgow Burgh Grammar, .	109 0 0	70	1 11 1
Glasgow, .	Glasgow High, . . .	4,474 2 0	800	5 11 10
	Do. Academy, . . .	6,170 16 0	710	8 13 9
Greenock, .	Greenock Academy, . . .	2,266 2 0	334	6 15 8
Haddington, .	Dunbar Burgh, . . .	118 14 0	142	0 16 8
	Haddington Burgh, . . .	32 0 0	24	1 6 8
	North Berwick, . . .	60 0 0	45	1 6 8
Inverness, .	Forres Academy, . . .	125 0 0	158	0 15 9
	Inverness Royal Academy, .	1,250 0 0	215	5 16 3
Kilmarnock, .	Dumbarton Burgh Academy, .	200 0 0	171	1 3 4
	Kilmarnock Academy, . . .	430 0 0	240	1 15 10
	Port-Glasgow Burgh, . . .	124 13 4	49	2 10 10
	Renfrew Burgh, . . .	90 0 0	206	0 8 9
	Do. Grammar and Blyths-wood Testimonial, . . .	80 0 0	190	0 8 5
Kirkcaldy, .	Burntisland Burgh, . . .	65 10 8	173	0 7 6
	Kirkcaldy Burgh, . . .	250 0 0	251	0 19 11
Leith, . .	Leith High, . . .	850 0 0	198	4 5 10
	Musselburgh Grammar, . . .	152 0 0	65	2 6 9
Montrose, .	Arbroath High, . . .	734 9 8	327	2 4 11
	Do. Parochial or Burgh, . . .	220 0 0	349	0 12 7
	Brechin Burgh, Par., & Gram., .	203 0 0	237	0 17 1
	Forfar Burgh, . . .	220 0 0	191	1 3 0
	Montrose Academy, . . .	930 0 0	270	3 8 10
Paisley, . .	Paisley Grammar & Academy, .	620 18 6	271	2 5 9
Perth, . .	Perth Academy, . . .	1,550 0 0	355	4 7 3
St Andrews, .	Cupar Madras Academy, . . .	424 13 3	521	0 16 3
	St Andrews Madras College, .	2,307 7 9	863	2 13 5
Stirling, .	Dunfermline Burgh or Gram., .	154 2 6	74	2 1 8
	Stirling High, . . .	638 0 0	323	1 18 10
Wick, . .	Kirkwall Burgh or Grammar, .	60 0 0	93	0 12 10
	Tain Academy, . . .	220 0 0	102	2 3 1
Wigtown, .	Stranraer Academy, . . .	160 0 0	141	1 2 8
	Wigtown Burgh and Parochial, .	65 0 0	136	0 9 6
	Peebles Grammar and English, .	145 0 0	177	0 16 4
	Rothsay Parochial, . . .	165 0 0	296	0 11 2
	Selkirk Burgh, . . .	85 0 0	275	0 6 2

¹ Report on Burgh Schools, I., p. 75.

Numbers and Salaries of Burgh Teachers for 1874.

BURGHS.	Principal Teachers.				Assistants.			
	Nos.	Male.	Nos.	Female.	Nos.	Male.	Nos.	Female.
Aberdeen,	16	£1292 19 6	11	£641 0 4½	15	£175 8 6	7	£147 5 0
Airdrie,	3	485 15 2½	1	96 18 2	1	75 0 0	2	80 0 0
Alloa,	2	266 5 0	1	150 0 0	5	260 0 0	2	100 0 0
Annan,	3	378 0 0	1	343 0 0	1	75 0 0	1	75 0 0
Arbroath,	9	2053 8 5	6	7 15 0	4	170 0 0	4	203 6 8
Ayr,	6	946 12 2	2	80 0 0	1	50 0 0	1	50 0 0
Banff,	3	650 0 0	1	13 6 8	1	85 0 0	1	31 11 0
Bathgate,	1	48 2 11	1	95 15 0	1	65 0 0	1	65 0 0
Brechin,	5	700 7 6	2	65 0 0	1	50 0 0	3	162 5 0
Broughty-Ferry,	3	360 17 11	1	232 3 4	2	110 0 0	1	60 0 0
Burntisland,	2	361 0 9	1	70 0 0	1	60 0 0	1	60 0 0
Campbeltown,	4	689 10 0	1	60 0 0	1	60 0 0	1	60 0 0
Cupar,	2	238 15 0	1	577 19 0	3	129 17 6	1	65 0 0
Dalkeith,	2	1207 3 11	3	236 14 0	1	67 2 7	9	154 15 2
Dumbarton,	10	445 16 6	1	1218 12 0	11	270 19 10	1	45 0 0
Dumfries,	4	175 3 0	1	100 0 0	1	23 6 8	2	90 0 0
Dunbar,	2	1408 17 10	11	107 10 0	6	146 0 10	4	220 0 0
Dunfermline,	11	565 3 8	4	72 0 0	2	180 0 0	1	60 0 0
Dysart,	7	934 6 11	4	130 0 0	1	80 0 0	1	60 0 0
Edinburgh,	20	2067 6 4	22	810 5 6	23	647 9 7	7	121 15 6
Elgin,	1	117 0 0	1	237 12 2	2	105 12 5	3	123 19 2
Falkirk,	2	489 6 3	1	80 0 0	4	575 11 4	1	60 0 0
Forfar,	7	1509 7 6	1	236 13 4	2	200 0 0	1	70 0 0
Forres,	1	200 0 0	1	40 0 0	2	18 16 9	2	95 0 0
Galashiels,	1	100 0 0	2	95 11 6	1	80 0 0	1	50 0 0
Girvan,	3	317 8 0	1	60 0 0	1	80 0 0	1	60 0 0
Glasgow,	31	2406 17 4	23	810 5 6	23	647 9 7	7	121 15 6
Greenock,	11	970 5 11	6	237 12 2	2	105 12 5	3	123 19 2
Haddington,	1	75 0 0	1	80 0 0	4	575 11 4	1	60 0 0
Hamilton,	2	404 10 0	1	236 13 4	2	200 0 0	1	70 0 0
Hawick,	16	1225 10 2	5	40 0 0	2	18 16 9	2	95 0 0
Inverness,	4	482 0 0	1	95 11 6	1	80 0 0	1	50 0 0
Irvine,	3	317 8 5	1	60 0 0	1	80 0 0	1	60 0 0
Jeilburgh,	1	220 0 0	2	113 17 0	2	110 0 0	2	110 0 0
Kilmarnock,	2	245 0 0	2	122 11 4	4	256 6 6	1	45 0 0
Kilsyth,	2	176 10 10	2	60 0 0	1	70 0 0	1	75 15 8
Kirkcaldy,	5	573 17 8	2	60 0 0	1	9 10 0	3	79 15 0
Kirkintilloch,	2	240 0 0	1	249 0 0	1	75 15 8	1	79 15 0
Kirkwall,	1	230 0 0	1	282 9 11	1	35 0 0	1	2 10 0
Leith,	5	419 6 8	6	75 0 0	1	75 0 0	1	40 0 0
Linlithgow,	1	179 6 10	5	60 0 0	1	75 0 0	1	40 0 0
Montrose,	2	173 17 0	5	60 0 0	1	75 0 0	1	40 0 0
Musselburgh,	5	608 19 2½	1	70 0 0	1	50 0 0	3	199 6 8
Nairn,	3	330 0 0	1	70 0 0	1	50 0 0	3	79 15 2
Oban,	1	120 0 0	1	285 8 6	4	32 10 0	3	95 2 4
Paisley,	13	1940 5 7	3	154 12 8	4	32 10 0	3	95 2 4
Perth,	8	1454 14 5½	2	266 18 3	1	65 0 0	6	272 7 0
Peterhead,	4	260 18 1	3	190 0 0	1	130 0 6	2	120 0 0
Port-Glasgow,	4	668 17 0	1	73 6 8	3	50 8 4	3	116 7 8
Portobello,	3	167 10 0	2	110 0 0	2	80 19 2	1	7 0 0
Renfrew,	2	473 17 3	1	108 0 0	2	140 0 0	2	105 0 0
Rothsay,	6	556 13 4	2	115 0 0	2	140 0 0	2	100 0 0
Rutherglen,	2	480 13 4	2	215 0 0	3	210 0 0	1	65 0 0
St Andrews,	3	192 19 2	2	120 0 0	2	120 0 0	2	89 0 0
Selkirk,	3	475 0 0	1	120 0 0	2	120 0 0	2	89 0 0
Stirling,	4	521 11 4	1	120 0 0	2	120 0 0	2	89 0 0
Stranraer,	5	810 0 0	3	120 0 0	2	120 0 0	2	89 0 0
Wick,	4	523 17 8	1	120 0 0	2	120 0 0	2	89 0 0
Total,	307	£36,561 1 6½	154	£8693 15 0½	115	£4925 16 2	94	£3721 1 4

Numbers and Salaries of Burgh Teachers for 1874.

Pupil Teachers.				Sewing Mistresses.		Total Salaries.		BURGHS.
No.	Male.	No.	Female.	No.				
23	£288 8 2	36	£412 14 2	4	£15 14 0	£2973 9 8	Aberdeen.	
6	92 10 0	4	67 10 0	3	30 0 0	675 15 2	Airdrie.	
1	12 0 0	5	46 9 3	1	2 10 0	579 2 5	Alloa.	
8	102 10 0	4	60 0 0	1	5 0 0	593 0 0	Annan.	
12	163 15 0	10	25 0 0	4	47 0 0	2587 18 5	Arbroath.	
12	20 0 0	2	137 10 0	1	10 0 0	1590 17 2	Ayr.	
1	16 12 0	1	22 10 0	..	..	767 10 0	Banff.
1	16 12 0	3	16 13 4	..	..	55 17 11	Bathgate.
4	20 0 0	2	5 0 0	1	1 0 0	1186 19 6	Brechin.	
4	35 8 4	1	100 10 11	2	17 10 0	450 4 7	Broughty-Ferry.	
4	57 10 0	3	..	3	23 12 0	606 7 8	Burntisland.	
8	117 10 0	6	40 0 0	..	..	898 10 4	Campbeltown.
4	64 7 6	..	97 10 0	2	16 0 0	613 10 0	Cupar.	
43	373 8 7	34	..	1	12 0 0	1780 7 3	Dalkeith.	
2	22 10 0	12	388 10 10	3	32 0 0	580 4 0	Dumbarton.	
19	238 19 2	9	172 15 0	6	80 3 4	307 3 0	Dumfries.	
21	374 15 0	41	124 3 2	5	17 6 2	240 16 3	Dunbar.	
2	18 15 0	6	562 7 1	..	48 5 0	1262 3 6	Dunfermline.	
11	269 11 3	2	90 0 0	..	..	1616 12 8	Dysart.
1	12 10 0	5	33 15 0	..	..	4697 0 5	Edinburgh.
5	74 1 6	4	40 0 0	2	25 0 0	352 0 0	Elgin.	
31	246 2 4	79	49 18 0	3	33 15 0	655 2 11	Falkirk.	
12	169 18 4	13	147 4 8	..	..	2399 14 3	Forfar.
..	..	7	32 10 0	..	..	544 10 0	Forres.
20	256 0 0	10	60 0 0	..	..	362 10 0	Galashiels.
8	122 10 0	4	49 18 0	2	25 0 0	611 7 6	Girvan.	
2	29 15 0	3	520 4 0	3	33 15 0	4786 9 3	Glasgow.	
3	39 5 3	1	146 10 0	6	139 18 4	1882 16 4	Greenock.	
1	78 2 6	6	126 0 9	1	11 10 0	75 0 0	Haddington.	
2	40 10 0	3	92 2 6	4	64 0 0	1257 12 1	Hamilton.	
2	20 0 0	3	52 10 0	2	15 0 0	1874 6 0	Hawick.	
6	15 0 0	15	43 13 4	..	..	982 0 0	Inverness.
..	..	11	37 10 0	..	..	600 10 0	Irvine.
2	30 0 0	1	90 0 0	..	..	350 0 0	Jedburgh.
1	12 0 0	5	40 0 0	..	..	402 1 5	Kilmarnock.
3	57 0 0	4	30 0 0	1	5 0 0	286 10 10	Kilayth.	
3	37 10 0	5	85 0 0	..	..	1077 8 0	Kirkcaldy.
4	57 10 0	3	130 6 8	..	..	430 10 0	Kirkintilloch.
1	12 0 0	5	17 10 0	5	58 15 0	395 0 0	Kirkwall.	
3	52 10 0	2	55 0 0	1	6 0 0	407 15 8	Lanark.	
3	57 0 0	4	40 0 0	..	..	857 11 8	Leith.
3	37 10 0	5	45 0 0	..	..	179 6 10	Linlithgow.
4	57 10 0	3	60 0 0	..	..	635 8 7	Montrose.
1	45 0 0	1	79 7 6	2	28 0 0	830 4 2	Musselburgh.	
5	67 10 0	4	27 10 0	..	..	471 0 0	Nairn.
4	43 2 6	3	56 7 10	..	..	305 0 0	Oban.
10	140 7 7	2	70 0 0	..	..	3099 14 3	Paisley.
365	£4632 10 11	448	£5229 8 0	85	£881 11 4	£64,645 4 5	Perth.	
6	67 10 0	4	65 0 0	3	..	662 18 8	Peterhead.	
1	12 0 0	5	40 0 0	..	..	1138 14 0	Port-Glasgow.
3	52 10 0	2	79 7 6	2	28 0 0	476 17 6	Portobello.	
3	57 0 0	4	27 10 0	..	..	803 17 9	Renfrew.
3	37 10 0	5	56 7 10	..	..	1210 3 10	Rothsay.
4	57 10 0	3	70 0 0	..	..	698 3 8	Rutherglen.
1	45 0 0	1	26 13 4	2	32 15 0	505 17 6	St Andrews.	
5	67 10 0	6	15 0 0	1	15 0 0	795 0 0	Selkirk.	
4	43 2 6	3	86 5 0	2	15 0 0	1045 6 4	Stirling.	
10	140 7 7	2	31 9 2	1	8 10 0	1374 11 8	Stranraer.	
365	£4632 10 11	448	£5229 8 0	85	£881 11 4	£64,645 4 5	Wick.	

Abstract of Secondary School Endowments.

	Salaries of Teachers, Maintenance of Buildings, etc. ¹	Bursaries, Scholarships, and Prizes.	Total.
Aberdeen Grammar School, . . .	£668 0 0	£318 2 5	£986 2 5
Annan Academy, . . .	119 0 0	0 0 0	119 0 0
Arbroath High School, . . .	175 0 0	0 0 0	175 0 0
Ayr Academy, . . .	230 0 0	0 0 0	230 0 0
Banff Grammar School, . . .	160 0 0	111 9 6	271 9 6
Bathgate Academy, . . .	516 13 0	0 0 0	516 13 0
Brechin Preceptory, . . .	50 0 0	2 15 0	52 15 0
Caerlaverock Academy, . . .	75 0 0	19 7 0	94 7 0
Closeburn School, . . .	620 0 0	0 0 0	620 0 0
Crieff Academy, . . .	820 0 0	0 0 0	820 0 0
Cupar, Madras Academy, . . .	486 17 8	0 0 0	486 17 8
Cupar-Fife, Baxter Institution, . . .	60 0 0	0 0 0	60 0 0
Dollar Institution, . . .	1872 0 0	128 0 0	2000 0 0
Dumbarton Burgh School, . . .	100 0 0	0 0 0	100 0 0
Dumfries Academy, . . .	253 16 0	4 4 0	258 0 0
Dundee High School, . . .	465 0 0	279 14 3	744 14 3
Edinburgh High School, . . .	791 4 10	110 0 0	901 4 10
Elgin Academy, . . .	120 0 0	26 10 0	145 10 0
Fochabers Free School, . . .	700 0 0	0 0 0	700 0 0
Forfar Academy, . . .	90 0 0	0 0 0	90 0 0
Fraserburgh Academy, . . .	195 15 1	0 0 0	195 15 1
Glasgow High School, . . .	730 6 7	11 15 0	742 1 7
Glenalmond, Trinity College, . . .	{ Grounds and Buildings.	0 0 0	0 0 0
Greenock Academy, . . .	145 0 0	99 8 0	244 8 0
Haddington Burgh School, . . .	45 0 0	0 0 0	45 0 0
Hamilton Academy, . . .	11 2 4	0 0 0	11 2 4
Inverness Royal Academy, . . .	162 13 4	1028 9 11	1191 3 3
Irvine Royal Academy, . . .	115 0 0	0 0 0	115 0 0
Kirkcudbright Academy, . . .	195 0 0	26 0 0	221 0 0
Kirriemuir Academy, . . .	179 16 1	0 0 0	179 16 1
Lanark Burgh School, . . .	40 0 0	110 5 9	150 5 9
Leith High School, . . .	Buildings.	0 0 0	0 0 0
Lerwick Institute, . . .	196 13 4	0 0 0	196 13 4
Linlithgow Burgh School, . . .	50 0 0	0 0 0	50 0 0
Moffat Grammar School, . . .	45 17 8	0 0 0	45 17 8
Montrose Grammar School, . . .	150 0 0	123 0 0	273 0 0
Nairn Institution, . . .	136 2 6	0 0 0	136 2 6
Newton-Stewart Institute, . . .	320 0 0	0 0 0	320 0 0
Paisley Grammar School, . . .	125 0 0	0 0 0	125 0 0
Paisley Institution, . . .	494 14 1	0 0 0	494 14 1
Peebles Grammar School, . . .	100 0 0	0 0 0	100 0 0
Perth Academy, . . .	200 0 0	0 0 0	200 0 0
Peterhead Academy, . . .	65 19 1	0 0 0	65 19 1
Renfrew Grammar School, . . .	141 17 11	0 0 0	141 17 11
St Andrews, Madras College, . . .	1100 0 0	0 0 0	1100 0 0
Stirling High School, . . .	422 0 0	0 0 0	422 0 0
Tain Royal Academy, . . .	200 0 0	0 0 0	200 0 0
Thurso Institution, . . .	68 0 0	0 0 0	68 0 0
	£14,143 9 6	£2,407 0 10	£16,550 10 4

¹ Under this head are included payments from the common good (Education Act, § 46).

In addition to the above, the following burgh schools may be classed as secondary: Old Aberdeen grammar school, Falkirk grammar school, Kilmarnock academy, Musselburgh grammar school. They are excluded from the above list because they have no endowments: Third Report on Endowed Schools, pp. 231, 232.

CHAPTER XV.—SCHOOL BUILDINGS.

- § 1. SUBSTITUTES FOR SCHOOLHOUSES.—§ 2. SCHOOLS BUILT, REPAIRED, OR FURNISHED.—§ 3. HOW SCHOOLS WERE ERECTED.—
§ 4. STATE OF THE BUILDINGS.—§ 5. SIZES OF PLAYGROUNDS.

§ 1. GREAT improvement has taken place in the construction of our school buildings since the beginning of this century, but it can hardly be said that the character and equipment of the great body of them have kept pace with the advancement of the times, and indeed there are some zealous educationists among us who consider their state as a whole, before the passing of the Education Act, to have been a disgrace to our boasted intelligence, and a reproach to our hoarded wealth. Our children are still too often huddled together in unhealthy little rooms—stowed away in back areas—packed like useless lumber into old holes—old stables, old granaries, old weaving shops, old cellars, old barns, old smithies, old byres¹—yea, there are those living who can tell of having gone to school in old steeples,² and even in old tombs,³ with old bones rotting underneath!

¹ When visiting friends some years ago in a remote part of the Highlands, we remember how the children of the cottars came in the winter mornings to attend school in a small bothy—the summer residence, in fact, of the village bull—a building, it need hardly be said, of the most primitive character; wretchedly built and thatched, it barely sufficed to keep out the winter storms, while the smoke from the burning peat found its way out by the door and to a small extent through an aperture in the roof, and a feeble light was admitted by a small hole in the wall. The teacher was a most studious youth, whom we found well read in classics, and not unacquainted with the higher branches of mathematics; he had simply come there to earn a few pounds to enable him to continue his studies with a view to afterwards ‘wagging his pow in a pu’pit.’

² We know of the steeple of a church in the north of Scotland, a square tower, which was set apart for the use of the teacher and scholars.

³ An instance of this occurred also in the north, where the upper part

In the absence of a regular school, the practice of organising or improvising one in the most convenient place prevailed of old in Scotland, and we suppose in other countries as well: Thus in 1582 it was provided by the council of Kirkcaldy that if the number of the scholars so increase that the house of the minister, who was also schoolmaster, could not contain them, the town should find him a sufficiently roomy house;¹ in 1657 the scholars of the high school of Edinburgh were taught in Lady Yester's Church, while the school was undergoing repairs;² in 1736 the English schools of Dundee being 'dangerous for the boys in winter,' the council resolve to ask the use of the vestry and session-house all winter.³ The place selected by the town of Kirkcudbright in 1690 was less desirable: the scholars and schoolmaster being 'exposed to hazard' in consequence of the state of the schoolhouse, the council grant the use of the tolbooth, at the same time advising that, when prisoners shall be in the tolbooth, it should be more 'strictly kept,' the scholars entering at seven A.M., and removing at five P.M.⁴

§ 2. Acts of council like the following, providing for the building or repairing of schools, afford glimpses into their fitness as houses of discipline and instruction—glimpses which do not impress us favourably with their character, although perhaps they were not relatively inferior to the other buildings of the period, if we except churches. In 1584 the council of Edinburgh give orders for repairing the glass windows, locks, bands, and dykes of the grammar school, and for furnishing the well with buckets and water-stands, and hanging the bell of the school;⁵ in 1589 the council of Aberdeen ordain the dean of guild to repair the of a family tomb, or mortuary chapel, in a disused burying-ground, was for some time used as a school. In 1652 the town council of Dundee appoint a teacher of their music school, and ordain that he shall have the 'highest roume in the churchyard for teaching his scholars:' Burgh Records of Dundee.

¹ Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

² Steven's High School, 64.

³ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁵ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

grammar school with 'thak, vindois,' and other necessities;¹ in 1598 another act of council ordains the repairing of the grammar school, which is 'ruinous and decaying';² in the year following we learn that the 'scule hous' of Ayr is suffered to 'decay untheikit';³ Glasgow had centuries ago a high appreciation of a burgh school: nothing being more profitable, first to the glory of God and next to the weal of the town, than a grammar school, and the present one being 'altogether ruinous man be of new biggit,' it is ordained, on 23d August 1600, that the stones of the 'ruinus, dekeyit, fallin dovne bak almoushous' be dedicated to the building of the grammar school;⁴ in 1623 the grammar school of Aberdeen being 'ruinous and likely to fall,' the council ordain, for the sake of the education of the youth and the credit of the town, that the school be 'biggit, beitet, repairit, joisted, lofted, and slated, in substantious and honest manner';⁵ in 1633 the council of Stirling order a 'new ruiff' to be put on the grammar school, and to 'theik it with sclaitt';⁶ in 1664 the council of Jedburgh employ a glazier for 'glassening' the school windows, and request two heritors to provide heather or straw for repairing the 'school head';⁷ in the following year the 'rain fell down from the pend and the graffes quhair the bairnes sat';⁸ on 21st November 1677 the schoolmaster and doctor of Cupar petition the council to repair the school, because the 'cold winter is now at hand, and the schoolhouse so defective that they—

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. ² Ibid. ³ Burgh Records of Ayr.

⁴ Burgh Records of Glasgow. There is an order for contracting with the masons, wrights, and slaters, for 'bigging the school as good and cheap as possible.'

⁵ Burgh Records of Aberdeen. ⁶ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁷ Burgh Records of Jedburgh. A glazier undertakes the work at 5s. the foot of glass, and the 'lyk for the wyr.'

⁸ Ibid. On report of a committee appointed to sight the school, the treasurer is ordained to furnish twenty fir deals for laying the school floor, and a heritor is requested to 'caus help the school head.' Ibid. On 2d September £3, 12s. are paid by the treasurer to the glazier for furnishing and working the casements and glass bands of the school windows: Ibid.

much less the young ones—cannot be sheltered from tempestuous wind, rain, and piercing cold;’ the council order it to be ‘thaked and the windows glassed;’¹ in 1733 the council of Selkirk ordain ‘safe brods’ to be put upon the windows of the English school, for shutting at night, and declare that in future they shall not be at any expense for windows;² in 1750 the schoolhouse of Irvine being in ‘danger of falling,’ the council take steps to build one ‘according to a new plan;’³ in the following year the council of Wick, considering the necessity of repairing the school (built in 1683), resolve to build a house twenty feet in length and sixteen feet in breadth, with a fire-room fourteen feet in length, the side walls of the schoolhouse and fire-room being ten feet high; the whole house to be lofted, and to have a chimney in each of the ‘gavels above,’ with a partition of slack and rye in the middle, and a ‘thak roof over the whole;’⁴ in 1778 the council of Greenock order a coalhouse and a necessary house to be built for the use of the English school;⁵ in 1780 the ‘greatest part of the back side of the roof of the grammar schoolhouse of St Andrews being blown down,’ a committee is appointed to take the cheapest estimate after receiving a report from tradesmen;⁶ in 1785 the schoolhouse of Dumbarton being very ill suited, from dampness, want of fire-place, and other circumstances prejudicing the health of the scholars, the magistrates take steps to make the site of the meal market suitable for the purpose;⁷ in 1814 the council bought a piece of ground for ‘building a

¹ Burgh Records of Cupar.

² Burgh Records of Selkirk.

³ Burgh Records of Irvine. The new school consisted of two large apartments, one occupied by the master of the classical department, the other by the doctor or English teacher. In 1692, £9, 6s. 2d. were paid for twenty-eight trusses of bent for thatching the schoolhouse: *Ibid.*

⁴ Burgh Records of Wick.

⁵ Burgh Records of Greenock.

⁶ Burgh Records of St Andrews. In 1787 the council borrow money for plastering the roof of the grammar school, laying the floor, and furnishing it with benches: *Ibid.* £62 sterling were borrowed for paying the repairs and exchequer fine: *Ibid.*

⁷ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

necessary for the school;'¹ in 1815 the council of Montrose were informed that the foundation stone of the academy was to be laid, when there shall be a procession and coins deposited—among the rest a Montrose halfpenny.²

It was sometimes not decay 'but the act of God or of the king's enemy' that rendered it necessary to build or repair the old school. In 1631 the council of Peebles pay 4s. to Thomas Low's son for 'laving the school, which was full of water, caused by the flood,' and 12s. for 200 fail, 'required for the school because of the damage caused by the flood;'³ in 1673 the school of Haddington having been inundated by the river, there is an order to 'redd and clean it, and provide rafts for the bairns to sit on;'⁴ the grammar school of the Canongate having been 'destroyed in the late dreadful conflagration,' the baron bailie prays for the use of a house within the good town of Edinburgh until another be found in the Canongate;⁵ after the battle of Dunbar the English troops took possession of the schoolhouse of Edinburgh, using it as barracks;⁶ they left it in so dilapidated a state that £100 sterling had to be expended in 1657 'as a work of piety and charity;'⁷ Cromwell's army pulled down the schoolhouse of Perth in order to build the citadel;⁸ it was reported in 1746 to the council of Stirling that the grammar schoolhouse was greatly damaged by the rebels.⁹

Schools are still too often deficient in furniture, but great progress has certainly been made in this respect since the date of the following extract from the records of St Andrews: In 1725 the council being informed that the boys in the grammar school cannot sit for learning to 'wreatt, so that they are necessitate to wreatt upon the floor lying upon their bellies,' recommend that convenient seats be provided for them.¹⁰ Notwithstanding the general deficiency of furniture at this

¹ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

² Burgh Records of Peebles.

³ Steven's High School, 77.

⁴ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁵ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁶ Burgh Records of Montrose.

⁷ Burgh Records of Haddington.

⁸ Ibid., p. 63.

⁹ Muses Threnodie (2 app., 196).

¹⁰ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

period, we find that several of the old schools were supplied with bells: in 1584 there is an order of the town council of Edinburgh for hanging the bell of the high school in a suitable place;¹ in 1625 Robert Ferguson, burgess of Aberdeen, presented a bell, new and 'stockit,' for the use of the grammar school of Aberdeen, and promises to build a bell-house of 'aisler wark' on the grammar school, whereupon the council ordain a note to be entered in their books as a perpetual memorial to posterity of the beneficence of their good burgess;² in 1711 the town council of Banff pay 58s. for repairing the school bell;³ in 1729, on the petition of the master of the grammar school of Selkirk, the council order a bell to be fixed on the school.⁴

Not till the close of last century do we first meet with complaints regarding class accommodation, which was then becoming inadequate in several burghs: let us cite one instance only, illustrating this evil—an evil which still prevails in populous districts, especially in elementary schools, or elementary departments of schools: In 1770 the master of the grammar school of Forfar prays the council to redress a great grievance; the different branches of learning—English, arithmetic, Latin, and writing—are all taught in one apartment, and at the same time; the inconveniences thence arising are obvious—confusion and indiscriminate reading aloud, which greatly impede the scholars' progress and deprive their parents and the masters of the pleasure and the scholars of the advantage of a more orderly method;⁵ the present apartment is so confined that several boys have been dismissed from want of room—a lamentable reason; 'if these boys had received education, perhaps they might have turned out valuable members of society, but by the denial thereof, must remain like a diamond buried in the ground, unpolished by the hands of an artist.'⁶

¹ Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁴ Burgh Records of Selkirk.

⁵ Burgh Records of Forfar.

⁶ Burgh Records of Forfar. In 1784 the council of Dundee divide the

§ 3. The buildings were upheld, erected, or rented, at the expense of the common good,¹ when there was any. A few extracts will show the means ordinarily adopted by the authorities when the town's exchequer was empty: An appeal to the public for contributions is a device long ago practised: thus in 1697 the council of Brechin resolved to apply to the convention of burghs for money to assist them in repairing the schoolhouse;² in the following year, the council of Banff appointed a collector 'of such voluntary contribution as God shall move the hearts of the inhabitants to give towards the building of the new grammar school;'³ two years later, the council of Fortrose sent out a committee to solicit aid for the repairing of the 'schoole,' from the magistrates and whole inhabitants of Inverness and from gentlemen of condition in the neighbourhood;⁴ in 1751 the council of Wick expected a voluntary contribution of about £9 or £10 sterling from the inhabitants of the town, for building a suitable school in the burgh; if the sum collected be deficient, the balance shall be raised among the heritors of the parish by a voluntary subscription, when it is hoped that every heritor 'will rather give more than what is required;'⁵ in 1780 the council of Pittenweem contributed £20 sterling to the public subscription for re-building the school and schoolhouse;⁶ in 1785 subscriptions were raised for building an 'isle' to the English school of St Andrews, the council undertaking to make good the deficiency;⁷ in 1786 the council of Dumbarton solicited subscriptions from the gentlemen of the county for building the schoolhouses;⁸ in the following year, the council subscribed £300 sterling towards building the new grammar school into three separate apartments: Burgh Records of Dundee.

¹ For examples from the Reformation till the middle of the seventeenth century, see Maitland Miscellany, ii., 40-50; and at the end of the seventeenth century, see Mun. Corp. Rep., i., app. 19-78.

² Black's History of Brechin (2d ed.), 112.

³ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁴ Burgh Records of Fortrose.

⁵ Burgh Records of Wick.

⁶ Burgh Records of Pittenweem.

⁷ Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁸ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

schoolhouses.¹ The public have done much in our own day to improve the school buildings: In Dundee, for example, the school buildings, ground, and fittings, were erected by public subscription at a cost of £11,000; Greenock academy cost the subscribers £7243; Dumbarton £6500, of which £1500 was given from the corporation funds; New Aberdeen grammar school cost the city and private individuals £16,600, etc.²

The vacant stipends of benefices were, in some instances, applied towards the building of schools: in 1695 the council of Dysart thank my Lord St Clair for his kindness in granting a gift of half-a-year's stipend to the burgh for repairing the school;³ in 1724 the vacant stipend of Kirkcudbright was applied towards the same purpose;⁴ in 1731 the council of Dingwall apply for building a schoolhouse in the town, the vacant stipend to be paid at three different terms, at 100 merks per chaldier.⁵ In the event of all other sources failing to obtain the ways and means necessary for building or repairing the school, one of two methods was adopted—taxation or forced labour. In 1601 the inhabitants of Glasgow are warned 'to the extenting' for repairing the grammar school;⁶ in 1751 the council of Wick resolve that, if the other means proposed fall short of the sum required, they shall stent the inhabitants;⁷ in 1752 a quorum of the council of Forfar was appointed to assess the inhabitants for building a school.⁸ The last expedient resorted to was forced labour: in 1683 the council of Wick ordained each inhabitant to furnish a servant for building a school at the shore, under a penalty of 6s. 8d., *per diem toties quoties*, payable by the servant or master;⁹ in 1712 the council of Wigtown ordained all having horses that 'has not visible miss, that they cannot travell,' to bring from the wood of Caldness a draught of timber,

¹ Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

² Report on Burgh Schools, i., 60, 61; see also *supra*, § 5, p. 114.

³ Burgh Records of Dysart.

⁴ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁵ Burgh Records of Dingwall.

⁶ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁷ Burgh Records of Wick.

⁸ Burgh Records of Forfar.

⁹ Burgh Records of Wick.

for building a schoolhouse; if any refuse, he shall be imprisoned and fined 18s. Scots; those having no horses shall pay money.¹

§ 4. In 1868 the burgh school commissioners divided the school buildings into four classes, good, fair, indifferent, and bad; they reported that out of fifty-four burgh schools which they had visited, nineteen were of the first class (including Aberdeen and Edinburgh), fourteen of the second (represented

¹ Burgh Records of Wigtown. The history of a schoolhouse built by voluntary labour, is commemorated by a schoolmaster, Robert Smith by name, in lively, if not very polished, verse, some years prior to 1714. After mentioning the necessity for another 'dominie'—an early instance of this sobriquet—and that the 'lords' of the parish had resolved to call

'Out of the Collidge Marischall
One who baith Greek and Latin speaks,'

he goes on to say :

'The lad was called, a tryst was held
At Kerrow, there a school to build.
They first resolved to spend the summer
In bringing home bridge-trees and timber. . . .
The summer past, the harv't did come,
The bridge-trees yet came never home.'

The poor dominie then protests against the delay :

'Having no place where to bide,
Nor any hole my head to hide.'

But again, though

'Every one did promise well
To come for to rear up the school; . . .
The day appointed had some frost;
They all keep't home their shins to rost.'

At last, 'a gentlewoman mov'd with shame,' and thinking of her little ones,

'Whom she lov'd as tenderly
As the very apple of her eye,'

induces the parishioners in another part of the parish to lend their aid :

'Then every one came with a tool
And timber to rear up the school. .
They wrought like mad till night did come;
When it was dark they all went home.
They hastily again did meet
And did put up their house compleat.'

The former delinquents, however—the heritors, one and all, who relapsed into apathy—'moved with envy and with pride,' declare that they will

by Ayr, Dumfries, and Dundee), seventeen of third class (of which Stirling and Kirkcudbright were specimens), and five of the fourth (Haddington and Kilmarnock being types). In 1873 the buildings of nearly all the secondary schools were represented as being conveniently situated, and in good repair: *e.g.*, Aberdeen, Annan, Arbroath, Banff, Bathgate, Brechin, Cupar, Dumbarton, Edinburgh, Forfar, Forres, Fraserburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Hamilton, Inverness, Irvine, Kirkcudbright, Lanark, Montrose, Paisley, Perth, Peterhead, Renfrew, St Andrews, Stirling, Tain.¹ It may be mentioned that the following grammar schools, though conveniently situated and in good repair, were then deficient in suitable furniture: Leith high school and Peebles grammar school; the Ayr academy was not in good repair nor the Elgin academy; Linlithgow grammar school was only in fair repair, and Burntisland burgh school was rather out of date and wanting in accommodation.² The Education Act has already resulted in providing more convenient, suitable, and healthy buildings, better furniture and more approved apparatus, than have been hitherto generally known in our country. The school buildings promise soon, under the new *régime*, to be among the

have the school on their own side of the parish, 'not for profit but for pride:'

'They set to work with horse and harrow,
Trailing timber to the Kerrow.
Some had an ax and some a wimble,
But many more, for haste, came humble;
They had no men to couples ty:
On the Terrey they did cry,
Come over and join us in this matter.'

A storm comes, and

'Their couples by the wind did fall;
But yet again, they say, they shall
Be once put up, and there shall be
The seminary of Glenshee.'

The narrative, though somewhat rude, gives a graphic account of the building of a school in a country parish nearly two centuries ago, and shows clearly the direct interest and duty of the parishioners in relation to the work. Smith's poems are now very rare.

¹ Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 339-601.

² *Ibid.*

best, cheerfullest, airiest, handsomest, best ventilated, and altogether the most agreeable and brightest buildings in the town or district, as they ought to have been long ago; for in no other building is there more important work done, not even in our churches, though these have hitherto been vastly superior to schools in position, architecture, fittings, and suitability of structure.¹ If the improvements continue a few years longer in the same proportion as they have done since the passing of the Act, every corner of the country will soon be provided with neat, commodious, and handsome buildings—having playgrounds and every convenience attached. The character of the school building is only second in importance to that of the teacher, and it is cheering to find, instead of the miserable hovel, and the dark, confined, and ill-ventilated room, formerly so common, places in which the teacher and pupil may ‘thrive physically’—places fitted for maintaining discipline and making satisfactory progress in the proper work of the school. The 45th section of the Act, authorising school boards to borrow the money required to ‘provide or enlarge’ school buildings and teachers’ houses, has done much good in this direction; during 1874 the Board of Education sanctioned applications from 349 school boards for loans to the amount of £1,109,241, but, unfortunately, difficulties have arisen with regard to the wording or interpretation of the clause, so that loans for repairs, enclosures, and equipment, are now disallowed, as happened in the cases of Kirkcudbright and Perth academies.²

§ 5. The playground, with its many pleasant associations, forms an important element in school life. It has been called

¹ We are still very deficient in school furniture; in other countries improved desks and chairs have long ago taken the place of the old-fashioned and uncomfortable wooden benches, and each pupil is supplied with a separate seat, desk, and drawer for holding books.

² Report of Board of Education, ii., pp. xii., xiii. Many think that the school buildings are now too grand, and question the economy or morality of erecting on credit houses so expensive, stately, and imposing. There are, undoubtedly, too many instances of school boards having been vastly too extravagant for the pocket of the poor ratepayer.

by a distinguished educational trainer 'the uncovered school-room.' While the active exercise requisite for a pupil taking part in the games and pastimes of the playground helps to develop and strengthen the physical powers, there can be no doubt that it has an equally invigorating effect upon the mental faculties, enabling the young scholar to submit, without murmur, to indoor work, and even giving him some relish for serious study.

'If all the year were playing holidays,
To sport would be as tedious as to work.'

Accordingly, in the higher class of schools, more especially in England, we find that the masters encourage the natural healthy instinct and love of manly exercises which lead the pupils to frequent the playground. Who that has read 'Tom Brown's School-days,' with its memories of Dr Arnold and Rugby, does not feel his heart beat and his ears again tingle with the echoes of a hundred boyish voices, as he recalls the old field-days of which cricket and football were the crowning glory and joy!

Whether engaging in the more boisterous games, such as football, or in some gentler kind of play, the pupils each find the part they have to act, and thus learn those practical lessons and form those habits which mould the character of the man: there, as in the wider arena of life, the strong come in daily contact with the weak, the confident with the timid, the cunning with the simple, the false with the true; and not only do such contrasting characters meet in the playground, but those friendships of choice spirits, which continue unimpaired in after-life, are there formed and cemented. By some occasional intermingling of masters with pupils, the principles of conduct and action inculcated in the schoolroom may be made powerful and permanent factors in giving a tone and character to the 'life and conversation' of youth and manhood. The provision made in this country for giving the children attending our schools the necessary outdoor exercise and relaxation, has been notoriously inadequate. While English

public schools are in every instance furnished with extensive playgrounds,¹ and German gymnasia supply all the requisites for developing and improving the physical qualities, we in Scotland have hitherto been contented with the most meagre accommodation for such purposes in connection with the schools. Whether, owing to the depressing nature of our climate, or to the rigid notions with regard to all kinds of amusements that seemed at one time at least, and are still to some extent, inherent in the Scottish character, and more particularly in Scottish Presbyterianism, we certainly are not as yet sufficiently alive to the importance of physical training and outdoor amusements and games as a part of the educational course. There need be no fear lest more important interests should suffer from any progress we are likely to make, in our day at least, in this direction, or that there will be a return or revival of the old times, when any day could be turned into a holiday, and it was no unusual thing for the parson or minister, after the morning services on Sunday, to take the lead in a game at football with the villagers in the afternoon.

In a former part of this work we saw that the teacher was required to accompany and attend the boys at play, this provision being made partly from the absence of any suitable ground attached to the school itself:² thus, in 1650, at Linlithgow, the yard at the back of the grammar school was allowed to the scholars to have 'their diversions' in;³ in 1756 we learn that the scholars attending the school of Wick could 'divert themselves within view of the master' between the schoolhouse and a certain store-house on the 'shoar';⁴ in 1771 the council of Forfar, on an application from the schoolboys, agree to tolerate them to play in the kirkyard.⁵

The poverty of our playgrounds arises to some extent from the fact that our schools are all day-schools, and that the scholars have little or no interval of recreation from the

¹ See *supra*, p. 182.

² *Ibid.*, § 6, p. 173.

³ Report on Burgh Schools, ii., p. 115.

⁴ Burgh Records of Wick.

⁵ Burgh Records of Forfar.

time of meeting till dismissal. A few facts will show how few are really adapted for the manly exercises in which boys delight: Greenock academy has a playground extending from three to four acres partly covered; the grammar school of New Aberdeen has a playground of nearly the same dimensions;¹ Tain academy stands in a park of three acres; the Madras college of St Andrews has above two acres;² the Irvine academy has two acres enclosed; the Kirkcudbright academy has one acre and a half, and so has the Dumfries academy;³ the Forfar academy, about one acre and a quarter;⁴ the Bathgate academy, more than an acre;⁵ the Peebles grammar school, one acre;⁶ the Lanark burgh school, one acre; the Moffat grammar school, nearly an acre; the Stirling high school, three-quarters of an acre;⁷ the Glasgow high school, about three-quarters of an acre;⁸ the Inverness academy, about three-fourths of an acre for the boys, less for the girls; the Leith high school, about half an acre;⁹ the Banff grammar school, half an acre; the Peterhead academy, less than half an acre;¹⁰ the Renfrew grammar school, less than half an acre;¹¹ the Ayr academy, about one-quarter of an acre; the Dumbarton burgh academy, rather more than one rood; the Elgin academy, one rood; the Hamilton academy, about a rood; the Linlithgow grammar school, less than one rood;¹² Forbes academy, also less than one rood;¹³ the Arbroath high school, nearly twenty-eight poles;¹⁴ the Burntisland grammar school, about twelve poles.¹⁵ Many playgrounds are so insigni-

¹ Before 1873 it was insufficient for games liked by the boys.

² The pupils also rent a park twice that size for games.

³ The boys rent a field for playing cricket.

⁴ 5407 square yards.

⁵ 273 feet by 187 feet.

⁶ Tweed Green.

⁷ The ground is not adapted for cricket.

⁸ 3831 square yards: insufficient for playground and air.

⁹ The links, however, are available as a playground.

¹⁰ 2000 square yards.

¹¹ 2000 square yards.

¹² 150 feet by 65 feet.

¹³ 1100 square yards.

¹⁴ 96 feet by 82. The boys have the use of the common.

¹⁵ The scholars usually resort to the public links.

ficant as to be of little or no use: *e.g.*, those of the Annan academy, of the Fraserburgh academy, of the Paisley grammar school,¹ of the Cupar Madras academy,² of the Brechin grammar school. There are important schools having no playground at all which they can call their own, and must be content with the use of the common: the Montrose grammar school has only the links for a playground, while the Perth academy has only the North Inch, which however serves the purpose of a playground excellently, and is a splendid public park.³ School boards supplying this desideratum in the curricula of our schools will render valuable service to true education, and be gratefully remembered by our ingenuous youth, to many of whom the 'play' is at present more of a burden than recreation in consequence of the want of sufficiently open space for indulging in their favourite pastimes.

¹ But there is a prospect of its being enlarged.

² There are, however, other public grounds at hand.

³ Cf. Report on Endowed Schools, ii., 343-603.

CHAPTER XVI.—FEMALE EDUCATION.

- § 1. DAME SCHOOLS.—§ 2. GIRLS' SCHOOLS.—§ 3. SUBJECTS TAUGHT.—
§ 4. HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS.—§ 5. MIXED SCHOOLS.—
§ 6. MORTIFICATIONS.

TAKING advantage of the ungallant decision of grammarians, that the masculine is more worthy than the feminine gender, we have postponed our notice of dame schools, girls' schools, or female education generally, until the male Teacher and *his* school were first disposed of.

§ 1. Dame schools, which, to some extent, formerly supplied the place of the present system of Infant schools, have, it need hardly be said, filled a useful place in the old educational machinery of Scotland. The Dame was usually an old woman—generally an old widow or maid—who received under her charge young children of both sexes, and taught them such lessons as she was capable of imparting, and they of learning; and it may safely be said that she was not qualified to teach many subjects, nor to carry her pupils far forward in the branches taught. The children were taught a little of reading and spelling, and perhaps some moral lessons; but in the more advanced dame schools, there was in addition to reading,¹ a little of plain writing, of simple calculations, and of industrial training—including knitting and sewing, taught to boys as well as girls. Most of our grandfathers and grandmothers received their first school impressions at seminaries of this description, and indeed very often the only schooling with which they were blessed. But for the instruc-

¹ They read Scots or English with the good old Scotch accent: the books were the Westminster Shorter Catechism—afterwards committed to memory—the Proverbs of Solomon, the Psalms of David, the New Testament, and last the Old Testament; only a few were taught writing and arithmetic.

tion given at the dame school, usually attended by children ranging in age from three to seven or eight years, the subsequent demand for their labour rendered it probable that they would be brought up altogether ignorant of letters. These little schools, although they rendered greater service to society than merely the keeping of young children out of harm's way by preparing them for the parochial and burgh schools, were beneath the notice of town councils, who offered them little or no encouragement, and exercised no superintendence over them so long as they were content to communicate nothing more than the mere elements of knowledge; but if the Dame presumed to teach any advanced subject, the school was summarily extinguished as a poacher on the preserves of the burgh school.¹ Dame schools, being thus mainly dependent upon the humbler classes of the community, have, though frequently subsidised by benevolent neighbours, ceased to exist in Scotland, and their place has been taken up by the Infant schools, which have sprung into existence within our own recollection.

§ 2. Though the town councils took little or no cognisance of dame schools—adventure schools, at which young children of both sexes were taught by women—they seem to have taken considerable interest, from an early period, in female schools, where girls were taught to read intelligently, write fairly, spell more or less correctly, and work a little sum in commercial arithmetic; but the principal subject of instruction given at girls' schools was needlework, and in some instances the teaching comprehended a little of domestic economy, including the important art of cooking.

§ 3. We give a few extracts to show the subjects commonly taught in girls' schools—extracts which may serve to throw some light on the important subject of female education during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1612 the female children in the burgh of Stirling were taught English and writing;² in 1618 the council of Paisley ordained 'none to be put to the sewing schuill till they can

¹ See *supra*, Chapter III.

² Burgh Records of Stirling.

red perfytlie;'¹ in 1642 Lady Gordon of Rothiemay, of good memory, destined for the love she had to virtue in woman, a sum of money for 'teaching young women and lasses in the town of Aberdeen reading, writing, and sewing, and any other art or science for which they may be capable;'² the subjects of instruction are more particularly enumerated in a subsequent entry dated 1648, when the schoolmistress taught, we are told, 'reading, writing, sewing, and music;'³ in 1694 the council of Stirling, considering how necessary it is to have a 'gentlewoman for educating the daughters of burghesses,' appointed a yearly salary to be given for her encouragement; and in the following year Mrs Adieson taught young 'women and girls in all things proper and necessar to be learned by them;'⁴ in 1698 the schoolmistress of Irvine taught children 'such arts as are taught to children in Edinburgh;'⁵ in 1719 the council of Dumfries contributed to the support of a school, in which 'shaping and sewing all sorts of white and coloured seams, embroidering, and paistry' were taught to girls;⁶

¹ Burgh Records of Paisley.

² Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burgh Records of Stirling.

⁵ Burgh Records of Irvine.

⁶ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, 504. In 1753 the council of the same burgh admitted a cook and confectioner as a freeman and burghess, on condition of teaching poor girls the 'arts of cookery and confectionery or paistry:' Ibid., 505. From these and other notices it appears that long ago provision was made as much for teaching cooking and sewing—subjects, alas! almost now blank at our girls' schools—as there is in our day for teaching crochet, drawing, and music—accomplishments, no doubt, highly interesting, but of less consequence, we should think, to our poorer middle-class girls than industrial training, including economy of living and domestic affairs generally. Instead of the culinary art advancing like other branches of knowledge, our countrywomen appear to be less skilled therein than their grandmothers. Too many persons now complain of the cooking as practised at home, and the complaint is so general—and to our cost, we know, well founded—that bachelors, young and old, are thankful to dine anywhere rather than at their lodgings—at clubs, boarding-houses, chop-houses, cooks' shops, etc. Indeed, the tendency, more especially among the poorer classes, is to abolish altogether the old-fashioned practice of preparing victuals at home, and to resort to cooks' shops for procuring ready-made meals.

in 1722 a mistress was elected by the town of Brechin to instruct little girls in the 'arts of sewing and working of lace;'¹ in 1726 the council of Stirling nominated a schoolmistress for instructing girls in sewing white and coloured seam, shaping, washing, dressing, etc., with this provision, that whatever 'crape' she shall require for making 'dead cloathes,' she shall buy the same from merchants in the burgh, as she shall be directed by her employers, the merchants supplying the same at rates as easy as she could be served from other burghs, the expense of carriage being considered;² in 1727 the council of Glasgow approved of a contract nominating a mistress of the public school erected in the city for teaching girls to spin flax into fine yarn fit for making thread or cambric;³ in 1735 a girls' school was established at Arbroath; two years later, the magistrates, with the view of encouraging the school, prohibited all other persons from teaching girls to 'sew, work lace, etc., without the liberty of the council;'⁴ in 1736 the council of Forres, considering the disadvantage caused by the want of a capable woman to teach the young girls white and coloured seam, appointed a schoolmistress of the burgh;⁵ in 1757 the schoolmistress of Wigtown taught coloured seam and white seam only, but was capable of teaching 'Dresden' and embroidery;⁶ in 1761 the council of Fortrose appointed a schoolmistress for teaching plain and coloured seam, and other branches of female education;⁷ in 1764 a

Steps are now being taken to remedy this evil—an evil which is seriously disturbing our social happiness—by establishing schools of cookery in important centres, and there is a probability of our females, including mothers and daughters, having soon an opportunity to learn the practice from professional teachers. But even if the scheme succeeded, and that itinerant lecturers visited places too small to support efficient teachers, it will, we fear, take a long time before the great mass of our women shall be educated in domestic economy—a subject with which every German lady is thoroughly conversant.

¹ Burgh Records of Brechin.

² Burgh Records of Stirling.

³ Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁴ Hay's History of Arbroath, 264.

⁵ Burgh Records of Forres.

⁶ Burgh Records of Wigtown.

⁷ Burgh Records of Fortrose. In 1843 and 1844 payments were made to Miss Fraser, teacher of the female school of the burgh.

schoolmistress of Ayr taught young women 'sewing, embroidery, and other accomplishments proper for that sex ;'¹ in 1782 there was a boarding and public school in Ayr for educating the young women of the burgh, at which 'everything was taught as complete as at Edinburgh,' a great saving, it is added, to the inhabitants, a convenience to the neighbourhood, and an advantage to the town at large, in bringing gentlemen's children to it ;² in 1769 a school was opened in Dundee for instructing in the 'branches taught to young ladies in Edinburgh.'³

From these extracts it will be seen that the education of our girls consisted mainly of industrial training, and that there was little of the 'accomplishments' which have since come so largely into fashion. But after the middle of last century we find the subject of female education attracting some attention ; in several places there was a demand for providing women with means of more liberal education than had been hitherto available. Thus in 1756 the council of Dunfermline resolved to provide remedy 'against the great loss caused to the town through the want of a proper schoolmistress to teach girls ;'⁴ in 1765 the council of Kirkcudbright passed a resolution to the same effect ;⁵ in 1762 the council of Banff, considering that although the grammar school has been hitherto well conducted, the girls' education has been much neglected, resolved, therefore, to establish a school for teaching such branches of education as are proper to be taught to young women under a schoolmistress ;⁶ in 1763 a schoolmistress was chosen for 'teaching young ladies and gentlemen the branches of education fit for them ;'⁷ in 1764 it is represented to the magistrates and council of Ayr, that 'having shown their willingness to promote the education of the male sex, it was hoped they would be pleased to do something for the other sex ;'⁸ a petition was presented to the

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr.

² Ibid.

³ Burgh Records of Dundee.

⁴ Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

⁵ Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright.

⁶ Burgh Records of Banff.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Burgh Records of Ayr.

council of Forfar in 1770 representing the miserable condition of young girls from want of proper education: they 'are shamefully neglected, and seldom or never in this town receive the proper rudiments of education, finding the loss thereof all the days of their lives;'¹ in 1795 the council of Arbroath, considering that an able and fit schoolmistress was much wanted for the town, gave one a salary of £6—increased in 1809 to ten guineas.² It thus appears that the authorities were becoming to some extent alive to the necessity of promoting a more liberal education among women than was previously common; and doubtless appeals or remonstrances like those quoted bore fruit in course of time. Accordingly, in the early part of last century, greater educational advantages began to be conferred on our girls, and the course of education for women, which is still the prevailing one, was inaugurated, the industrial training formerly so general unfortunately dropping out to a large extent. Thus in 1810 there were taught in the female school of Elgin reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, elocution, geography, plain, coloured, and fancy works, French, music, singing, and drawing;³ in the female school of Tain, in 1835, English, French, needlework, music, and drawing were taught;⁴ in that of Selkirk in the same year, English, writing, sewing, and drawing;⁵ in the female school of Crail, again in the same year, reading, writing, sewing, and knitting were taught,⁶ the useful predominating over the ornamental branches.

§ 4. Unfortunately the old fallacy with regard to the education of women, viz., that the higher instruction was not necessary for them, is not yet exploded, but we are slowly

¹ Burgh Records of Forfar. ² Hay's History of Arbroath, p. 264.

³ Session Papers, 541, pp. 61, 62.

⁴ Municipal Corporations Report, ii., 425.

⁵ Ibid., ii., 399.

⁶ Ibid., i., 158. Several of the burghs continued to support girls' schools until the demand for female education brought into existence day-schools and boarding-schools numerous enough to overtake the education of all our girls who wished to avail themselves of that class of schools. In 1835 there were only ten female schools under the patronage of the town councils.

realising that any knowledge calculated to improve the human mind should be communicated to women, no less than to men. Indeed, woman, being by 'birth and destiny' the greatest educator of the two sexes, would seem to require higher education more urgently than man, whose most important education—carried on by means of universities, libraries, travels, and business—only begins where that of woman too often ends. The higher education of women, hitherto so culpably neglected, being therefore not less important than that of men, the next generation will have to address itself to the question of providing proper schools for our middle-class girls—that large class between those attending elementary schools and boarding 'establishments.' The absence of such schools must speedily come to be recognised as one of the greatest wants of the day. There are in abundance schools good enough for the education of their brothers—boys who fill our burgh schools and commercial schools—but with few exceptions, including the schools lately organised by the Merchant Company at Edinburgh, the girls' schools embracing a complete curriculum of proper studies are few in number. At present the question of providing a thorough system of instruction for girls—of extending to our daughters the means of higher education—is too much ignored, and we have been hitherto content to send them to day-schools and boarding-schools, which are notoriously inefficient and superficial,¹ chiefly occupied in imparting a showy education—accomplishments acquired not so much for purposes of intellectual discipline, as for attracting attention.² The subjects professed at this class of schools are two or three foreign languages, the

¹ The defects of girls' schools are thus summed up in the Report of the Schools Enquiry Commission: 'Want of thoroughness, foundation, system, and organisation; slovenliness and showy superficiality; inattention to rudiments; undue time given to accomplishments, and these not taught intelligently or in any successful manner.' This indictment, which applies to English schools, is, we fear, applicable to some extent also to Scottish schools.

² 'The so-called lady-accomplishments,' says Jean Paul Richter, in his 'Doctrine of Education,' 'are at most but garlands of flowers by which

grammars of which are not logically or thoroughly taught ; music, taught mechanically, without reference to the theory of harmony ; drawing, mere copying, without any study of the laws of form, colour, and perspective ; dancing, calisthenics, and what is called 'English education,' including writing, arithmetic, use of the globes, geography, history, grammar, and elocution. Too many subjects are professed, and the consequence is that no branch is well taught ; the mind is concentrated on no subject, the system requiring no thoroughness in any department. In boys' schools, on the other hand, there is generally a thorough grounding at least in one branch, usually classics or mathematics, and it is certain that thoroughness in a single subject is productive of more good in educating the faculties than all the smattering acquired at these 'establishments for young ladies'—at which all that is interesting in the study of a subject—the *rationale* or principle—is invariably excluded. Altogether, the instruction which, at the present time, we give to our girls, is very defective in intellectual basis—in preparation for the duties of life—and the question therefore arises, what are the requirements necessary for improving women's education ? There is an attempt in several places to solve this question by assimilating the courses of studies in our best girls' schools and boys' schools ; and it stands to reason that what is good for educating a boy, is equally good, *mutatis mutandis*, for educating a girl, *et vice versa*. Formerly classics and mathematics were the subjects mainly taught to boys, and music, drawing, and modern languages to girls ; at present it would seem as if classics and mathematics were finding their way into girls' schools ; and, on the other hand, modern languages and fine arts are being largely introduced into boys' schools, the great subject of English literature being equally necessary for both. With the view, therefore, of promoting the higher education of women, the plan which most recom-

Cupid may be bound ; but Hymen, who breaks through these and garlands of fruit too, is best guided and held by the golden official chain of domestic capability.'

mends itself to our best educationists is to provide schools, teachers, methods, discipline, organisations, examinations,¹ inspections, diplomas or certificates, for girls, similar to those which exist for boys, and to make the subjects of instruction, as much as possible, the same in both schools, the time-tables being different, that is, the boys and girls not necessarily devoting equal time to the same subject. Towards accomplishing this end, it is believed that our secondary schools are capable of being utilised more than they have hitherto been; thus classes might be established in connection with burgh schools and academies, which are not open now to girls (such as Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, etc.), the school boards making arrangements to employ the same teachers for both sexes. Further, in order to promote higher knowledge among women it is necessary that the girls should continue their studies beyond the period when they are too frequently said to have 'finished their education;' and to enable them to extend the school period, colleges or universities should be established for their use, just as exist for young men after they complete their school career.²

But it is not now enough to provide for our middle and lower class girls, good secondary schools and colleges. Considering the extent of female industry—the vast number of

¹ The importance of examinations for promoting the higher instruction of girls was long ago felt by so distinguished a master as Dr Arnold of Rugby, who in 1841 wrote to Mr Justice Coleridge: 'There is nothing for girls like the degree examinations. Unless we had a domestic examination for young ladies, to be passed before they come out, and another, like the great *go*, before they come of age, I do not see how women can be educated intellectually. Seriously I do not see how we can supply sufficient encouragement for systematic and laborious reading, or how we can censure many things being retained at once fully in the mind, when we are wholly without the machinery which we have for boys.' Important advances have recently been made in this direction in the provisions for examination of women by the University Local Examinations of Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, and Edinburgh.

² Some progress has already been made in supplying our women with the means of higher education: *e.g.*, at Girton College, Newnham Hall, Edinburgh Ladies' Educational Association, London University College.

women who support themselves and frequently their families by means of various occupations, including shopkeeping, manufactures, fisheries, needlework, teaching, domestic service, agriculture, commercial occupations, etc.—it is to be hoped that suitable schools shall be founded for preparing them for their practical business, and qualifying them for higher and more remunerative employment. This might be accomplished by means of evening classes, and by admitting them to schools established for giving technical instruction to men.

Schools and colleges, however good and efficient, may fail in educating our women to be good sisters, good mothers, good wives, and good servants, if good education begins not at home—if the affections are not cultivated, and house-keeping duties neglected. An education, therefore, more important than that acquired at the elementary or secondary schools, or even at the university, is *Home Training*, the department of girls' education which, it is maintained, is at present most neglected, and needs most care. Home education is the first and greatest business of mothers—compared with which all others are small. The children's future welfare—happiness and misery—mainly depends on the manner in which the Mother discharges the solemn duty entrusted to her by God. From her teaching, conduct, and spirit, they derive their impressions of what is right and wrong, their good or bad habits, their virtuous or vicious principles.

§ 5. There are indications in the burgh records that the subject of mixed education engaged the attention of an earlier generation: in 1602 the council of Ayr ordained the girls who are learning to read and write at the grammar school to be sent to the master of the sang school, 'because it is not seemly that sic lasses should be among the lads.'¹ An entry somewhat similar occurs in the minutes of the town council of Dundee: in 1712 the council ordained the English high school

¹ Burgh Records of Ayr. In 1598 the council of Aberdeen license two persons and their spouses to teach 'maiden bairns,' but forbid them to have a 'man doctour' under them: Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

'to be kept alenarly for girls above ten years of age.'¹ Persons who take interest in questions of education are still divided in opinion with regard to the propriety of teaching boys and girls together, more especially after they cease to be children. The burgh school assistant commissioners condemn the system, on the ground that the 'influence of mixed schools is not beneficial from a social point of view.'² Others, on the contrary, instead of merely denying that any mischief has resulted from the meeting of boys and girls at our public schools, contend that mixed education is necessary for preserving the moral character of the pupils,³ and further, that it is the best system for acquiring a complete education. The mixed system appears to be more in harmony with the laws of nature than that which would divide the pupils into classes according to which each sex would be taught by itself. For example, a family, consisting of boys and girls, will, it is said, be better educated than if composed of one sex only. It would indeed seem as if Providence intended that the sexes should influence each other from their birth to their death, and at no time is this influence more necessary than when their characters are being formed. Possibly the character of the girls may, by being taught with the boys, suffer to some extent from the rough and boisterous manners of their companions; but, on the other hand, it is certain that the boys will suffer *more* from the absence of the girls than the girls from the presence of the boys. From a moral point of view, therefore, it may be concluded that though the mixed system is not without its drawbacks (what system is?), the balance of advantages appears to be decidedly in its favour, provided it can be carried out under proper regulations, in-

¹ Burgh Records of Dundee. ² Report on Burgh Schools, i., 89.

³ Richter, one of the greatest of German thinkers, says in his 'Levana': 'To insure modesty I would advise the educating of the sexes together; for two boys will preserve twelve girls, or two girls twelve boys, innocent amidst winks, jokes, and improprieties, merely by that instinctive sense which is the forerunner of natural modesty: But I will guarantee nothing in a school where girls are alone together, and still less where boys are.'

cluding, if thought necessary, especially for the higher schools, separate entrances from the streets, separate staircases, separate entrances into the schoolroom, and separate courtyards. Intellectually, the advantages are *all* in favour of the boys and girls being taught together, and contrary to the system of isolation. The daily contact of the sexes softens, purifies, quickens, and inspires the boys, while it gives balance, strength, and buoyancy to the girls; it establishes their relative capacity to pursue the same course, and to undergo the same tests¹—accustoming the public mind to the idea of both sexes working towards common objects.² Further, the mixed system is attended with greater economy, and with larger educational advantages—great recommendations in its favour; teachers assure us, for example, that a school composed of both sexes is more teachable and manageable than the same number of either sex, by themselves; and it is certain that if the sexes were separated, the cost of education would not only be largely increased—and it is heavy enough already for the ratepayers—but the girls would not have the same educational advantages which they have at present—either with regard to teachers, buildings, or playgrounds. On the whole, therefore, it would, we think, be rash to condemn or change a system against which no charge can be substantiated, and which has not hitherto been attended with any mischief.

§ 6. Mortifications to female schools are so rare as to justify that of the pious Lady Gordon of Rothiemay being given with little abridgment: In 1642, Katherin Forbes, relict of William Gordon of Rothiemay, of good memory, for the honour of God, her love to virtue in woman, and to all women virtuously disposed, mortifies to the town council of Aberdeen £1000 Scots, of which the annual rent shall be

¹ The burgh school commissioners reported in 1868, that in the more advanced school work including English, classics, and mathematics, the girls did as well as the boys, and that in the modern languages they did better; in all the schools they found the girls more conscientious and industrious workers than the boys: Report, i., 85.

² National Union for Improving the Education of Women.

given for the maintenance of a woman for keeping a school in the burgh, for teaching young women and lasses; the school-mistress shall be a widow of honest report, of grave and modest carriage and behaviour, of good life and conversation, free of public scandal, religiously inclined, and fearing God; or she shall be a virgin or maid of age and discretion, grave and modest, fit for such a charge; if the widow or maid shall marry or prove scandalous, she shall be removed from her office; further, adds the pious lady, because a woman of the necessary quality and condition cannot at present be found, the interest of the money shall be added to the principal sum until the school be erected.¹

The absence of endowments for the education of girls is a remarkable phenomenon in the history of our national education. The fact of no mortifications having been made expressly for girls has led some to suppose that foundations, at present appropriated for boys, may have been originally intended for boys *and* girls, and that the founders had no intention of excluding from the benefit children of the burgh or parish in respect of their sex. The true explanation of the fact, we think, is that our grandfathers and grandmothers attached so little importance to the higher education of girls, as to have thought it unnecessary—probably a waste of means, to make any provision to give free or assisted education to their daughters, for whom, in their opinion, education, at least the higher education, was not necessary, in order to their being good wives, good mothers, good mistresses, and good servants. The difficulty of giving higher education to girls, and its costliness as compared with that of boys, have induced some educationists to recommend that endowments should be extended to the former, in order to provide them with good education at moderate expense.

¹ Burgh Records of Aberdeen.

APPENDIX.

FEES AND SALARIES.

The following are examples of the amount of salaries and scale of fees payable by the town councils and pupils to Teachers in different burghs from the Reformation till the middle of this century :¹

§ 1. ABERDEEN; § 2. AIRDRIE; § 3. AYR; § 4. BANFF; § 5. BRECHIN; § 6. BURNTISLAND; § 7. CAMPBELTOWN; § 8. CRAIL; § 9. CULROSS; § 10. CUPAR; § 11. DINGWALL; § 12. DUMBARTON; § 13. DUMFRIES; § 14. DUNBAR; § 15. DUNDEE; § 16. DUNFERMLINE; § 17. DYSART; § 18. EDINBURGH; § 19. ELGIN; § 20. FORFAR; § 21. FORRES; § 22. FORTROSE; § 23. GLASGOW; § 24. GREENOCK; § 25. HADDINGTON; § 26. HAMILTON; § 27. INVERARAY; § 28. INVERKEITHING; § 29. INVERNESS; § 30. INVERURIE; § 31. IRVINE; § 32. JEDBURGH; § 33. KILMARNOCK; § 34. KINGHORN; § 35. KIRKCALDY; § 36. KIRKCUDBRIGHT; § 37. LANARK; § 38. LEITH; § 39. LINLITHGOW; § 40. MONTROSE; § 41. MUSSELBURGH; § 42. NORTH BERWICK; § 43. PAISLEY; § 44. PEEBLES; § 45. PERTH; § 46. PITTENWEEM; § 47. RENFREW; § 48. ROTHESAY; § 49. ST ANDREWS; § 50. SELKIRK; § 51. STIRLING; § 52. STRANRAER; § 53. TAIN; § 54. WIGTOWN.

§ 1. ABERDEEN: 1574, reader, £30 yearly; 1575 and 1580, master, 50 merks yearly; 1602 and 1603, master, £80 yearly, with 6s. 8d. of fees quarterly; doctor, 3s. 4d.—in all, 10s.; landward scholars, 13s. 4d. quarterly to master, and 5s. to doctor; 1620, master, £80 yearly, and 13s. 4d. quarterly; 1628, doctor, £100 yearly, without scholage; 1638, doctor, £100 yearly—the salary and scholage of the other doctor to be divided between the two doctors; 1640, master, 200 merks yearly, and 13s. 4d. quarterly; doctor, 6s. 8d.; landward scholars, 26s. 8d. to the master, and 13s. 4d. to the doctor; 1663, master, £200, a 'competent provision,' with a house; 1667, two doctors, 200 merks yearly, with their class fees; 1667, master, 600 merks from mortifications.²

§ 2. AIRDRIE: 1835, fees, English, 3s.; arithmetic and writing, 4s.; Latin and Greek, 5s.; teacher received no salary, but had a free house and school.³

§ 3. AYR: 1582, fees, doctor, 1s. quarterly; landward scholars, 2s.; 1586, master, salary, £26, and 13s. 4d. for fee and reading; 1595, master, £40 yearly, and 20s. yearly of fees; doctor, fees, 8s. yearly; landward scholars, 40s. and 13s. 4d. yearly; 1600 and 1602, master, '£10 for reading the prayers;' 1603, doctor, stipend, 20 merks; fees, 40d. quarterly; landward children, 6s. 8d.; 1605,

¹ There is a full account of Salaries and Fees at subsequent dates in the Reports on Burgh Schools, published in 1868, and on Endowed Schools, published in 1873.

² Cf. Burgh Records of Aberdeen under the different dates.

³ Municipal Corporations Report, I., 66.

master, £60 yearly; fees, 6s. 8d. quarterly; landward scholars, 13s. 4d.; 1608, doctor, £30 yearly; 1612, master, who was also reader, precentor, and session clerk, £80 yearly from the common good, 20 merks yearly as precentor from the kirk, and 20 merks yearly as session clerk; fees, 6s. 8d. quarterly; landward bairns, 13s. 4d.; doctor, 12d. quarterly, with board; landward scholars, 2s.; 1648, doctor and precentor, £100 yearly—'the usual stipend'; 1649, Scots doctor, £50 yearly, and 6s. quarterly; from 1649 to 1670, masters, £200 yearly of stipend; 1670, doctor, £133, 6s. 8d. yearly; Scots master, £60; 1676, doctor, £50 half-yearly; 1677, precentor, reader, and doctor, £100 yearly, with benefit of marriages, baptisms, third of fees, and Candlemas offerings; 1678, master, 200 merks yearly; 1680, master, 300 merks yearly; doctor, 100 merks; precentor and music master, 100 merks; 1678, master, 250 merks yearly; 1680, doctor, 100 merks yearly; 1681, doctor, £100 yearly; 1682, Scots master, £40 yearly, and £12 for school mail; 1708, grammar master, £200 yearly; 1710, doctor, £100 yearly; 1727, doctor, 200 merks yearly; 1727, doctor, 200 merks yearly—£100 as doctor, and 50 merks for teaching writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, and navigation, with all the emoluments and casualties; 1738, English master, £40 Scots yearly; fees, 2s. sterling quarterly; perfecting in writing without reading, 10s. sterling; 1746, one of the grammar masters, 200 merks yearly; fees, 3s. sterling quarterly, with the ordinary perquisites; 1746, rector, who taught Latin, arithmetic, mathematics, and natural philosophy, 400 merks yearly, with fees and perquisites of his own scholars; 1751, precentor, writing-master, and singing-master, £20 sterling yearly, with benefits of baptisms, proclamations, and testimonials; lowest fee for writing, 2s. sterling quarterly in advance; 1755, English master, £120 yearly, with 'wages and casualties'; 1761, fees, Latin, 3s. quarterly; arithmetic, from the beginning to the single rule of three, 5s. sterling; vulgar arithmetic, including above, and also the double rule of three, fellowship, fractions, rules of practice, barter, exchange, loss and gain, etc., 10s. 6d.; decimal arithmetic, viz., decimal fractions, finite and infinite, their applications to the rules of interest, annuities, etc., extraction of the roots, allegation, tare, tret, and the rule of false, etc., 10s. 6d.; a complete course of arithmetic, one guinea, and a lesser sum in proportion to the length they proceed therein; bookkeeping, proper trade with the first set of books, half-a-guinea; a full course, comprehending three sets of books on proper trade, factorage, and partnership, one guinea; geography, with the use of the globes, half-a-guinea; navigation in all parts, viz., plain sailing, Mercator's do., parallel and middle latitude do., and these by geometrical progression, by the logarithms, by Gunter's scale, and by the tables of difference of latitude and departure, with the same reduced to practice by the log-book and use of sea-charts, one guinea; for a course of mathematics, comprehending Euclid's Elements, trigonometry, practical geometry, and algebra, two guineas; for a course of natural philosophy, comprehending the doctrine of attraction and gravitation, congress of bodies, mechanic powers, pendulums, etc., hydrostatics, optics, and astronomy, with the several experiments, two guineas, and a proportionate price to be charged for each of the branches; 1773, English master, salary, £10, 'with the ordinary fees and casualties'; 1775, fees for writing raised from 2s. to 2s. 6d. quarterly; 1776, fees for Latin raised from 3s. to 3s. 6d. quarterly; 1786, total income of each of two English masters, about £30; their salaries advanced to £15 each, and fees raised from 2s. to 3s. quarterly; writing and mathematical fees also raised; fees in grammar school raised to 5s. quarterly; 1835, salaries, rector, £100; arithmetic teacher, £20; Latin and Greek teacher, including assistant, £35; French, £5; English, £10; writing, £20.³ The number of scholars at the academy during the ten years previous to 1835 ranged from 490 to 500.

§ 4. BANFF: 1683, master, £44 yearly; 1698, master, £80 yearly; fees, 13s. 4d. quarterly; landward children, 20s.; 1732, master, £40 half-yearly; 1762, a

¹ Cf. Burgh Records of Ayr under the different dates.

² Municipal Corporations Report.

statement of master's account—a year's salary, £6, 13s. 4d.; paid as tax for the Seatoun and the lower part of Lord Banff's garden, 11s. 8d.; for heritage belonging to the town for two years, 1s. 4d.—*summa*, £7, 6s. 4d.; received for the town's bells and mortcloth in 1761, £3, 2s. 6d.; due to him, £4, 3s. 10d.; 1762, his salary of £80 Scots augmented to £10 sterling yearly; 1762, English teacher, £9 sterling yearly; fees, 1s. 6d. sterling; 1773, grammar master, £20 sterling yearly; fees, Latin, 2s. 6d. quarterly; 1780, grammar master, £20 sterling yearly; assistant, £10 sterling; master received three-fifths of the fees, and assistant, two-fifths; fees, Latin and Greek, 2s. 6d.; writing and figures, 2s. 6d.; course of bookkeeping, 21s. sterling; course of navigation, 21s.; 1786, rector, £30 sterling yearly; fees as before;¹ 1827, fees for Latin raised from 5s. to 7s. 6d., but various reductions were then made in the other fees.²

§ 5. BRECHIN: 1580, master, 40 merks yearly;³ 1835, master of the grammar school, £8, 17s. 9d. yearly and a free house, and the revenues of preceptor of Maison Dieu, worth £37 yearly. The town paid the parish schoolmaster £10 in lieu of a house and garden, and £25 yearly as interest of a subscription of £300 to an assistant to the parish schoolmaster; fees in both schools quarterly, English and writing, 4s.; arithmetic, 5s.; Latin, 6s.; mathematics, 6s.; English grammar, 5s.; French, 10s. 6d.; bookkeeping per course, £1, 1s.; geography, £1, 1s.⁴

§ 6. BURNTISLAND: 1620, master, 100 merks yearly—50 from the session and 50 from the 'prime guild'; 1635, increased to 150 merks; fees, Latin, 12s. quarterly; English, 9s.—two-thirds for the master and one-third for the doctor;⁵ 1835, master, £37 yearly; quarterly fees, reading, 2s., with writing, 2s. 6d., with arithmetic, 4s. 6d.; Latin, with Greek, French, arithmetic, mathematics, English grammar, geography, 6s.; navigation and bookkeeping, 21s. per course.⁶

§ 7. CAMPBELTOWN: 1791, fees, quarterly, Latin, 5s.; English, 3s.; English, writing, and arithmetic, 3s.; navigation, £1, 1s.; bookkeeping, a guinea and a half;⁷ 1831 and 1835, quarterly fees—class 1, English and grammar, 5s.; class 2, English, etc., writing and arithmetic, 6s.; class 3, Latin, English, etc., first year, 7s. 6d.; class 4, Latin, Greek, geography, mathematics, and bookkeeping, 10s. 6d.; class 5, French, English, composition, and any other branch that may be taught, 12s. 6d.⁸

§ 8. CRAIL: 1571, grammar master, fees, 8s. yearly; for landward scholars, fees left to the master's 'pleasure'; salary, 50 merks; doctor, fees, 12d. yearly, with board; 1625, master discharges burgh of 25 merks part of 100 merks for teaching 'for the Martinmas term 1621'; 1664, master discharges the burgh of £113, 13s. 4d. for the year preceding Lammas 1661, and of same sum for the said terms 1662, 1663; 1672, master discharges the town of £134 Scots in part payment of his salary from Martinmas 1669 to Martinmas 1670; 1716, doctor, £10 Scots half-yearly; 1749, master, £105 as other 'schoolmasters formerly had'; 1757, usher received a stipend of £8 sterling yearly, being an increase of £1, 15s. paid equally by the town and kirk;⁹ 1835, assistant master received £12 with part of fees; fees, reading, 2s. 6d.; reading and writing, 3s.; reading, writing, and arithmetic, 3s. 6d.; Latin, French, Greek, 5s.¹⁰

§ 9. CULROSS: 1835, fees, Latin, 5s.; reading, writing, and arithmetic, 4s. 6d.; writing and arithmetic, 4s.; and 3s. for reading.¹¹

§ 10. CUPAR-FIFE: Doctor, 40 merks yearly; fees, 4s. quarterly; 1638, master, £100 yearly; 1644, doctor, 80 merks; fees, 6s.; master, £100; fees, 12s.; 1661, doctor or janitor, £3 quarterly with board; fees, 12d. from each scholar on every market day; master, £180; fees, 12s.; doctor, fees, 6s.; 1670, master, £120 with the almshouses and yards; 1670, master, £180; fees, 12s. quarterly;¹² 1835, half of the teachers' salaries paid by the town, and the other half out of a subscribed fund; classical and French teacher, salary, £50;

¹ Cf. Burgh Records of Banff under the different dates.

² Black's History of Brechin, 45.

³ Cf. Burgh Records of Burntisland.

⁴ Cf. Burgh Records of Campbeltown.

⁵ Cf. Burgh Records of Crail.

⁶ Ibid., 172.

⁷ Mun. Corp. Rep., I., 109.

⁸ Mun. Corp. Rep., I., 128.

⁹ Mun. Corp. Rep., I., 139.

¹⁰ Mun. Corp. Rep., I., 160.

¹¹ Mun. Corp. Rep., I., 168.

¹² Cf. Burgh Records of Cupar.

teacher of writing, arithmetic, geography, and mathematics, £40; teacher of English, £20; fees, Latin, 7s. 6d.; Latin and Greek, 10s. 6d.; French, 7s. 6d.; writing, 3s. 6d.; writing and arithmetic, 5s.; mathematics, 10s. 6d.; geography, junior class, 3s. 6d.; senior class, 5s.; English, 4s.; English grammar, 2s. 6d.; English, including grammar and the principles of composition, 6s.¹

§ 11. DINGWALL: 1730, fees, quarterly, 12s. Scots for reading, writing, and arithmetic; 18s. Scots for Latin.²

§ 12. DUMBARTON: 1747, fees for English, writing, and arithmetic, raised from 8s. to 12s. Scots quarterly; Latin and Greek raised from a merk to 2s. 6d.; if the master be capable of teaching church music, bookkeeping, and French, he shall settle with parents the fees for the same; 1785, two joint teachers appointed at 'salary and emoluments of £30 sterling to each at least.'³

§ 13. DUMFRIES: 1663, rector, £100 Scots yearly, with the 'benefit of quarter days, and of marriage proclamations, baptisms, and burials;' 1673, master, salary, £40 Scots quarterly;⁴ 1835, master, salary, £64—£33, 6s. 8d. from mortified money, and the remainder from the funds of the town.⁵

§ 14. DUNBAR: 1690, English master, £100 yearly; fees, 14s. for reading or writing, or both; magistrates and parents fixing the fees for accounts; he may take from unfreemen and strangers as they can agree; 1699, grammar master, £200 yearly; English master, £100; 1721, two masters teaching English and Latin, £200 each; teacher of writing, navigation, bookkeeping, and arithmetic, £180 money; 1727, English and grammar master, £25 sterling yearly; quarterly fees for Latin and Greek, 2s. sterling; English, 14d.; 1734, fees, writing, 3s. 6d.; arithmetic, 5s.; writing, 5s.; mathematics, 10s. 6d.; with writing, 10s. 6d.; Mercator's sailing, to apprentices sailing from the burgh, £1, 1s.; navigation to sons of burghesses or apprentices having already a knowledge of arithmetic, vulgar and decimal fractions, use of the globes and maps, 10s.; to boys from the grammar school, 5s.; to such as attend the school otherwise, free; 1821, fees, English, 7s. 6d.; grammar and mathematical teachers allowed 7s. 6d.;⁶ 1835, master, £42 yearly; mathematical teacher, £36 yearly.⁷

§ 15. DUNDEE: 1603, grammar master, 250 merks yearly; sang master, 16 merks yearly; 1610, master, £16, 13s. 4d. yearly; fees, 6½d. quarterly; 1653, grammar master, 400 merks yearly; fees, 13s. 4d. quarterly; 1705, two grammar doctors, £200 between them; janitor, £13, 6s. 8d.; English and music master, £153, 6s. 8d.; 1712, fees for reading, writing, and arithmetic, 12s. quarterly; 1718, master of the churchyard school, 200 merks yearly, with quarterly fees of 10s. for English, 12s. for English and writing, and 14s. for reading, writing, and arithmetic; 1749, third grammar doctor, 100 merks yearly; fees, 6s. Scots quarterly; 1761, two English teachers, salary of £15 or £16 sterling, free school and other perquisites; 1763, salaries of two grammar doctors augmented to £20 sterling; 1768, writing-master, £5 sterling yearly; 1773, rector, £40 sterling yearly; fees raised from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. quarterly; 1773, teacher of writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, and music, £20 sterling yearly; 1773, two English masters, first at £15 sterling, and the second at £3 sterling; salary of the first to be made up as follows—£8, 6s. 8d. from the kirk fabric, £3, 5s. from the guildry, £3, 8s. 4d. from the two pennies on the pint of ale; second, to have £7, 7s. from the hospital funds, and 15s. from the two pennies on the pint; 1786, fee of the rector of the academy, £2, 2s. for the session; of his assistant, 10s. 6d. for the session from each scholar; 1789, additional salary of £10 sterling granted to the rector; 1798, English teacher, £20 sterling yearly, with fees; 1799, fees in the grammar school raised from 5s. to 7s. 6d.⁸

¹ Mun. Corp. Rep., I., 180, 181.

² Cf. Burgh Records of Dingwall under the different dates.

³ Cf. Burgh Records of Dumbarton.

⁴ Mun. Corp. Rep., I., 213.

⁵ Mun. Corp. Rep., I., 222.

⁶ M'Dowall's History of Dumfries, 502.

⁷ Cf. Burgh Records of Dunbar.

⁸ Cf. Burgh Records of Dundee.

§ 16. DUNFERMLINE: 1640, grammar doctor, £8, 6s. 8d., 'for this last mairtymas with ane dollar more'; 1645, his fee, 4 dollars; 1646, doctor, £8 for his fee, with a 'dollar more'; 1649, doctor, £16, 13s. 4d. for six months;¹ 1705, grammar master, salary, £132; 1748, grammar doctor, third of fees, and the same yearly salary as the deceased usher; 1750, 40 merks added to the salary of the doctor;² 1835, grammar master, £22, 12s. 6d. from Queen Anne's mortification; annual fees, Latin, £1, 8s.; French, £1; arithmetic, £1; geography, £1, 8s.; mathematics, £1, 8s.; English, 16s.; English and writing, £1, 14s.; grammar and writing, £1, 4s.; writing, 18s. Priory Lane school: fees, reading, 2s.; reading and writing, 2s. 3d.; reading, writing, arithmetic, 2s. 6d.

§ 17. DYSART: 1568, master, fees, 6s. 8d. quarterly; 1616, schoolmaster and reader, £50 yearly; 1708, master, fees, 20s. for Latin, 16s. for English, writing, and arithmetic; 12s. for reading and writing.³

§ 18. EDINBURGH: 1562, master, stipend, £80 yearly, besides fees—so large a salary is given because of the great profit of his school in London, and being very learned in Greek and Latin; 1566, grammar master, 50 merks yearly; fees, 4s. from each scholar; if the sum raised fall short of 300 merks, his salary shall be increased to 100 merks; 1584, master, £50 yearly, and 40d. from each disciple termly—Lammas, Hallowmas, Candlemas, and Beltane; doctor, 20d., and the notator or janitor, 4d.; 1574, teacher of French and arithmetic, fees, 25s.; salary, £20 yearly;⁴ 1593, writing-master exacted monthly from every scholar learning to write, 40d.; his successor allowed a scholage of 10s. quarterly; 1594, master, fees, half-a-merk; doctor, 40d. quarterly; 1598, first and second regents, fees, 13s. 4d. quarterly; third regent, 16s.; principal, 20s.; first and second regents, salary, £20 each; third, 40 merks; and principal, 200 merks; 1599, first regent, fees, quarterly, one merk; second, 16s.; third, 20s., having no stipend; principal, 20s. quarterly, with 200 merks yearly; 1611, each scholar paid 20s. quarterly—12s. to the principal, and 8s. to the four doctors; 1630, master, 200 merks yearly; fees, 20s. quarterly—12s. to the master, and 8s. to the doctor; 1654, salaries of four doctors raised from 200 to 300 merks yearly—the two highest doctors receiving £60 yearly each, and the two lowest £40 each; 1656, latter received £60 each; 1684, doctors, £100 yearly; 1709, rector, 300 merks yearly, each master 250 merks; fees, rector and masters, each 4s. sterling quarterly; rector receiving also 1s. sterling quarterly from each scholar in the four masters' classes, over and above the 4s. paid to the masters quarterly by their scholars; master of the third class receiving 1s. sterling from each scholar in the rector's class—these emoluments accruing to each of the four masters by turns as their classes advance;⁵ 1835, rector, £33, 6s. 8d. and £20 to each of the four classical masters; no salaries paid to the teachers of writing, arithmetic, and mathematics, whose emoluments were derived from fees.⁶

§ 19. ELGIN: 1793, master, £15 yearly; fees, Latin, 2s. quarterly; academy, 1803, fees, Latin, 5s.; Greek, 5s.; Latin and Greek, 7s. 6d.; arithmetic, 3s.; bookkeeping, £1, 1s.; geography, 10s. 6d.; Euclid, 10s. 6d.; French, 10s. 6d.; drawing, fortification, navigation, 10s. 6d.; English, 2s.; English and writing, 2s. 6d.; writing, 1s. 6d.; arithmetic, English, and writing, 3s.; 1826, Latin, 7s. 6d.; Greek and Latin, 10s. 6d.; reading, 2s.; reading and writing, 3s.; grammar, 2s. 6d.; ornamental writing, 5s.; elocution, 10s. 6d.; arithmetic, 4s.; bookkeeping, £1, 1s.; geography, £1, 1s.; mathematics, 10s. 6d.; French, 10s. 6d.;⁷ 1835, classical master, £50 yearly, and the mathematical and English masters, £45 each, besides fees.⁸

§ 20. FORFAR: 1660, master, £200 yearly, with fees; 1665, master, £48 yearly from the town, £40 from heritors, and £12 from the church; fees,

¹ Cf. Session Records of Dunfermline under the different dates.

² Cf. Burgh Records of Dunfermline.

³ Cf. Burgh Records of Dysart.

⁴ Chambers's Domestic Annals, i. 95; Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman.

⁵ Cf. Burgh Records of Edinburgh.

⁶ Mun. Corp. Rep., i. 317.

⁷ Elgin Case.

⁸ Mun. Corp. Rep., i. 427.

town's children, 10s.; landward children, 18s. 4d.; 1719, fees, quarterly, 18s.—14s. to the master, and 4s. to the doctor; £36 added to the master's salary of £48; 1753, quarterly fees, English, according to the 'new method,' 2s.; Latin or English, with arithmetic or writing, or both, 2s. 6d.—two-thirds to the master and one-third to the doctor; beginners at writing to attend the doctor's private school for the first two quarters, and to pay him for teaching the initial drafts and strokes, and the joining of letters, which cannot be done in the hurry of the public school; each scholar to pay a halfpenny quarterly to keep the windows in repair; the master to take the most prudent method for laying a fund on the scholars for winter fuel; 1770, grammar master, £6 sterling yearly; fees, Latin, Greek, etc., 2s. 6d. quarterly; English master, £10 yearly, fees, 1s. 6d.; 1794, quarterly fees, Latin, writing, arithmetic, 5s.; arithmetic, writing, English, 3s. 6d.; English, writing, 3s.; English, 2s. 6d.; 1802, fees, English, 3s.; English, writing, 3s. 6d.; English, writing, arithmetic, 4s. 6d.; Latin, 5s.; English, writing, arithmetic, Latin, 6s. 6d.; Latin, arithmetic, 6s.; Latin, French, 7s. 6d.; French, 6s.; mathematics or bookkeeping, 10s. 6d.; 1805, rector, £45 yearly, with assistant, £15 more—£40 to himself, and £20 to assistant; the school fees divided in the same proportion;¹ 1835, one of the masters has no salary, being session-clerk, but the other has £30; fees, the same in the grammar and parish schools.²

§ 21. FORRES: 1722, master to have the 'heall emoluments and profits that other schoolmasters have had in this place;' 1763, master, £20 yearly, fees from the session and the acre of land imputed in part of the salary; 1812, master, £40 yearly;³ 1812, English master, £20, raised in 1815 to £30.⁴

§ 22. FORTROSE: Master, £45 for the 'crop and yeir of God 1647;' 1752, fees, English and writing, 1s.; Latin, 1s. 6d.;⁵ academy, 1791, salary, first master, £40, and free house; second master, £35, and free house;⁶ 1805, annual course, consisting of two sessions, Latin, per session, 12s. 6d.; Greek, 10s. 6d.; French, £1; geography, first session, 10s. 6d.; second session, 5s. 3d.; arithmetic, one diet, 5s.; two diets, 7s. 6d.; three diets, 10s.; bookkeeping, £1, 1s.; elements of Euclid, plane trigonometry and mensuration, 15s.; land-surveying, £1, 1s.; spherical trigonometry and navigation, £1, 1s.; fortification and gunnery, £1, 1s.; drawing, 15s.; architecture, 10s. 6d.; quarterly fees, English, spelling, and reading, 3s. 6d.; writing, 2s.; English grammar, per session, 2s. 6d.;⁷ 1852, rector, £30 yearly, with fees, house and garden, and £25 for travelling expenses; fees, per session, English reading, 4s. 6d.; grammar, elocution, history, and composition, 6s.; writing, 3s.; writing and arithmetic, 4s.; bookkeeping, 5s.; mathematics, 10s.; geography, with the use of the globes and projection of maps, 5s.; land-surveying, with field practice, 15s.; navigation, 6s.; Latin, 10s.; Latin and Greek, 15s.; French, 7s. 6d.; drawing, 7s. 6d.; 1864, rector, £60 yearly, in addition to the house, garden, and fees; quarterly fees, reading, 2s.; reading, grammar, elocution, writing, arithmetic, history, composition, and geography, 7s. 6d.; writing, 1s. 6d.; writing and arithmetic, 2s. 6d.; bookkeeping, 2s. 6d.; mathematics, 5s.; geography, 2s. 6d.; land-surveying, with field practice, 7s. 6d.; navigation, 3s.; Latin, 5s.; Latin and Greek, 7s. 6d.; French, 5s.; drawing, 5s.

§ 23. GLASGOW: 1600, quarterly fees augmented to 5s. for master, and 20d. for doctor; 1654, quarterly fees at the Scots schools, 10s. from the town bairns, and double from strangers;⁸ 1835, four teachers received £50 each out of the funds of the burgh, and a quarterly fee of 13s. 6d. from each scholar.⁹

§ 24. GREENOCK: 1751, grammar master, £20 sterling yearly, a 'gentle

¹ Cf. Burgh Records of Forfar under the different dates.

² Mun. Corp. Rep., I., 444.

³ The salaries of the teachers were paid from the common good, but some of the heritors in the parish who held lands in feu of the burgh contributed, from time immemorial, 6 bolls, 3 birls, and 3½ lippies of barley, and 16s. 6d. of money.

⁴ Cf. Burgh Records of Forres.

⁵ Cf. Burgh Records of Fortrose.

⁶ Records of Fortrose Academy.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Cf. Burgh Records of Glasgow.

⁹ Mun. Corp. Rep., II., 35.

appointment,' paid as follows—from Sir John Shaw and his heirs, £3, 1s. 1½d. sterling; Crawford of Cartaburn, £1, 2s. 2½d.; old kirk session, £4, 9s. 5½d.; new kirk session, £3, 0s. 6½d.; remainder from the burgh; 1767, master, £15 sterling yearly, with fees—raised from 3s. to 4s. quarterly; 1772, teacher of writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, and mathematics, £20 sterling yearly; fees, same as at Glasgow; 1772, English teacher, £20, with school wages—fees, 3s., and Candlemas offerings, calculated to amount yearly to £40 sterling; agreed, in 1772, to make good an income of £60 sterling to English teacher; 1779, he had £20 yearly, and 3s. quarterly for fees; 1781, quarterly fees, writing, 5s.—master furnishing pens, paper, and ink; arithmetic, 5s.; one guinea and a half for perfecting a boy in bookkeeping, one guinea for a course of navigation, two guineas for a course of mathematics, two guineas for a course of geography; 1786, fees, English, 5s. quarterly; 1799, fees at grammar school raised from 5s. to 7s. 6d.; 1803, mathematical master, £30 sterling yearly, and French master, £20; 1823, fees at grammar school, 12s. quarterly, with 1s. 6d. for coal money; master, salary, £25—his yearly income averaging about £260;¹ 1835, teacher of the grammar school, salary, £50; fee for Latin (the only branch taught), 12s. 6d. quarterly; teacher of the mathematical school had his school rent free, but drew no salary, his predecessor having been allowed to retain it; fees, writing and arithmetic, 10s. 6d.; for mathematics, 21s. quarterly.²

§ 25. HADDINGTON: 1563, master, fees, 4s. yearly—12d. at each term, Beltane, Lammass, Candlemas, and Hallowmas; yearly stipend, 70 merks; 1577, master, £10 quarterly for stipend, with a chamber, and 12d. quarterly of fees; doctor, fees, 4d. quarterly, 'with his meit'; 1577, reader and doctor, 40 merks yearly, 'and ane chalmer'; 1579, master, £60 yearly; 1582, master, £60 yearly; 1591, master, 125 merks of stipend during fifteen months, besides fees; 1592, doctor and precentor, 50 merks yearly; 1673, master, salary, 400 merks; doctor, 50 merks; 1677, music-master, £100, with house mail and perquisites; 1731, English teacher, salary, £5; fees, English and writing, 2s., with arithmetic, 2s. 6d.; 1759, master, fees, Latin and writing, 2s. 6d.; doctor, 1s. 6d.;³ 1835, salaries of the two burgh teachers paid out of the burgh fund.⁴

§ 26. HAMILTON: 1835, rector of grammar school, who is also parochial teacher, £10, 10s. yearly; English teacher, 16s. 8d. from the town, and £5 for teaching twelve poor children; quarterly fees at grammar school, Latin, 7s. 6d.; Latin and Greek, 10s. 6d.; French, 10s. 6d.; fees, writing and arithmetic school, 10s.; English school: reading, 3s.; reading and grammar, 4s.; geography, 10s. 6d.⁵

§ 27. INVERARAY: 1835, Latin, 7s. 6d.; Latin, with Greek or French, 10s. 6d.; Latin, Greek, and French, 12s. 6d.; mathematics, 12s. 6d.; geography, with the use of the globes, 10s. 6d.; general studies, including languages, and other branches, 15s.⁶

§ 28. INVERKEITHING: 1835, burgh and parochial teacher, £34, 4s. 4½d. yearly, one-third paid from the town, and two-thirds from landward heritors; fees, reading, 3s.; reading and arithmetic, 5s.; reading, writing, 4s.; reading, writing, Latin, 7s.; fees for other branches fixed by the schoolmaster; grammar, bookkeeping, geography, Greek, French, mathematics, algebra, navigation, and astronomy, are the higher branches.⁷

§ 29. INVERNESS: 1835, fees, £2, 2s. quarterly.⁸

§ 30. INVERURIE: 1607 and 1608, master, £20 of salary from the common good, with a house, and £20 from the gentlemen and ministers adjacent 'be ane voluntarie collection.'⁹

§ 31. IRVINE: 1686, master, salary, 200 merks yearly; 1688, master, 100 merks yearly, with casualties of baptisms and marriages; 1690, master, 100

¹ Cf. Burgh Records of Greenock under the different dates.

² Mun. Corp. Rep., ii., 62.

³ Mun. Corp. Rep., ii., 68.

⁴ Ibid., 93.

⁵ Ibid., 110.

⁶ Cf. Burgh Records of Haddington.

⁷ Ibid., 75.

⁸ Ibid., 82.

⁹ Cf. Burgh Records of Inverurie.

merks half-yearly; 1689 and 1694, doctor, salary, £80 yearly, 'allowing in the first end thereof the casualties of baptism and marriage;' 1702 and 1704, doctor, salary, £80 with the usual casualties; 1704, master, 200 merks yearly; 1785, doctor, 'ordinary salary' of £5 sterling; 1746, English teacher, £8 sterling yearly; fees, 2s. sterling;¹ 1835, salaries, rector, £80; English teacher, £22, 10s.; commercial teacher, £22, 10s.²

§ 32. JEDBURGH: 1624, master, £46, 13s. 4d. from the town, and £20 from the bishop of Caithness—in all, 100 merks; 1625, salary, £100—£20 from the kirk session, and £80 from the common good, besides any acknowledgment by the bishop of Caithness; 1626, master, fees, 16s. from landward scholars; doctor, 4s.; 1627, master and reader, £20 half-yearly; 1634, master, £20 from the session for reading, and £80 from the common good; 1649, master, fees, Latin, 16s. 8d.; doctor, 3s. 4d.; English, 11s. 4d.; doctor, 2s.; 1649, master, 350 merks yearly—£100 from heritors, 50 merks from mortification, £80 from the burgh, £20 from the session; 1654, doctor, 40 merks yearly; 1664, master, £180 yearly, drawn from the common good, heritors, session, and salaries of the magistrates;³ 1835, rector, £83, 16s. 4d. from the burgh, and £8, 6s. 8d. from the heritors, besides a free house.⁴

§ 33. KILMARNOCK: 1727, English teacher, salary, £60—£40 from the session, and £20 from town; 1745, received from town £6 sterling yearly.

§ 34. KINGHORN: 1724, council and session gave each 8s. Scots weekly to the school doctor 'during his sickness;' 1736, doctor's salary augmented from £10 to £20, with £10 for house rent; 1746, doctor, salary, £100—£20 from the town, and £80 from the sinking fund—with a free house, and a third of fees for English, writing, and arithmetic; 1763, fees, English, 1s. 6d.; English, writing, and arithmetic, 2s.; Latin and writing, 2s. 6d.; navigation, first part, consisting of the Gregorian or new calendar constitution of lines, 15s.; second part, consisting of Mercator's middle latitude, parallel and current sailing, 30s.; third part, consisting of the projection of the sphere, etc., 40s.; 1800, fees, reading, 2s.; reading and writing, 2s. 6d.; Latin, 3s. 6d.; arithmetic, 3s. 6d.; night school, 3s. 9d.; coal money, 1s.⁵

§ 35. KIRKCALDY: 1582, master, fees, 3s. 4d. quarterly, with 'his vantage of the scholars of the country;' 1707, master, £100 yearly; fees, two parts of 24s. for Latin or arithmetic, and two parts of 20s. for English, quarterly, with a proportion of the kirk dues.⁶

§ 36. KIRKCUDBRIGHT: 1578, master, salary, 20 merks yearly, with £3 for house maill, and 12d. quarterly for fees; 1582, master, £20 from 24th April to Martinmas; 1582 and 1584, master, salary, 50 merks—payable at Candlemas, Beltane, Lammas, and Allhallowmas; 1586, 40 merks; 1591, the minister fee'd as schoolmaster for 20 merks, payable at Candlemas and Beltane, by equal portions; 1592, master, appointed until Lammas, at 20 merks; 1593, master, salary, £40; 1607, 50 merks, with 'chalmer maill' and 30d. quarterly for fees; 1620, 100 merks, fees, 6s. 8d. quarterly, with 20 merks for house maill—'albeit other schull-maisters gat bot 10 merks;' 1688, doctor, salary, £16 yearly, with 'all dues belonging to a doctor conform to wont;' 1689, master and precentor, 200 merks; 1690 to 1693, doctor, £20, fees, 4s. for town bairns, and 6s. 8d. for landward bairns; 1699, master, salary, £50 for half a year; from 1716 to 1728, salary, 200 merks yearly; 1751, teacher of English, writing, and the useful branches of arithmetic, salary, £10 for first year, and £7, 10s. for the next four years; 1757, master's salary increased from 250 merks to £20 sterling, he keeping an assistant; 1765, English and mathematical master, salary, £10; fees, 2s. 6d. for English, writing, and arithmetic, £1, 1s. for completing a scholar in bookkeeping, and the same for navigation; 1770, grammar master, salary, £16; fees, English, 1s. 8d.; writing and arithmetic, 1s. 8d.; languages, 2s.; 1787, rector, £30 sterling,

¹ Cf. Burgh Records of Irvine under the different dates.

² Mun. Corp. Rep., II., 129.

³ Cf. Burgh Records of Jedburgh.

⁴ Mun. Corp. Rep., II., 135.

⁵ Cf. Burgh Records of Kinghorn.

⁶ Cf. Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy.

assistant receiving £10; 1788, writing and mathematical master, salary, £20; fees, English, 2s. 6d.; Latin, 2s. 6d.; writing and arithmetic, 1s. 6d.; first six books of Euclid, practical geometry, and plane trigonometry, 15s.; navigation, 15s.; geometry, 10s. 6d.; bookkeeping, 15s.; the table of fees applying to burghesses' children only, non-burghesses' paying a higher fee; 1792, rector, salary, £30; 1805, writing teacher, £70, he paying £40 to an usher; rector, £50, in place of £42; 1808, English master, salary, £30; fees, English, one hour, 1s.; commercial master, salary, £70; writing and arithmetic, one hour, 1s. 6d.; first six books of Euclid, £1, 1s.¹

§ 37. LANARK: 1835, master, salary, £40; under teacher, £20.²

§ 38. LEITH: 1681, Latin teacher, 100 merks, English doctor, 50 merks, exclusive of fees and perquisites; 1835, quarterly fees, classics, 13s.; English, 7s. 6d.; writing, 7s. 6d.; mathematics, 7s. 6d.³

§ 39. LINLITHGOW: 1629, fees, master, 6s. 8d.; doctor, 3s. 4d.; landward bairns paying to the doctor, 10s. 4d.; 1652, master's salary raised from 200 to 300 merks; 1835, two burgh teachers received £30 and £15 each.⁴

§ 40. MONTROSE: 1643 to 1656, masters, 140 merks yearly, with fees and casualties; 1645, doctor, 100 merks, with fees; 1771, master of the English school petitions the council to continue the salary of £5 to his assistant, who also receives £5 from the kirk session;⁵ 1835, rector of the academy, £50 a year, and the fees of his classes; master and his assistant in the grammar school, the former, £40 a year and fees, the latter, £50 a year from endowment; senior English master, salary, £35; writing-masters, £25 each.⁶

§ 41. MUSSELBURGH: 1660, master, salary, £40; 1688 to 1703, masters, 200 merks;⁷ 1835, rector of grammar school, free dwelling-house, garden, and a salary of £27, 4s. yearly; English teacher, a free schoolhouse, and a salary of £21; Fisherrow English teacher, a free dwelling-house, with a salary of £10, and quarterly fees; grammar school: English, writing, and Latin, 10s. 6d.; Greek, 5s.; arithmetic, 5s.; geography, 5s.; mathematics, 10s. 6d.; French, £1, 1s.; drawing, £1, 1s.; Musselburgh English school: English and grammar, 3s.; writing with English, 4s.; arithmetic with English, 5s.; book-keeping, 5s.; geography, with the use of the globes, 6s.; mathematics, 6s.; Fisherrow English school: English, 3s.; writing, 4s.; arithmetic, 5s.; geography, 5s.⁸

§ 42. NORTH BERWICK: 1835, burgh school, quarterly fees, reading, 3s.; writing, 3s. 6d.; arithmetic, 4s.; grammar, 5s.; geography, 7s. 6d.; Latin, 10s.⁹

§ 43. PAISLEY: 1604, master received 10 merks 'in compleit payment of his feal of all yeires bygane;' 1604, master, 100 merks yearly—40 merks from the Master of Paisley, and £40 from the town; fees, 13s. 4d. termly—Beltane, Lammas, Allhallowmas, and Candlemas; 1649, doctor, salary, 20 merks, with house; 1653, master, 200 merks yearly, with fees and house; 1648, master and doctor, from William Mure, as Candlemas wage and offering, £11, 4s. 2d.; 1649, his offering and Candlemas wage, £11, 12s.;¹⁰ his quarter wage from Candlemas 1649 to May 1649, £3; 1650, his Candlemas offering, £8, 16s.; 1654, doctor, £20 quarterly, 'wherein is to be counted all school wages that he gets, which shall be 3s. 4d. from every bairn, and the money of baptisms for buiking;' 1655, doctor, fees, Latin and Scots scholars, 3s. 4d. quarterly; 1676, master, 200 merks, with house, 'and such other casualties as the former schoolmaster had;' 1690, doctor, 50 merks yearly; 1693, salary augmented to 100 merks, but again reduced; from 1713 to 1725, nominal salary of the doctor, 50 merks, but received an annual gratuity of £20; 1751, master, salary, 300 merks; this continued to be the

¹ Cf. Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright under the different dates.

² Mun. Corp. Rep., ii., 190.

³ Cf. Burgh Records of Montrose.

⁴ Report on Burgh Schools, 130.

⁵ Ibid., ii., 272.

⁶ Ibid., 214.

⁷ Ibid., 223.

⁸ Mun. Corp. Rep., ii., 241.

⁹ Mun. Corp. Rep., ii., 252.

¹⁰ Caldwell Papers, part i., p. 100.

salary until the taking over of the school by the school board; 1705, fees, 1s. 6d.; 1761, fees, 3s.; 1797, fees augmented by 1s. sterling; 1807, fees raised to 7s. quarterly; 1808, to 10s. 6d.—the scale in use at the transfer of the school to the school board; 1835, writing-master, salary, £8, 6s. 8d., with a free schoolroom; grammar school: Greek, Latin, English literature, history, and geography, 10s. 6d. quarterly; writing and arithmetic, 7s. 6d.; bookkeeping, practical mathematics, Euclid's elements and algebra, 15s.; geography for a course of five months—1st course, 10s. 6d., 2d, 5s. 6d.; in one of the English schools the fee for reading is 5s., and in the other, 7s. 6d.; grammar and composition, 10s. 6d.; elocution when taught by itself, 10s., and along with other branches, 12s. 6d.¹

§ 44. PEEBLES: 1616, doctor, 10 merks termly; 1627, 20 merks, with fees and his meat; 1638, fees, 5s. quarterly; 1649, master, stipend, 110 merks from Martinmas to Whitsunday; fees, 12d. at the four terms; 1653, doctor, for his stipend and harvest 'vacance' yearly, £40; 1654, 1655, 1664, master, 200 merks Scots yearly, with a chamber; fees, 12d. quarterly, landward bairns paying according to agreement; 1686 to 1711, master, salary, £146, 13s. 4d. yearly, with chamber and fire; 1782, fees, reading, writing, arithmetic, 1s.; 1796, raised to 1s. 6d. for reading, and 2s. including writing and arithmetic; 1811, fees, 2s. 3d., including Latin, 5s.; there was also the 'Candlemas bleeze,' and few pence in winter for coal;² 1835, English teacher, fees, English, 2s. 3d.; writing and accounts, 3s. 3d.; for geography and mathematics, according to agreement; grammar master, same fees, and 5s. for Latin.³

§ 45. PERTH: 1623 to 1633, master, salary, 250 merks yearly, with fees; two doctors, 50 merks each, payable by the session and hospital masters; quarterly fees, master, 6s. 8d.; 3s. 4d. between two doctors; non-burgesses' children paying 13s. 4d. to the master, and 6s. 8d. between the two doctors; music, 12s.; 1653, master, £300—400 merks from the town, and 50 merks from the hospital; fees, master, 12s.; doctors, 4s.; 1658, master, 500 merks—450 from the council, and 50 from the session; 1679, master, fees, 12s.; each doctor, 6s.; master receiving two-thirds of the Candlemas gratuities, and the two doctors one-third between them; 1743, master, 500 merks, with half the fees of the classes taught by the three ushers, and the whole fees of his own class, as also two-thirds of the Candlemas gifts; the other one-third divided among the ushers, who besides salaries and fees, had other emoluments;⁴ 1835, master of academy, £100; assistant, £25; rector of grammar school, £50; assistant, £25; French, etc., teacher, £25; writing and arithmetic teacher, £25; drawing and painting teacher, £25; two English teachers, £12, 10s. each; teacher of singing and church music, £15; fees during a session of ten and a half months: mathematics, £4, 6s.; Latin and Greek, £2, 12s.; French, etc., £3, 2s.; writing and arithmetic, £2, 6s.; drawing and painting, £3, 2s.; English, etc., £1, 8s.⁵

§ 46. PITTENWEEM: 1663 to 1699, masters, yearly salary, £100, payable from the sea box, session box, and common good; they had also the school fees, benefits of baptisms, marriages, and other casualties; 1704, master, 'yearly salary of 200 merks, with his casualties, as formerly;' 1799, received augmentation of £3 sterling, he not raising the fees without the approval of the council; 1803, the town council, in consequence of the addition to be made to his salary by Act 1803, c. 54, withdrew the yearly allowance of £1 for the registration of the dead, and the augmentation of £3 granted in 1799; 1st September, the council agreed to contribute one-fourth part of the salary of the schoolmaster, according to use, though it is larger than according to their valued rent; 1805, they again allowed the schoolmaster 55s., on condition of not raising the fees without giving the council notice three months previously.⁶

¹ Mun. Corp. Rep., II., 288.

² Report on Burgh Schools, II., 148.

³ Mun. Corp. Rep., II., 296.

⁴ Cant's History of Perth.

⁵ Mun. Corp. Rep., II., 310.

⁶ Cf. Burgh Records of Pittenweem. The school, from the earliest account we have of it

§ 47. RENFREW: 1835, master, salary, £35; fees, English, 2s.; Latin and Greek, 5s.; writing, 3s.; arithmetic, 3s. 6d.; mathematics, 7s. 6d.¹

§ 48. ROTHESAY: Master, 5s. Scots out of every merk land within the country parish of Rothesay, £40 Scots from the common good of the burgh, with schoolhouse, £30 Scots from the kirk session, 6s. Scots for baptism, and 16s. Scots for marriage;² £9, the salary in use to be paid to the master—£4 from the landward heritors, £3, 6s. 8d. from the town, and £1, 13s. 4d. from the teinds of the bishopric; after the passing of 43 Geo. III., c. 54, salary raised to £25, 11s. 9d., including garden—£12, 15s. 7d. payable by the Marquis of Bute, £1, 18s. 8d. by Lord Bannatyne, and £10, 17s. 5d. by the burgh;³ 1835, burgh paid annually to the parish schoolmaster £16, 0s. 5d., raised by assessment.⁴

§ 49. ST ANDREWS: 1660, master to have his bygone stipend; 1661, rector to have the two quarters of the small stipend payable to John Turnbull; 1663, master to get the price of malt for paying arrears; 1666, master to have £100 'till count and reckoning'; 1669, master to receive twenty-five bolls of multure of malt at £50 'ten boll'; 1714, doctor to have the third of the fees and other small emoluments; 1723, master, 250 merks yearly; 1747 to 1752, doctor, £84 Scots yearly, with profits of school; 1747 to 1750, English master, salary, £12 Scots; 1755, first doctor, salary, £102 Scots; 1755, the town council, considering it was of the utmost importance that a qualified person should be chosen as English master, resolved to allow him a salary of £10 sterling—£4 from the city, £1 from the guildry, £3 from corporations, and £2 from kirk session; rector to give the first doctor a salary of £7 sterling, with 6d. quarterly for each scholar, and half of the cock-money; the second doctor to have from the town £4 yearly, and the other half of the cock-money; 1775, English master, £5 yearly; 1788, fees, English and reading, 1s. 6d.; writing and arithmetic, 2s.; 1814, English master, £25 yearly; 1786 to 1791, grammar master, 200 merks yearly, with house and garden; 1792, augmented, £100 Scots; 1802, fees, reading, 2s.; writing and arithmetic, 2s. 6d.; rector, fees, 5s. quarterly; salary raised from £400 Scots to £40 sterling; 1808, fees, reading, 2s. 6d.; reading and writing, 3s.; reading, writing, and arithmetic, 3s. 6d.; 1815, fees, English, 3s.; writing, 3s. 6d.; writing and arithmetic, 4s.; Latin, 7s. 6d.; 1827, fees, English, 3s. 6d.; writing and arithmetic, 4s.; and English grammar, 5s.;⁵ 1835, the salaries hitherto payable to the burgh teachers were continued under the Madras system—£50 to the grammar master, and £25 to the English teacher yearly; fees of the late burgh English school: reading, 3s. 6d.; reading and writing, 4s.; reading, writing, and arithmetic, 5s.; in the English department of the Madras college: reading, highest rate, 2s.; second, and lowest, 1s.; reading and writing, 2s. 6d. and 1s. 3d.; reading, writing, arithmetic, and grammar, 3s. and 1s. 6d.; fees of the late grammar school: Latin, 10s. 6d., but, in addition to the quarterly fees, the teacher was entitled to Candlemas donations, which were abolished when the fees were raised from 7s. 6d. to 10s. 6d. quarterly; in the Madras college, fees, Latin, 7s. 6d.⁶

§ 50. SELKIRK: 1703, master, £200 yearly—£100 from the landward heritors, and £100 from the town; 1721, English master, salary, 50 merks yearly; fees, 12s. Scots quarterly for burgess bairns;⁷ 1835, parish school, reading, 3s.; writing, 4s.; arithmetic, 4s. 6d.; Latin, 6s.; geography, 7s.; burgh teacher, £32; fees, English, 2s. 6d.; with writing, 3s. 6d.; with arithmetic, 4s.; drawing, 7s. 6d.; geography, 7s. 6d.; mathematics, 3s.⁸

§ 51. STIRLING: 1602, two doctors, each 20 merks yearly, and £3, 6s. 8d. from master, furth of the 'exces of his scollage,' with board; 1602, master, fees,

(1663), appears to have been burghal and landward, but in 1786 it became a parish school entirely, the schoolmaster being appointed by the minister and heritors.

¹ Mun. Corp. Rep., ii., 361.

² Cf. Burgh Records of Rothesay under the different dates.

³ Mun. Corp. Rep., ii., 368.

⁴ Mun. Corp. Rep., ii., 383.

⁵ Mun. Corp. Rep., ii., 390.

⁶ Deed in the charter chest of Rothesay.

⁷ Cf. Burgh Records of St Andrews.

⁸ Cf. Burgh Records of Selkirk.

20s.; doctor, 10s. quarterly; 1603, twq doctors, 50 merks of salary—£20 to one, and 20 merks to the other; 1612, master, salary, 100 merks, with expectation of 50 merks from my Lord of Mar, a free house, and 40s. of scolage for him and his doctors; 1612 and 1613, doctor, 20 merks yearly; fees, 2s. quarterly, with his 'liberty of landward bairns,' but in 1613, forbidden to exact from them more than 6s. 8d.; 1620, doctor, 20 merks yearly; fees, 8s. quarterly, between him and the other doctor; 1620, doctor, for teaching in the school and precenting in the kirk, 50 merks yearly, with board, 8s. quarterly for fees, and 6s. 8d. for teaching music; 1625, master, £100 yearly; fees, 6s. 8d. quarterly; 1641 to 1645, doctor, 100 merks, with scholage; 1642 to 1656, masters, £140, besides the annual of Cowane's 500 merks, and 6s. 8d. quarterly of fees; 1661, 1663, and 1665, Latin doctors, £100 Scots yearly, 'by and attour the usual scholage;' 1662, master, 400 merks yearly, being an augmentation of £100 on the old stipend; fees, 6s. 8d.—landward children paying according to agreement; 1673 to 1698, masters, salary, 400 merks yearly; 1698, fees, 6s. 8d. quarterly from town scholars—gentlemen's sons paying according to discretion; 1698, salary increased to 500 merks; 1726, English doctor, salary increased from £100 to 200 merks; 1727, master, salary, 500 merks, with a house and yard; fees, 8s. for English, and 10s. for Latin, besides the Candlemas offerings; 1728 and 1730, Latin doctor, salary, 200 merks, with house rent; English doctor, taught English, writing, arithmetic, and bookholding, salary, 200 merks; 1731, 1732, 1737, 1744, Latin doctors, £16 sterling; 1735, writing-master and teacher of English and arithmetic, salary, £180; 1736, English teacher, £100; 1737, £144; 1737, writing-master, £144; 1747, English teacher, salary, £16 sterling; assistant, £100 Scots; 1753, precentor, music-master, writing-master, and teacher of arithmetic and bookkeeping, £200 Scots, with dues of baptisms and marriages, and school fees; 18s. Scots for church music, or £3 Scots for perfecting; £1, 10s. Scots for writing and arithmetic, and one guinea for perfecting in bookkeeping—he teaching these branches to the scholars of the grammar school *gratis*, as former writing-masters have done; 1755, when the rector teaches geography, French, or other literature not used in the public school, he shall be paid separate fees; 1755, fees, Latin and Greek, 2s. 2d. sterling quarterly (1s. 6d. to the rector, and 8d. to the Latin doctor), besides the 'Candlemas blaze or offering and compliment;' rector, salary, 500 merks; 1760, doctor, salary, 500 merks, with house; 1764, English teacher, salary, £15; 1771, £20; 1791, teacher of writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, and mathematics, salary, £30; fees for free-men's children, writing and arithmetic, 2s. 6d.; bookkeeping, 6s., or £1, 1s. for perfecting; he may charge unfree-men's children at his discretion; 1793, assistant English teacher, fees increased by 8d. quarterly, salary, £12—£5 from Cowane's Hospital, £4 from town, £1, 10s. from Spital's Hospital, £1, 10s. from Allan's mortification; 1795, salary, £12; grammar school: fees, 3s. 6d. quarterly—2s. to the master, 1s. to the usher; 1797, £5 added yearly to the salaries of the English teachers;¹ 1835, salaries of all the burgh teachers paid out of the town's funds, and those of Cowane, Spital, and Allan; rector of the high school and teachers of the writing school, first English school, and second English school, had each a salary of £50 annually; the rector had a dwelling-house and garden free of rent; all the teachers occupied schoolhouses belonging to the burgh; fees, grammar school, 7s. 6d.; writing school, for a whole day, 3s. 6d.; for an hour or part of a day, 2s. 6d.; first English school, 6s.; second English school, English, 3s. 6d.; other branches, 4s. 6d.²

§ 52. STRANRAER: 1686, master, salary, £60 Scots; 1686, 80 merks; 1688, £48 Scots.⁴

§ 53. TAIN: 1835; schoolmaster of the parish and burgh grammar school, 800 merks—one-half out of the burgh funds, and the other half by the heritors of the parish; the amount paid by the burgh is £22, 4s. 5d.; the teacher of

¹ Mun. Corp. Rep., II., 399.

² Mun. Corp. Rep., II., 403.

³ Cf. Burgh Records of Stirling under the different dates.

⁴ Cf. Burgh Records of Stranraer.

the English school received from the burgh a salary of £10 ; his fees were 2s. quarterly.¹

§ 54. WIGTOWN: 1686 to 1722, masters, salary, £80 Scots yearly, with £10 for chamber maill ; fees, half a merk quarterly for burgh, and one merk for landward children ; 1730, master, £100 Scots, with 10 merks for chamber maill ; fees, one merk for Latin, half a merk for English scholars ; 1748, master, 200 merks from the burgh, and 40 merks from landward heritors ; fees, 1s. 6d. for Latin, 1s. 6d. for writing and arithmetic, and 1s. sterling for English ; 1773, fees, Latin, during first two years 5s. quarterly, and 3s. quarterly afterwards ; English, 2s. 6d. quarterly ; 1781, fees for scholars in town or parish, Latin, 2s. 6d. ; Latin and Greek, 3s. 6d. ; English, 1s. 6d. ; reading, writing, and arithmetic, 2s. ; stranger scholars, Latin, 5s. ; Latin and Greek, 7s. 6d. ; English, 3s. ; English, writing, and arithmetic, 4s. ; 1795, town or parish scholars, English, 1s. 9d. ; English and writing, 2s. ; English, arithmetic, and writing, 2s. 3d. ; bookkeeping, navigation, and French, left to agreement between teacher and taught ; 1803, salary, £24, 8s. from the burgh, 100 merks from heritors ; fees, English, 3s. ; English and writing, 3s. 6d. ; arithmetic, 4s. ; Latin, 5s. ; French, 7s. 6d. ; reduced by one-third in 1822 ; emoluments in 1811 : from burgh and parish, £45 ; from school fees, £22, 10s. ; from New Year's Day gifts and Candlemas offerings, £13, 10s.—in all, £81 ; fees, reading, 3s. ; reading and writing, 3s. 6d. ; the above and grammar, 4s. ; above, and arithmetic, 4s. 6d. ; above, and Latin, 5s. 6d. ; above, and Greek, 7s. ; above, and French, 8s. ; above, and mathematics, 10s. 6d. ; geography and history additional, 1s. ; bookkeeping, a course, 10s. 6d.²

¹ Mun. Corp. Rep., I., 425.

² Cf. Burgh Records of Wigtown under the different dates.



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